









**HARVARD ORIENTAL SERIES**

**Edited by MICHAEL WITZEL**

**VOLUME SIXTY-TWO**

## THE BOOK

**EARLY TAMIL EPIGRAPHY** is the first definitive edition of the earliest Tamil inscriptions in the Tamil-Brahmi and Early Vatteluttu scripts dating from ca. second century B.C. to sixth century A.D. It is based on the author's extensive fieldwork carried out in two spells between 1962-66 and 1991-1996.

The study deals comprehensively with the epigraphy, language and contents of the inscriptions. The texts are given in transliteration with translation and extensive word by word commentary. The inscriptions are illustrated with tracings made directly from the stone, estampages and direct photographs. Palaeography of Tamil-Brahmi and Early Vatteluttu scripts is described in detail with the help of letter charts. The special orthographic and grammatical features of the earliest Tamil inscriptions are described in this work for the first time. A glossary of inscriptional words and several classified word lists have been added to aid further research.

The work provides a detailed account of the discovery and decipherment of the inscriptions and relates their language and contents to early Tamil literature and society. The recently discovered Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery and objects like coins, seals, rings, etc., have also been utilised to present a more complete picture of early Tamil epigraphy.

## THE AUTHOR

IRAVATHAM MAHADEVAN (b. 1930) is a specialist in Indian epigraphy, especially in the fields of Indus and Brahmi scripts. He was awarded the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship in 1970 for his research on the Indus script and the National Fellowship of the Indian Council of Historical Research in 1992 for his work on the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.

His book, *The Indus Script: Texts, Concordance and Tables* (1977) is recognised internationally as a major source book for research in the Indus script. He has also published *Corpus of the Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions 1966* (1968) besides numerous papers on several aspects of the Indus and Tamil-Brahmi scripts.

He has served as the Co-ordinator, International Association of Tamil Research, for ten years (1980-90). He was elected the President of the Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India in 1998 and the General President of the Indian History Congress for its session in 2001. He served the Indian Administrative Service and retired voluntarily to devote himself to full-time academic pursuits. He lives in Chennai.

# **Early Tamil Epigraphy**

**From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.**

**Iravatham Mahadevan**

**Cre-A:**

**Chennai, India**

**and**

**The Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies**

**Harvard University, U.S.A.**

**Distributed by**

**Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.**

**and London, England**

**2003**

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2003

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Printed at Sudarsan Graphics, Chennai 600 017, India

Simultaneously published in India by Cre-A: Chennai  
and in the U.S.A. by HOS, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

The second field expedition for this work was funded by a National Fellowship awarded to the author by the Indian Council of Historical Research.

The publication of the Harvard edition was made possible by donations of Periyannan Chandrasekaran, International Tamil Language Foundation, Malarselvan Karuppiyah, Mani M. Manivannan, Sudalaimuthu Palaniappan, Paul Pandian, San Francisco Bay Area Tamil Manram, and the 3Com Corporation. Their ready munificence is gratefully acknowledged.

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Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

Early Tamil Epigraphy. From the earliest times to the sixth century A.D.  
(Harvard Oriental Series; v. 62)  
ISBN 0-674-01227-5  
I. Mahadevan, I. 1930- II. Title  
III. Series: Harvard Oriental Series; 62

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41258872  
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9 26-03

*Dedicated to the sacred memory of  
Śrī Kanthadai Vaidy Subrahmanya Aiyer (1875-1969)  
whose pioneering studies laid the foundation for  
the decipherment of the Tamil-Brāhmī script.*



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## PREFACE

I became interested in the Brāhmī script when I was working in New Delhi during 1958-61 and came into contact with Dr. C. Sivaramamurti at the National Museum. When I returned to Madras in 1961, Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri suggested that I take up the study of the Tamil cave inscriptions which had not been satisfactorily deciphered. He got for me a set of estampages (ink impressions) of the cave inscriptions from the Government Epigraphist, but I found them too illegible to work on. I decided to visit the caves to look at the inscriptions themselves and discovered to my pleasant surprise that they were better preserved than suggested by the faint estampages. My publication of the 'forgotten' Early Cēra inscriptions at Pugalur and Early Pāṇṭiya inscriptions at Mangulam in 1965-66 aroused much scholarly interest. I completed the first spell of fieldwork in 1966 and published the preliminary results of the study in the *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966* (1968). The readings were well received and I was encouraged to continue the work.

In the years after the publication of the *Corpus*, many corrections and improvements to the preliminary readings have been suggested by other scholars working in the field. More cave inscriptions have come to light. The excavation of pottery inscriptions in the Tamil-Brāhmī script from ancient Tamil sites and the discovery of Early Cēra and Pāṇṭiya coins with Tamil-Brāhmī legends have thrown new light on the chronology and evolution of the script. In the meanwhile, the *Corpus* had gone out of print and papers published by me in scattered journals had become inaccessible. There has been a demand for a reprint of the *Corpus*. However, the accumulation of more material demanded a fresh effort. I undertook a second spell of field work during 1991-96 checking the readings again *in situ*, making fresh copies of all the cave inscriptions discovered till then and adding two more inscriptions discovered at Mannarkoil in December 2000. The present definitive edition of the texts to which I have added a general survey of Early Tamil epigraphy, incorporates the new cave inscriptions, besides making several corrections and improvements to the readings and interpretations published earlier in the *Corpus*.

After I had started on the second field expedition, the Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR), New Delhi, offered me a National Fellowship for a period of three years from October 1992 for the research project. The grant has been utilised for further field work to complete the project. I am beholden to Prof. M.G.S. Narayanan, Secretary (now Chairman), ICHR, for the honour conferred on me.

Portions of the manuscript of this work were read at my request by Profs. E. Annamalai, R. Champakalakshmi and Michael Lockwood, Dr. P.R. Subramanian and Mr. K.V. Ramanathan IAS (retd.). I have benefited from their suggestions though the responsibility for the final shape of the book lies with me.

The work has been accepted for publication by Cre-A:, Chennai, known for its selective publication of books of high quality. I am grateful to Mr. S. Ramakrishnan of Cre-A: for the recognition. After the work had been accepted for publication by Cre-A:, I received an offer from Prof. Michael Witzel, Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University, USA,

to have the work published in the Harvard Oriental Series (HOS). I thank him for the honour and I am also grateful to my friend, Mr. N. Ram, Editor, *Frontline*, Chennai, who had earlier introduced me to Prof. Witzel. I am especially thankful to Mr. Ramakrishnan for accepting the arrangement for co-publishing the book simultaneously in India and the USA. I understand that this is the first time that a book on a Dravidian language is being included in the prestigious HOS. I am grateful to the President and Fellows of Harvard College and the Editor, HOS, for the recognition accorded to a work on Tamil epigraphy.

The two editions are identical. The text and the layout were finalised in Chennai. Mr. S. Ramakrishnan and Dr. Meera Rajagopalan went through the manuscript and offered valuable suggestions on the style and presentation, most of which have been incorporated in the book.

The book has been printed by Sudarsan Graphics, Chennai. I cannot find words to thank adequately Mr. N. Subramanian, Sudarsan Graphics, for the care bestowed on the work and for the excellent printing.

One of the objectives of the present publication is to provide the fullest possible documentation of the cave inscriptions through carefully executed direct tracings, enlarged photo prints of estampages and a few direct photographs (which have been processed by computer for enhanced clarity). The urgent need for documentation arises from the very real danger of obliteration of the cave inscriptions by tourist vandalism and breaking up of the rocks for export of granite. I hope that this book would help in creating greater awareness on the part of the Central and State Departments of Archaeology and the local citizens to take more vigorous steps to protect and preserve the priceless heritage of the cave inscriptions of Tamil Nadu.

As I complete the research project on which I have spent forty years of my life, about half the time when I was still serving as an officer of the Indian Administrative Service, my thoughts turn towards my family. I used to burn the candle at both ends and my family suffered in the process. My wife had to look after the household and bring up the two boys. But she and the boys showed great understanding and were fully supportive of my research work. It is the will of Providence that Gowri, my wife, and our elder son, Vidyasagar, have not been spared to see the fruition of my labours, which would have gladdened their hearts.

Chennai

Iravatham Mahadevan

19th February 2003

## INTRODUCTION

EARLY TAMIL EPIGRAPHY is a study of Tamil inscriptions from the earliest times to the end of the sixth century A.D. The study is based mainly on the cave inscriptions of Tamil Nadu in Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu scripts. The inscriptions were studied by me *in situ* during two extended periods of field work from 1962 to 1966 and again from 1991 to 1996. The more recently discovered and still not fully published pottery inscriptions and objects like coins, seals and rings inscribed in Tamil-Brāhmī have also been utilised to present a more complete picture of Early Tamil epigraphy.

As the Brāhmī script has been studied extensively in several standard publications, the present work has concentrated on the less familiar aspects of the Tamil-Brāhmī script. The origin of Brāhmī itself is not considered in this study; but the origin of Tamil-Brāhmī from Brāhmī is studied in detail. The gradual evolution of Tamil-Brāhmī into Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu is traced with the help of palaeographic charts based on the Corpus of Early Tamil Inscriptions included in this volume. The Tamil script which begins to appear from the commencement of the seventh century A.D. and from which the modern Tamil script has evolved, is outside the chronological limit of the study.

The book is in three parts: Early Tamil Inscriptions, Studies in Early Tamil Epigraphy and the Corpus of Early Tamil Inscriptions. Part One is designed as a general introduction to matters dealt with in the book. It has four chapters describing the discovery and decipherment of cave inscriptions, their language and contents. Part Two consists of specialised studies on the palaeography, orthography and grammar of the inscriptions, each treated in a separate chapter. Part Three which forms the core of the book comprises the Corpus of Early Tamil Inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu scripts from ca. second century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. The inscriptions have been edited directly from the stone. The texts are presented in transliteration with translation and notes. The inscriptions are illustrated with tracings made directly from the stone, estampages and a few direct photographs.

The Corpus is accompanied by Commentary which supplements the brief notes with additional information on the language and contents of the inscriptions. Literary and inscriptional parallels are cited in the Commentary to illustrate the inscriptional usage of words in the Corpus. A set of word lists is included comprising inscriptional glossary and indexes to personal and place names, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan etyma and grammatical morphemes occurring in the inscriptions. Two maps are provided showing the distribution of sites with Early Tamil inscriptions and sites which have yielded pottery inscriptions.

The most significant result of the present study is that the cave inscriptions of Tamil Nadu which have generally been regarded as obscure, can now be read. They turn out to be in simple and intelligible Tamil with only a small proportion of loanwords from Prakrit, and are not too different in language and contents from the later inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Tamil scripts. What had stood in the way of a more complete understanding of the inscriptions earlier was the lack of reliable texts and unfamiliarity with the orthographic rules governing the inscriptions.

The discovery and decipherment of historical Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions attributed to the Early Cēra and Pāṇṭiya dynasties and to Atiyamāṇ of Takaṭūr prove the general contemporaneity of the cave inscriptions to what is known as the Caṅkam Age in Tamil Nadu. We need no longer rely exclusively on the cave inscriptions for this conclusion which has been amply confirmed by the more recent discoveries of Early Cēra and Pāṇṭiya coins with the names of the kings inscribed in the Tamil-Brāhmī script.

The decipherment of the cave inscriptions has produced new evidence proving conclusively the association of Jainism with the caves. There are no vestiges of Buddhist or Ājīvika occupation of the caves. The hitherto unsuspected influence of Old Kannada on the language of the cave inscriptions from the earliest period has shown that Jainism reached the Tamil country through Karnataka at a very early date not later than ca. third century B.C.

The widespread occurrence of pottery inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī has added a new dimension to the study of Early Tamil epigraphy. They are important not merely for firming up the chronology of Tamil-Brāhmī through archaeological evidence, but also for demonstrating that Tamil-Brāhmī had taken deep roots all over the Tamil countryside well before the turn of the Christian Era creating a literate society which would before long produce literary works of the greatest excellence.

The inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī are the earliest records in Dravidian. The successful decipherment of these hitherto enigmatic texts will no doubt contribute to a greater understanding of Old Tamil and its place in the South Dravidian group of languages. The present study is but a small step towards the eventual writing of a historical grammar of Old Tamil based on both literary and epigraphical sources.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project of this magnitude lasting four decades would not have been possible without the active co-operation and assistance of many institutions and scholars, too many to be enumerated here. However, I should be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge at least the more direct support I have received for the present work.

The Office of the Director of Epigraphy (DE) at Mysore with its centralised storage of estampages of South Indian inscriptions copied by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) is the Mecca for epigraphists. Throughout the period I was engaged in the study of Tamil cave inscriptions, I received unstinted support from successive Government Epigraphists and (later) Directors of Epigraphy, Mr. K.G. Krishnan, Dr. K.V. Ramesh and Dr. M.D. Sampath. I was allowed unlimited access to the original estampages, transcriptions and the valuable collection of books in the library. I was also supplied with most of the photographs of estampages included in this book. Dr. Sampath and his colleagues, Dr. S. Swaminathan and Mr. S. Rajavelu, accompanied me to some of the caves and helped with the reading of inscriptions at the sites.

The Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology (TNSA) under the dynamic leadership of Dr. R. Nagaswamy and his able successor, Mr. Natana Kasinathan, has done much to promote epigraphical studies in Tamil Nadu. Dr. Nagaswamy was my colleague in the study of cave inscriptions right from the beginning. He placed the resources of his department at my disposal during my field trips, himself accompanying me to many of the caves. Natana Kasinathan has also participated in the field studies. A new generation of Tamil epigraphists trained by Dr. Nagaswamy in the decipherment of Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions is now active in the field. The 'Madurai Group' comprising Mr. C. Bose, Dr. S. Rajagopal, Mr. C. Santhalingam and Dr. V. Vedachalam of the TNSA accompanied me to almost all the caves during the second field expedition and helped in solving many knotty problems in reading the inscriptions. I have no hesitation in acknowledging that the final readings of the inscriptions as they have now emerged are due to the expertise and experience of the Madurai Group of epigraphists of the TNSA.

During the first field expedition, Mr. R. Selvakumaraswamy, Executive Engineer, erected the steel scaffolding for copying inscriptions from inaccessible heights as at Alagarmalai. During both the expeditions, Mr. Madagadi K. Thangavelu, civil engineer, made the tracings direct from the stone, the accuracy of which owes much to his experience as a draughtsman. Mr. Alakkudi Arumugha Seetharaman, a young numismatist from Thanjavur, volunteered to be my Research Assistant and was in charge of the logistics during the second expedition.

Several more archaeologists of the TNSA joined the field work at sites falling within their territorial jurisdiction: Messrs. K. Arjunan, C. Chandiravanam, K. Kulandaivelan, S. Krishnamurthy, R. Poongundran, S. Selvaraj, N. Srinivasan, T. Subramanian, Mrs. A. Padmavathy and Mrs. R. Vasanthakalyani. Other archaeologists of the TNSA who helped the research project in various ways include Messrs. A. Abdul Majeed, K. Damodaran, P. Rajendran, Senthil Selvakumaran, K. Sridharan, Mrs. N. Marxia Gandhi and Mrs. S. Vasanthi. In Kerala, Profs. M.G.S. Narayanan,

M.R. Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal joined our team at Edakal and Ezhuttukallu. In Karnataka, Dr. B. Rajasekharappa, lecturer in Kannada, Chitradurga, took us to Tamatakallu, the northernmost site with an Early Vaṭṭeluttu inscription which he had discovered earlier.

I am especially grateful to Profs. K.V. Raman and P. Shanmugam of the University of Madras and Profs. Y. Subbarayalu, S. Raju and K. Rajan of the Tamil University for sharing with me their expertise in excavation, generously permitting me to study the pottery collections from Arikamedu and Kodumanal and making available photographs of pottery inscriptions.

I have interacted with a number of senior scholars and benefited from their suggestions and constructive criticism. Among them I must mention Prof. Gift Siromoney of the Madras Christian College and Dr. Vimala Begley, Iowa City, USA. It is my misfortune that neither of them is alive to see the completion of this work.

A number of well-wishers have helped in my research work in various ways over the years. The foremost among them is Dr. N. Mahalingam, a noted industrialist, philanthropist and Tamil scholar. In particular, I must mention his generous assistance during the second field expedition in making available vehicles, material for steel scaffolding and technical support. Mr. R. Krishnamurthy, Editor, *Dinamalar*, who has led the numismatic revolution in Tamil Nadu in recent years, has been a longtime colleague who generously permitted me to study his valuable collection of coins and has made available enlarged photographs of coins with Tamil-Brāhmī legends for my study. These have since been published in his *magnum opus*, *Sangam Age Tamil Coins* (1997). Dr. Kodumudi S. Shanmugam, Superintending Engineer and noted Tamil scholar, rendered assistance to our team in the field work and copying of inscriptions. Among those who evinced keen interest in the progress of the work and kept encouraging me, I must single out the names of Prof. R. Narasimhan, formerly of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR), Bombay, and Prof. R. Champakalashmi, formerly of the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. My sincere thanks are due to both of them.

I had to remain in Mysore for several months during 1995-96 for studying the original estampages and transcriptions in the Office of Director of Epigraphy. During this period, I stayed at Dhvanyaloka, the *āśrama* for seekers of knowledge established by Prof. C.D. Narasimhaiya. I can never forget the warm hospitality extended to me by Prof. and Mrs. Narasimhaiya during my stay with them.

Many of the photographs of pottery inscriptions and other inscribed objects (coins, seals and rings) have been taken by the Institut Français d' Indologie, Pondicherry, from the pottery collections housed in the Government Museum, Pondicherry, and from the numismatic collections of Mr. A. Seetharaman. I am beholden to Ms. Françoise L'Hernault of L'École Française d' Extrême-Orient and Mr. K. Rajaram, Curator of the Government Museum, Pondicherry, for their generous assistance. Photographs of pottery inscriptions were also made available by the ASI, New Delhi; TNSA, Chennai; Prof. Y. Subbarayalu, Tamil University; Profs. K. V. Raman and P. Shanmugam, University of Madras; Dr. P. Pushparatnam, Jaffna University, Sri Lanka; Prof. J.H. Johnson, American Research Centre in Egypt and Prof. S.E. Sidebotham, University of Delaware, USA.

Photographs of the silver portrait coins of the Satavahanas were made available by Mr. P.V. Radhakrishnan, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies (IIRNS), Nashik, and Miss. R. Vanaja, Keeper, National Museum, New Delhi. Photographs of inscribed objects were made available by the Government Museum and TNSA, Chennai; Profs. K.V. Raman, P. Shanmugam, Y. Subbarayalu and R. Thangamani; Dr. Chitra Viji, Mr. Sankaran Raman, Mr. A. Seetharaman and Mr. P.B. Venkataraman.

Photographs of the general views of hills and caves and close-up views of the cave inscriptions were taken by Mr. C.Santhalingam and Dr. V.Vedachalam (TNSA) and Mrs. Mangai Raghavan and Mr. C. Veeraraghavan of Viluppuram. Data for locating the sites on the two maps included in this volume were collected by Mr. K. Rajavelu (ASI) and Mrs. S. Vasanthi (TNSA). To all of them my sincere thanks are due. I am also grateful to Dr. C. Chandramouli IAS, Director of Census Operations, Tamil Nadu, and his colleagues for assistance in drawing the maps.

The palaeographic charts showing the evolution of Tamil-Brāhmī into Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu have been assembled by the computer from direct tracings to ensure fidelity to the originals. This was done at Sudarsan Graphics, Chennai. The palaeographic chart of the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu script of the Pulankurichi inscriptions is based on the inputs supplied by Dr. S. Rajagopal and Dr. V. Vedachalam (TNSA).

When the work on the book was nearing completion, I had the good fortune to come into contact with Prof. R. Kalyanakrishnan of the Department of Computer Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Chennai. He suggested, and arranged for, computer enhancement of direct colour photographs of important historical inscriptions of the Early Pāṇṭiyas at Mangulam, and of the Early Cēras at Pugalur. The faint inscriptions which defied decipherment for long can now be seen in legible reproductions. I wish this had happened earlier and more direct photographs processed by computer for enhanced clarity had been included in this volume. Perhaps this work would be taken up by other scholars in future.

I am grateful to the authorities of the U.Ve. Swaminathaiyar Library, Chennai, for permitting me to consult the invaluable collection of Tamil books and old manuscripts in the library and for assistance in locating the earliest attestation of inscriptional words occurring in literary works. I am beholden to the authorities of the Institute of Asian Studies, Chennai, for providing computer facilities for typesetting the first draft of the Corpus of Early Tamil Inscriptions included in this volume. I have drawn liberally on the resources of several other research institutions in Tamil Nadu to pursue my research. Among them are the International Institute of Tamil Studies, Dr. C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar Institute of Indological Research, Mozhi Trust and Roja Muthiah Research Library, Chennai, and Dr. Rajamanikkanar Centre for Historical Research, Tiruchirapalli.

I thank Mr. K. Selladurai, my part-time secretary, for undertaking the laborious and none too easy task of typesetting this voluminous work bristling with diacritical marks and conventional symbols.

## CREDITS FOR ILLUSTRATIONS

As I have mentioned in the Acknowledgements, several institutions and scholars have generously made available over the years a large number of photographs of estampages and inscribed objects for my study with permission to include them in this publication. However, due to constraint of space, I have been able to include only a much smaller number gratefully acknowledged below. The copyright for the illustrations is held by the concerned institutions and scholars whose permission will be necessary for any reproduction. Maps I and II, Palaeographic Charts (Nos. 1-8), Tracings of inscriptions (Figs. 8.1-8.54) and the drawings (Figs. 5.6, 5.10, 5.11, 5.15, 6.3 and 6.4) have been made by the author or with his collaboration and would require his permission for reproduction.

Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), New Delhi:

Ch.1: Figs. 1.7-1.10, 1.19B;

Ch.5: Figs. 5.1 and 5.4.

Centre d' Histoire et d' Archéologie, Pondicherry:

Ch.1: Fig. 1.19A (photograph of pottery in the Government Museum, Pondicherry, courtesy Mr. K. Rajaram); Figs. 1.22A, B & D; 1.23A, 1.24B & D (Photographs of inscribed objects, courtesy Mr. A. Seetharaman, Thanjavur).

Dr. Chitra Viji, Chennai:

Ch.4: Fig. 4.4.

Director of Census Operations, Tamil Nadu:

Ch.1: Maps I and II.

Director of Epigraphy (DE), ASI, Mysore:

Pls. 2-4, 7-13, 15A & B, 16B, 17-21, 23-25, 26B, 28-33, 34A & B, 35B, 36, 37 (Inscr. 80), 38, 40, 41 (Inscr. 87), 43, 44, 45A & B, 46A & B, 49, 50, 52 and 54.

Mr. Donald Davis, University of Wisconsin, USA:

Ch.1: Fig. 1.18.

F. Fawcett 1901:

Ch.1: Fig. 1.3 (Pl. VI, Fig. 1 in the source cited).

Government Museum, Chennai (through ASI):

Ch.5: Fig. 5.2.

E. Hultzsch:

Pl. 37 (Inscr. 81 & 82) (estampage No. 4 in Fawcett 1901).

Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies (IIRNS), Nashik

Ch.5: Fig. 5.9, No. 2 and 4.

Prof. K. Indrapala, University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka:

Ch.5: Fig. 5.14.

Prof. J.H. Johnson, American Research Centre in Egypt (through Prof. S.E. Sidebotham):

Ch.1: Fig. 1.21B.

Dr. R. Kalaikkovan, Rajamanikkanar Centre for Historical Research, Tiruchirapalli:

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Prof. R. Kalyanakrishnan, Department of Computer Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Chennai:

Computer-enhancement of photo prints in Pls. 1, 2, 27 and 53.

Mr. R. Krishnamurthy, Editor, *Dinamalar*, Chennai (Photograph of the coin in the collections of Baluswamy Jewellers, Karur):

Ch.1: Fig. 1.22E.

Prof. Michael Lockwood, Madras Christian College:

Ch.5: Fig. 5.16.

Prof. M.G.S. Narayanan, Chairman, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi:

Pl. 53.

*Credits for illustrations (contd.)*

National Museum, New Delhi:

Ch.5: Fig. 5.9, Nos. 1 and 3.

S. Parnavitana 1970:

Ch.5: Figs. 5.5, 5.7 and 5.8 (details respectively from No.504, Pl.LIV; No. 487(1), Pl.LII and No. 1161, Pl. CXXIV in the source cited).

Dr. P. Pushparatnam, University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka:

Ch.1: Fig. 1.21A.

Dr. S. Rajagopal, TNSA, Chennai:

Ch.1: Fig. 1.17;

Pls. 22A, 39, 41 (Inscr. 86), 47A & B.

Prof. K.V. Raman, University of Madras, Chennai:

Ch.1: Fig. 1.19C.

Mr. Sankaran Raman, Chennai:

Ch.1: Fig. 1.23C.

Mr. C. Santhalingam, TNSA, Madurai:

Pl. 35A.

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Ch.1: Figs. 1.22A-D, 1.23A & B,  
1.24 A, B & D.

Prof. P. Shanmugam, University of Madras, Chennai:

Ch.1: Fig.1.24E.

Prof. S.E. Sidebotham, University of Delaware, USA:

Ch.1: Fig.1.21C.

C.Sivaramamurti 1952:

Ch.6: Fig.6.1 (Fig.67, p.156 in the source cited).

Prof. Y. Subbarayalu, Tamil University, Thanjavur:

Ch.1: Fig. 1.20A; Ch.5: Figs. 5.3, 5.12 & 5.13.

T.N. Subramanian 1957:

Ch.6: Fig. 6.2 (after Fig. 5, p.1508 in the source cited).

Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology (TNSA):

Ch.1: Figs. 1.1, 1.5, 1.11, 1.13, 1.14, 1.20B & C, 1.23D; Ch.2: Fig. 2.1;

Ch.4: Fig. 4.3; Pls. 26A, 42.

Prof. M. R. Thangamani, Karur:

Ch.1: Fig. 1.23E.

Mr. Madagadi K. Thangavelu, Civil Engineer, Dharapuram:

Tracings of inscriptions (Figs. 8.1-8.54) made in collaboration with the author.

Mr. K.S. Vaidyanathan, Coimbatore:

Ch.1: Fig. 1.25.

Dr. V. Vedachalam, TNSA, Madurai:

Ch.1: Figs. 1.2, 1.4, 1.6, 1.12, 1.16 and 1.24C;

Ch.2: Fig. 2.2; Ch.4: Figs. 4.1 and 4.2; Pls. 1, 5 & 6, 14, 16A, 22B, 27, 48 and 51.

Mr. P.B. Venkataraman, Kadathur:

Ch.1: Fig.1.23 B (film negative).

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**PART THREE**

**CORPUS OF EARLY TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS  
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTIONS**

Site No.	Site	Inscr. No.	Corpus Page	Commentary Page
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**Early Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions (1-59)**

(ca.2nd century B.C.-1st century A.D.)

	Introduction		309	541
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III	Tiruvadavur 1-2	8-9	327	552
IV	Kilavalavu	10	331	554
V	Kongarpuliyankulam 1-3	11-13	333	555
VI	Marukattalai	14	337	558
VII	Varichiyur 1-3	15-17	339	559
VIII	Vikkiramangalam 1-6	18-23	343	560
IX	Mettuppatti 1-10	24-33	351	563
X	Karungalakkudi	34	365	567
XI	Mudalaikulam	35	367	568
XII	Alagarmalai 1-13	36-48	369	569
XIII	Sittannavasal-A	49	385	577
XIV	Aiyarmalai	50	387	580
XV	Tirumalai 1-2	51-52	388	581
XVI	Tirupparankunram 1-3	53-55	391	583
XVII	Muttuppatti 1-3	56-58	395	586
XVIII	Jambai	59	399	588

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Site No.	Site	Inscr. No.	Corpus Page	Commentary Page
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**Late Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions (60-89)**

(ca. 2nd-4th centuries A.D. )

XIX	Anaimalai	60	403	591
XX	Pugalur 1-12	61-72	405	592
XXI	Mamandur	73	423	604
XXII	Kunnakkudi 1-2	74-75	425	606
XXIII	Tondur	76	427	606
XXIV	Kudumiyamalai	77	429	608
XXV	Tiruchirapalli-A	78	430	608
XXVI	Edakal-A 1-4	79-82	431	608
XXVII	Nekanurpatti	83	437	611
XXVIII	Ammankoyilpatti	84	439	613
XXIX	Arachalur 1-3	85-87	441	616
XXX	Mannarkoil 1-2	88-89	445	618

**Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Inscriptions (101-121)**

(ca. 5th and 6th centuries A.D.)

XXXI	Sittannavasal-B 1-7	101-107	451	621
XXXII	Tiruchirapalli-B 1-3	108-110	461	623
XXXIII	Perumukkal	111	465	624
XXXIV	Arasalapuram	112	467	624
XXXV	Indalur	113	468	626
XXXVI	Erettimalai	114	469	627
XXXVII	Paraiyanpattu	115	471	628
XXXVIII	Tirunatharkunru	116	473	633
XXXIX	Pillaiyarpatti	117	475	634
XL	Edakal-B 1-2	118-119	477	635
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Note: There are no tracings for Inscr. Nos. 71, 78, 81-82 and 120. See section 2.17.1.

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5	Arittapatti (Pt.)	<i>7 (Pt.)</i>	488	32	Pugalur 10 & 12	<i>70 &amp; 72</i>	515
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9	Kongarpuliyankulam 1-3	<i>11-13</i>	492	35A	Kudumiyamalai	<i>77</i>	518
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14	Mettuppatti 1-6	<i>24-29</i>	497	39	Ammankoyilpatti	<i>84</i>	522
15A	Mettuppatti 7-10	<i>30-33</i>	498	40	Arachalur 1	<i>85</i>	523
15B	Karungalakkudi	<i>34</i>	498	41	Arachalur 2-3	<i>86-87</i>	524
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25	Muttuppatti 1-3	<i>56-58</i>	508	50	Tirunatharkunru	<i>116</i>	533
26A	Jambai	<i>59</i>	509	51	Pillaiyarpatti	<i>117</i>	534
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Notes: 1. Pl. Nos. 1, 27 & 53 are computer-enhanced direct photographs of the inscriptions.

2. There are no estampages for Inscr. Nos. 71, 75, 107 and 108. See section 2.17.2.

## ABBREVIATIONS

## Bibliographical: Tamil literary works (in Tamil alphabetical order)

<i>Aka.</i>	<i>Akanāṇūru</i>	<i>Narr.</i>	<i>Naṟṟiṇai</i>
<i>Apitāṇa.</i>	<i>Apitāṇa Maṇimālai</i>	<i>Naṇṇ.</i>	<i>Naṇṇūl</i>
<i>Aruṅkala.</i>	<i>Aruṅkalacceppu</i>	<i>Nāka.</i>	<i>Nākakumāra Kāviyam</i>
<i>Aṇaṇṇi.</i>	<i>Aṇaṇṇiccāram</i>	<i>Nālaṭi.</i>	<i>Nālaṭiyār</i>
<i>Āciriya.</i>	<i>Āciriya Nikaṇṭu</i>	<i>Nālāyira.</i>	<i>Nālāyira Tivviyappirapantam</i>
<i>Iraku.</i>	<i>Irakuvammicam</i>	<i>Nīla.</i>	<i>Nīlakēci</i>
<i>Irāma.</i>	<i>Irāmanāṭakakkīrttaṇai</i>	<i>Nīli.</i>	<i>Nīli Yatacakāṇam</i>
<i>Iṟai.</i>	<i>Iṟaiyaṇār Akapporuḷ Urai</i>	<i>Paṭṭiṇa.</i>	<i>Paṭṭiṇappālai</i>
<i>Iṇiya.</i>	<i>Iṇiyavai Nāṟpatu</i>	<i>Paṭiṟ.</i>	<i>Paṭiṟruppattu</i>
<i>Ēlāti</i>	<i>Ēlāti</i>	<i>Pari.</i>	<i>Paripāṭal</i>
<i>Aiṅk.</i>	<i>Aiṅkuṟunūru</i>	<i>Paḷa.</i>	<i>Paḷamoḷi Nāṇūru</i>
<i>Kampa.</i>	<i>Kamparāmāyaṇam</i>	<i>Piṅkala.</i>	<i>Piṅkala Nikaṇṭu</i>
<i>Kayā.</i>	<i>Kayātara Nikaṇṭu</i>	<i>Puṟa.</i>	<i>Puṟanāṇūru</i>
<i>Kallāṭam</i>	<i>Kallāṭam</i>	<i>Puṟapporuḷ.</i>	<i>Puṟapporuḷ Venpāmālai</i>
<i>Kali.</i>	<i>Kalittokai</i>	<i>Periya.</i>	<i>Periyapurāṇam</i>
<i>Kuṟaḷ</i>	<i>Tirukkuṟaḷ</i>	<i>Peruṇ.</i>	<i>Peruṅkatai</i>
<i>Kuṟun.</i>	<i>Kuṟuntokai</i>	<i>Perumpāṇ.</i>	<i>Perumpāṇāṟruppaṭai</i>
<i>Kōṇēri. Upatēca.</i>	<i>Upatēcakkāṇṭam</i> (by Kōṇēriyappa Nāvalar)	<i>Maṇi.</i>	<i>Maṇimēkalai</i>
<i>Cilap.</i>	<i>Cilappatikāram</i>	<i>Matu.</i>	<i>Maturaikkāñci</i>
<i>Ciṟupāṇ.</i>	<i>Ciṟupāṇāṟruppaṭai</i>	<i>Malai.</i>	<i>Malaipaṭukaṭam</i>
<i>Cīvaka.</i>	<i>Cīvakacintāmaṇi</i>	<i>Mullai.</i>	<i>Mullaippāṭṭu</i>
<i>Cūṭā.</i>	<i>Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu</i>	<i>Yacōtara.</i>	<i>Yacōtara Kāviyam</i>
<i>Cūḷā.</i>	<i>Cūḷāmaṇi</i>	<i>Yāpp. Virutti</i>	<i>Yāpparuṅkala Virutti</i>
<i>Ñāṇa. Upatēca.</i>	<i>Upatēcakkāṇṭam</i> (by Ñāṇavarōṭayar)	<i>Vacca.</i>	<i>Vaccaṇantimālai</i>
<i>Tiruman.</i>	<i>Tirumantiram</i>	<i>Vāla. Koṅkumaṇṭala.</i>	<i>Koṅkumaṇṭala Catakam</i> (by Vālacuntarakkaviṇar)
<i>Tiruvā.</i>	<i>Tiruvācakam</i>	<i>Villi.</i>	<i>Villi Pāratam</i>
<i>Tiru. ulā</i>	<i>Tiruvārūr Ulā</i>	<i>Vivēka.</i>	<i>Vivēkacintāmaṇi</i>
<i>Tivā.</i>	<i>Cēntaṇ Tivākaram Nikaṇṭu</i>	<b>comm.</b>	<b>commentary:</b>
<i>Tēvā.</i>	<i>Tēvāram</i>	<i>Iḷam.</i>	<i>Iḷampūraṇar</i>
<i>Tol.</i>	<i>Tolkāppiyam</i>	<i>Caṅkara.</i>	<i>Caṅkaranamaccivāyar</i>
<i>(Eḷu., Col., Poruḷ.)</i>	<i>(Eḷuttatikāram, Cōllatikāram, Poruḷatikāram)</i>	<i>Cēṇā.</i>	<i>Cēṇavaraiyar</i>
		<i>Nacc.</i>	<i>Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar</i>
		<i>Mayilai.</i>	<i>Mayilainātar</i>

**Abbreviations (contd.)****Bibliographical: secondary sources and reference works**

<b>AMD</b>	<i>An Illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary</i>
<b>ARE</b>	<i>Annual Reports on Epigraphy</i> (published by the ASI)
<b>Bhārhut Inscrs.</b>	<i>Brāhmī Inscriptions from Bhārhut</i> (CII. II, Part II)
<b>CII</b>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
<b>CIPK</b>	<i>Caṅka Ilakkiya Poruṭ Kaḷaṅciyam</i>
<b>CNR</b>	C. Narayana Rao 1938-39
<b>D.</b>	Prefixed to entries cited from <i>DEDR</i>
<b>DEDR</b>	<i>A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary</i> (second edition)
<b>DPL</b>	<i>A Dictionary of the Pāli Language</i>
<b>EI</b>	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
<b>Epi. Car.</b>	<i>Epigraphia Carnatica</i>
<b>HKS</b>	H. Krishna Sastri 1919
<b>HTS</b>	<i>History of Tamil Nadu: Sangam Age (Political)</i>
<b>IAR</b>	<i>Indian Archaeology: A Review</i>
<b>IM</b>	I. Mahadevan 1968 ( <i>Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966</i> )
<b>Ind. Epi. Gl.</b>	<i>Indian Epigraphical Glossary</i>
<b>IPS</b>	<i>Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State</i>
<b>IPS(E)</b>	<i>Inscriptions in the Pudukkottai State</i> (translated into English)
<b>JESI</b>	<i>Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India</i>
<b>Kittel</b>	<i>A Kannada-English Dictionary</i> (ed. F. Kittel)
<b>KVS</b>	K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1919
<b>KZ</b>	Kamil Zvelebil 1964 (1966)
<b>Lüders List</b>	A List of Brāhmī inscriptions from the earliest times to about A.D. 400 with the exception of those of Asoka (Appendix to <i>EI</i> . X).
<b>Malala.</b>	<i>A Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names</i> (ed. G.P. Malalasekara)
<b>MSV</b>	Mayilai Seenī Venkataswamy 1981
<b>MW</b>	<i>A Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> (ed. Monier Williams)
<b>Pallava Inscrs.</b>	<i>Inscriptions of the Pallavas</i>
<b>Pallavar Ceppēṭukaḷ</b>	<i>Pallavar Ceppēṭukaḷ muppatu</i>
<b>Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ</b>	<i>Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ pattu</i>
<b>PED</b>	<i>A Pāli-English Dictionary</i> (Pāli Text Society)
<b>Peru. Aka.</b>	<i>Peruñcol Akarāṭi</i>

**Abbreviations (contd.)****Secondary sources and Reference works (contd.)**

<i>PSM</i>	<i>Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo</i> (A Comprehensive Prakrit-Hindi Dictionary)
Pulankurichi Inscrs.	Y. Subbarayalu and M.R. Raghava Varier 1991.
RN	R. Nagaswamy 1972 d.
RPS	R. Panneerselvam 1967
<i>SII</i>	<i>South Indian Inscriptions</i>
<i>SITI</i>	<i>South Indian Temple Inscriptions</i>
<i>Taṛ.Ta.Aka.</i>	<i>Kriyāviṇ Taṛkāla Tamil Akarāti</i>
<i>TAS</i>	<i>Travancore Archaeological Series</i>
<i>TL</i>	<i>Tamil Lexicon</i>
TVM	T.V.Mahalingam 1967

**Languages**

AMg.	Ardhamāgadhi
Dr.	Dravidian
Go.	Gondi
IA	Indo-Aryan
Ka.	Kannada
LT	Literary Tamil
Ma.	Malayalam
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
Pāli	
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Sinh.	Sinhala
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
To.	Toda
Tu.	Tulu

**Grammatical**

adj.	adjective
C	consonant
CV	syllable (consonant + vowel)
fem.	feminine
intj.	interjection
masc.	masculine
N.	Personal name
n.	noun

**Grammatical (contd.)**

num.	numerical
obl.	oblique
P.	Place name
pl.	plural
PNG	person-number-gender
pron.	pronoun, pronominal
sing.	singular
SOV	subject-object-verb
V	vowel
v.	verb

**Epigraphical**

inscr(s).	inscription(s)
L.	Line
Ta.Br.	Tamil-Brāhmī
TB I-III	Tamil-Brāhmī orthographic systems (see sections 6.4-6.10).

**General**

ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
DE	Office of the Director of Epigraphy, ASI, Mysore
KSP	Kannada Sahitya Parishat
PILC	Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture
TNSA	Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology

## SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION AND DIACRITICAL MARKS

**Tamil**

Vowels : *a ā i ī u ū e ē ai o ō au ḥ*

Consonants : *k ṇ c ṇ ṭ ṇ t n p m y r l v ḷ ḷ ḷ ḷ ḷ ḷ*

**Sanskrit**

Vowels : *a ā i ī u ū ṛi ē ai ō au ṁ ḥ*

Consonants : *k kh g gh ṇ c ch j jh ṇ ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ  
t th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l v ś sh s h*

**Notes on transliteration**

1. These are the two basic schemes of transliteration for the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages. See also Palaeographic Charts 1 (Brāhmī) and 2 (Tamil-Brāhmī).
2. The Brāhmī letters *dh* and *s* which occur marginally in Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are represented by **ḍ** (bold) and **ṣ** respectively in transcription of the texts in the Tamil script.
3. The rare Asokan Brāhmī *ḍ* is referred to in the discussion on the origin of *ḷ* (see also Palaeographic Chart 3).
4. Diacritical marks are not added to modern place names and Indian words commonly used in English.
5. Capital letters are not used in transliterated words printed in italics except for bibliographical references.

**Note on nomenclature of scripts**

See section 5.1 for the nomenclature of Brāhmī and related scripts as adopted in this work.

## TABLE OF CONVENTIONAL SYMBOLS

- [ ] Letters read doubtfully.
- [\*] Letters not in the original; restored or supplied by the author.
- [|\*] A full stop not in the original; added by the author.
- | Line divider occurring in the original.
- \$ Represents a symbol in the original (see Fig. 5.11 for illustrations).
- . . . Three dots indicate a lost passage with one or more letters.
- ( ) (i) A letter not in the original added when the inscriptional words from the Corpus are cited elsewhere.  
(ii) Words added by way of elucidation (in translation).
- (?) Meaning or interpretation of the preceding word is uncertain.
- = Used to separate external sandhi.
- The hyphen is used
- (i) before a full vowel in medial position (e.g., *kuv-aṇ*);
  - (ii) to separate the paragogic suffixes *i*, *iy*, *y* and *y-i* from the stems (e.g., *siri-y-i*);
  - (iii) to separate a doubled consonant or a glide before external sandhi (e.g., *cel-l=irumporai*, *kō-v=ātāṇ*);
  - (iv) to separate segments of some compounds (e.g., *poṇ-vāṇikaṇ*);
  - (v) to indicate an incomplete word at the end of a line.
- The hyphen is not used in transcription of the texts in the Tamil script.
- \* Indicates a reconstructed linguistic form or one which is not attested.
- < Derived from
- > Becomes, changes into.

## Notes on Reference Numbers

1. Reference Numbers for inscriptions (in bold italics) follow the order of inscriptions in the Corpus. Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are numbered **1-89** and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions **101-121** for ready recognition. For further details, see Introduction to the Corpus.
2. Reference Numbers for inscriptional words follow the order of headwords in the Commentary. Each word is allotted a Reference Number comprising the inscription number and the word number separated by a dot. Minimal lexical segments of inscriptional words are indicated by alphabetical suffixes a, b, c, etc., for further analysis. (E.g.) **poṇ-vāṇikaṇ** (69.2) has two segments, **poṇ** (69.2.a) and **vāṇikaṇ** (69.2.b). For further details, see Introduction to the Commentary.



**PART ONE**  
**EARLY TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS**

1. Discovery
2. Decipherment
3. Language
4. Polity



# 1

## DISCOVERY

Discoveries of note are not of daily occurrence. Nor is the importance of such cognizable at first sight. In the field of research, where one has almost literally to grope in darkness feeling every step he takes, one cannot hit at the true worth of the finds before bestowing sufficient time, labour and thought, which they necessarily demand, not only of one, but of many heads.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 Introduction

Until the commencement of the 20th century the earliest known inscriptions in Tamil were those of the Pallavas in the Tamil script from the 7th century and those of the Pāṇṭiyas in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script from the 8th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> The existence of two scripts for the language was a puzzle, though their ultimate descent from the Brāhmī script could be inferred by comparative studies.<sup>3</sup> Even more puzzling was the complete absence of earlier written records in Tamil, even though the earliest literary works pictured a great civilisation going back at least two thousand years.<sup>4</sup> These puzzles were resolved only when the cave inscriptions in Tamil in a script closely resembling that of the Asokan edicts were discovered in the southern districts of Tamil Nadu around the turn of the 20th century.

Subrahmanya Aiyer's classic paper of 1924, which laid the foundation for what we now call Tamil-Brāhmī epigraphy, begins with a survey of the cave inscriptions discovered up to that time.<sup>5</sup> His listing, though in chronological order, begins not with the earliest discoveries at Mangulam (1882) or Edakal (1894) or even Kilavalavu (1903) by one of his colleagues, but with Marukaltalai (1906), the fourth of the caves to be discovered with similar inscriptions, apparently because this was the first site where the script was recognised as Brāhmī closely resembling the Asokan alphabet. With the benefit of hindsight, we can now make a chronological survey of the discoveries of the cave inscriptions from the beginning and up to the end of the 20th century. The uneven course of discoveries, sometimes coming up fast with heightened excitement and at other times slowing down with waning interest, may be studied in five stages.

1. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: p. 275.
2. T.N. Subramanian 1938 (1996 reprint): p. 19; 1957: p. 1505.
3. T.A. Gopinatha Rao 1908, *TAS. I* (1988 reprint): pp. 299-344, 395-431. T.N. Subramanian 1938 (1996 reprint): Tables. C. Sivaramamurti 1952: charts.
4. The editions of U.Ve. Swaminathaiyar of the earliest Tamil literary works of the Caṅkam Age began to appear from 1887. The historical data contained in works like *Puṇanāṇūru* (1894) and *Paṭiṟruppattu* (1904) opened up a new world and led to a radical reassessment of the antiquity and historicity of early Tamil civilisation.
5. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: pp. 275-278.

- (1) Earliest discoveries (1882-1903).
- (2) A flood of discoveries (1906-1918).
- (3) Waning interest and random discoveries (1926-1952).
- (4) Revival of interest: fresh copying of inscriptions (1961-80).
- (5) Recent discoveries (1981-2000).

I have discussed the more important discoveries in each period in somewhat greater detail, bringing up the story to the present, anticipating the process of decipherment dealt with in the next chapter. As the Corpus of inscriptions, which forms the core of the present study, includes some Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions in order to link Tamil-Brāhmī with the later script, I have added some particulars of the discovery and significance of these inscriptions grouping them thematically.

While the present study is confined to inscriptions on stone, it is also necessary to have some idea of the contemporary Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions on pottery and other inscribed objects like coins, seals and rings in order to have a more complete picture of early Tamil society. These inscriptions are briefly described in the Annexure to this chapter.

## 1.2 Earliest discoveries (1882-1903)

### 1.2.1 Mangulam: Pāṇṭiya inscriptions of the Caṅkam Age

The cave inscriptions at Mangulam near Madurai were first noticed in 1882 by Robert Sewell who recorded the following observation about the site:

Mauncolum [Mangulam]: 12 miles north-east of Madura [Madurai] and 6 miles west of Melur. A mile east of the village is a small hill called Karugumalai [Kalugumalai] in which is a cave with inscriptions. There is also a rock which the natives call *Pañchapāṇḍavar paḍukkai* or the beds of the Five Pāṇḍavas.<sup>1</sup>

The stone beds on the Kalugumalai hill at Mangulam were also noticed by Francis<sup>2</sup> in 1906. The cave inscriptions at this site were rediscovered by Subrahmanya Aiyer<sup>3</sup> in the same year.

#### (i) Confusion over the name of the site

While Sewell and Francis had recorded that the Kalugumalai hill is in the Mangulam village, the next report in *ARE* 1906-07 stated that the hill belonged "partly to Arittapatti and partly to Mangulam". However, according to Krishna Sastri, the cave inscriptions are "nearly 3 to 4 miles away from the [Arittapatti] village and belong properly to a smaller village named Mangulam".<sup>4</sup> In spite of such clear documentation, the site was inexplicably called 'Arittapatti' in *ARE* 1906-07 and the subsequent Annual Reports and this name was adopted by Krishna Sastri<sup>5</sup> himself and by

1. R. Sewell 1882: vol.I, p. 294.
2. W. Francis 1906: vol. I, p. 278.
3. *ARE* 1906-07: paragraph 3. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: p. 276.
4. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: p. 336.
5. Ibid.

Subrahmanya Aiyer <sup>1</sup> and others <sup>2</sup> following their lead. It was only in 1966 that the original name Mangulam was restored to the site.<sup>3</sup> By this time however, the eastern hamlet of Mangulam called Meenakshipuram had become a separate revenue village and the name of the site was again changed adding to the confusion.<sup>4</sup> Considering the long association of Mangulam with the now famous cave inscriptions at this site, the name has been retained in this study.<sup>5</sup> Incidentally, another cave with a Tamil-Brāhmī inscription has been discovered recently at Arittapatti itself.<sup>6</sup>

(ii) *Mix-up of estampages*

There are four caves on the Kalugumalai hill (Fig. 1.1), three of them at a higher level spread from south to north, and the fourth one at a lower level. The inscriptions in the upper caves are engraved on the brow of the boulders, and the one in the lower cave on its rear wall. The upper southern cave called the 'kitchen' has the longest inscription (*ARE* 465/06) of the site. The upper middle cave called the *paḷḷi-k-kūṭam* 'school' has two short inscriptions (461 & 462). The upper northern cave has a long inscription engraved in two segments (463-464) with only a small gap in between. The lower cave has another long inscription (460).<sup>7</sup>

Krishna Sastri mixed up the estampages from two different caves in his readings, interposing the two short inscriptions (461 & 462) in between the two segments of the longer inscription (463-464).<sup>8</sup> Subrahmanya Aiyer also followed this scrambled order in his readings.<sup>9</sup> Not surprisingly, neither reading makes much sense. Other epigraphists, relying on the earlier readings without visiting the caves themselves, have made the same mistake.<sup>10</sup> It was only in 1966 that the correct order of reading was restored on the basis of my study of the inscriptions *in situ*.<sup>11</sup>

1. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: p. 289.
2. E.g., T.V. Mahalingam 1967: p. 201.
3. I. Mahadevan, *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966* (1968): Nos. 1-6.
4. The new name Meenakshipuram for the site was first proposed in R. Nagaswamy 1972d: p. 49.
5. In ancient times, the Kalugumalai hill was most probably included in the village of Vellārai mentioned in two of the cave inscriptions on this hill (*ARE* 462 and 463-464 / 1906 = Nos. 6 and 3 respectively. Numbers in bold italics refer to the inscriptions in the Corpus in this vol.) The place may be identified as the village of Vellari-p-paṭṭi to the south of the hill (V. Vedachalam, personal communication).
6. K.V. Raman and Y. Subbarayalu 1971: pp. 229-232. The inscription is included as No. 7 in the present Corpus.
7. The following is the correspondence between the serial numbers of the inscriptions of 1906 in *ARE* 1906-07 and those in the present Corpus: 460 = No. 2; 461 = No. 5; 462 = No. 6; 463-464 = No. 3; 465 = No. 1. Estampages of only three inscriptions (460, 462 and the first segment of 463-464) have been published in *ARE* 1917-18: Pl. facing p. 6. Another inscription has been discovered more recently in the upper southern cave (*ARE* B.242 / 1963-64 = No. 4).
8. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: No. IV B to E at p. 338.
9. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: No. IV A to C at p. 292.
10. E.g., T.V. Mahalingam 1967: pp. 201-211.
11. *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966* (1968): Nos. 3, 5 and 6 corresponding to the same serial numbers in the present Corpus.

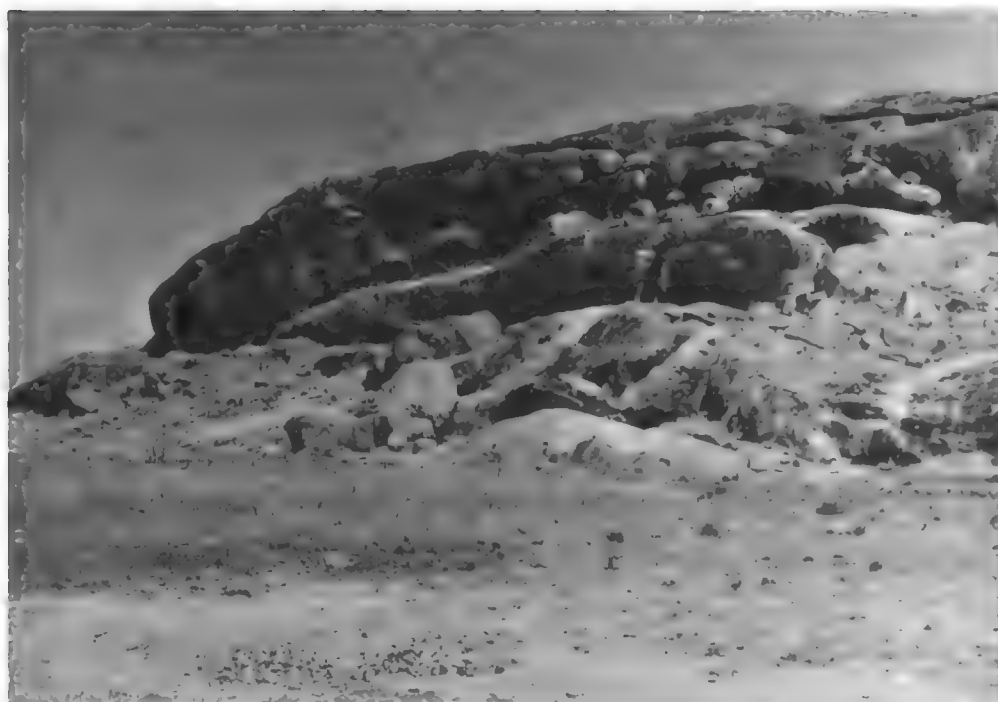


Figure 1.1. Mangulam: general view of the Kalugumalai hill.

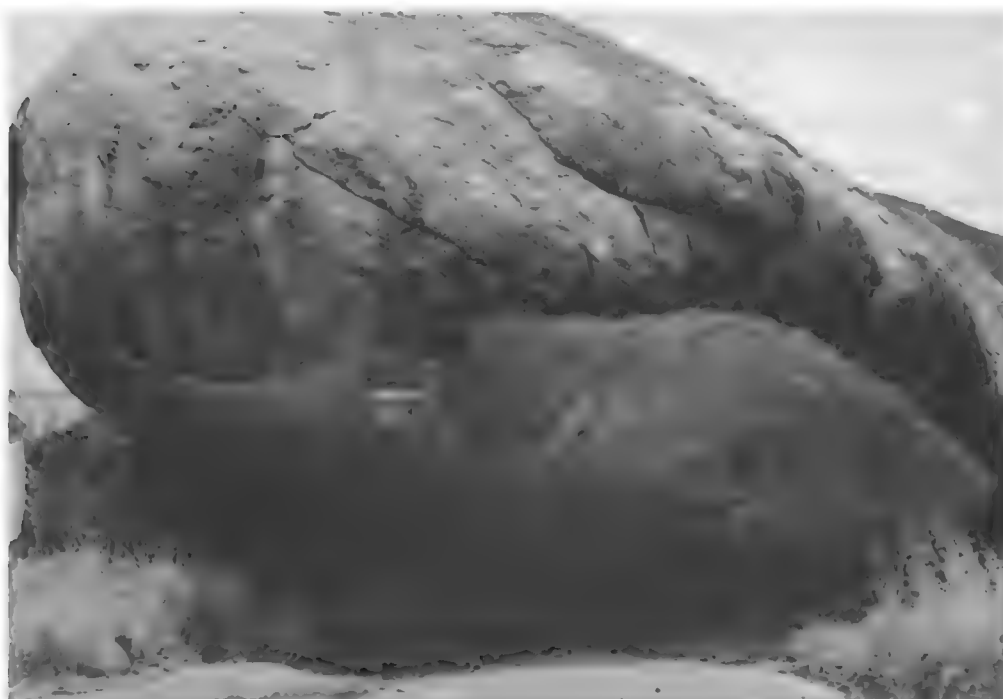


Figure 1.2. Mangulam: cave with the 'forgotten' inscription of Neṭuñceliyan.

(iii) *The 'forgotten' inscription of Mangulam*

The longest inscription at Mangulam,<sup>1</sup> which also happens to be the earliest and historically one of the most significant of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, was totally forgotten after its rediscovery in 1906 and was not heard of again for the next sixty years and its estampage has never been published.<sup>2</sup>

I visited the Mangulam caves for the first time in November 1965. The bright winter sun had lit up the facade of the upper southern cave (Fig. 1.2) and the long one-line inscription on the brow of the boulder caught my eye. It was weather-worn and looked more like bruising on the rock than engraving, but was otherwise undamaged. The bold and legible letters were clearly visible to the naked eye. As I spelled out *ne-tu-ñ-ca-li-ya-ṇ* (*neṭuñceliyaṇ*) and *va-lu-t-ti-y* (*vaḷuti*), I realised with astonishment that I was indeed looking at an inscription of a Pāṇṭiya king of the Caṅkam Age not reported earlier. However, I found out later that I had only rediscovered the long-forgotten inscription of Mangulam, which had till then existed only as a catalogue number (ARE 465/1906).<sup>3</sup>

During the same visit, I discovered that the name *neṭiñcaliyaṇ* (*neṭuñceliyaṇ*) also occurs in the long inscription<sup>4</sup> in the lower cave at the site. It is strange but true that the incorrect reading of a single letter (*li*) as *tti* by Krishna Sastri<sup>5</sup> and as *ri* by Subrahmanya Aiyer<sup>6</sup> resulted in their failure to recognise the famous name and the historical significance of the record. Both inscriptions, illustrated with tracings directly made from the stone, were published by me in 1966.<sup>7</sup>

The two cave inscriptions of *Neṭuñceliyaṇ* at Mangulam are the oldest historical records in Tamil discovered so far.<sup>8</sup> Their archaic linguistic and palaeographic features indicate a date around the 2nd century B.C. The inscriptions record the gift of a monastery to Nanta-siri Kuvāṇ, a senior Jaina monk. These are the earliest known Jaina inscriptions of South India and among the oldest of the kind in the country.

1. ARE 465/1906 = No. 1.

2. See Fig. 8.1 (direct tracing) and Pl. 1 (computer-enhanced print from direct colour photographs) of the inscription. See also sections 2.11 and 2.17 on copying of the cave inscriptions.

3. In May 1966, I called on the veteran epigraphist, K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, to apprise him of my findings at Mangulam and Pugalur and seek his blessings. In the course of our discussion that day, I asked him about the 'forgotten' inscription at Mangulam. He recalled that when he visited the site in August 1906, there was a large beehive on the brow of the cave very near the inscription, which made it hazardous to take a closer look or make copies. As the estampage made available later was too illegible, the study was not pursued further.

4. ARE 460/1906 = No. 2. See also Fig. 8.2 (tracing) and Pl. 2 (computer-enhanced print from an estampage).

5. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: pp. 337-338.

6. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: pp. 289-292.

7. *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966* (1968): Nos. 1 & 2 = Nos. 1 & 2.

8. In the course of three lectures in the Seminar on Archaeology at Madurai University (I. Mahadevan 1970a: pp. 12-13), I referred to these two inscriptions. T.P. Meenakshisundaran, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, proposed that an expedition be organised the very next day to see the inscriptions at Mangulam, hardly an hour's drive from the city. The expedition was led by R. Nagaswamy, Director of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, and included, besides myself, many archaeologists, epigraphists and linguists who were participating in the Seminar. The expedition proved to be a success as both the inscriptions were clearly visible and could be read without difficulty.

### 1.2.2 Edakal: Cēra inscriptions of the Caṅkam Age

Edakal hill, about 6 km. south-west of Sultan's Battery (Sultan Batheri) in Wynad District, Kerala, is near the junction of the present states of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. The hill is about 1500 ft. above the local ground level and 4000 ft. above the mean sea level. On the western slope of the hill near the summit is a large cave whose walls are covered with prehistoric carvings, among which a few inscriptions of later times are found (Fig. 1.3).

The cave was discovered in 1894 by Fawcett, the Superintendent of Police, Malabar District. He visited the cave several times more in the next two years and made careful drawings and took photographs of the rock carvings and inscriptions. He transmitted the photographs to Hultzs, the Government Epigraphist, for his comments on the inscriptions. Hultzs made immediate arrangements for taking estampages of the inscriptions and published a brief note (without illustrations) on the discovery.<sup>1</sup> He also forwarded the estampages with his detailed comments on the inscriptions to Fawcett who incorporated them along with his own drawings and photographs in the paper published by him in 1901.<sup>2</sup> Hultzs identified four inscriptions at Edakal as in "cave characters" (the older name for the Southern Brāhmī script).<sup>3</sup> He read two of them, one each in Sanskrit<sup>4</sup> and Tamil,<sup>5</sup> and assigned them to about the end of the 5th century A.D. He declared that the other two inscriptions<sup>6</sup> were "unintelligible" to him, but "decidedly archaic".

#### (i) *Inscriptions neglected and lost*

One would have expected that the announcement by Hultzs of the discovery of inscriptions in 'cave characters' not known till then to occur in the Tamil country (including the Kerala region) would have aroused the curiosity of other investigators to examine the unread inscriptions. What happened thereafter is an incredible story of long neglect and the eventual loss of the two earliest inscriptions at Edakal.<sup>7</sup> During the next century, that is, between 1897 when Hultzs had the estampages taken and 1995-96 when our team visited Edakal, there is no record of any attempt to read the inscriptions. In course of time, the inscriptions fell into total oblivion as there is virtually no mention of them in any later epigraphical publications.<sup>8</sup>

1. Madras Government Orders Nos. 1062 & 1063, Public, dated 10th August 1897, paragraph 14; Nos. 120-123/ 1897 (in ARE 1896-97). Cf. one-volume reprint of ARE 1887-1905 (1986).
2. F. Fawcett 1901(reprint 1985): pp. 409-421. See also Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier 1999: pp. 85-95, 191-197.
3. ARE 120-123/1897 corresponding to estampages 1-4 in Fawcett 1901 (Pl. facing p. 412). No. 120 is a Sanskrit inscription not included in the present study. Nos. 121 & 122 corresponding to Nos. 118 & 119 are Tamil inscriptions in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu script. No. 123 is actually a pair of short inscriptions engraved in one line, but separated by a natural cleft in the rock. They are included as Nos. 81 & 82.
4. ARE 120/1897.
5. ARE 121/1897.
6. ARE 122 & 123/1897.
7. ARE 123/1897.
8. The only exceptions are: *SII*. VI (1928): Nos. 74-77 = ARE 120-123/1897 without the texts. The Sanskrit inscription at Edakal as read by Hultzs was republished in the *Corpus of the Kadamba Inscriptions*. No. 50.

The rediscovery of the Edakal cave inscriptions came about accidentally. I was attending a seminar on epigraphy held in March 1995 in the University of Kerala at Thiruvananthapuram. There I saw exhibited enlarged photographs of Hultzsch's 1897 estampages of the Edakal inscriptions (taken from the 1985 reprint of *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXX). None of the epigraphists from Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu who were participating in the seminar had heard of these inscriptions. The photographs clearly showed that two of the inscriptions were in the Tamil-Brāhmī script of ca. 3rd century A.D. Both commence with the Tamil word *kō* 'king, chieftain' and one of them ends with the alveolar *ṇ* available only in Tamil-Brāhmī.<sup>1</sup>

The unexpected discovery of the occurrence of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions in Kerala led to organising an expedition to the Edakal cave in October 1995 and again in February 1996.<sup>2</sup> During our first visit to the cave, we copied the Sanskrit inscription and the two Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions, all deeply engraved on the south rock wall of the cave and still in an excellent state of preservation. But in spite of intensive search we could not locate the pair of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions reported to be engraved on the north rock wall of the cave. We had to discontinue the search as it was getting late and we had to reach the plains before darkness fell. A second visit was organised by the team in February 1996 and this time, we were equipped with exact measurements based on Fawcett's photographs of 1894-96. We were able to locate the spot<sup>3</sup> where the inscriptions ought to have been, but found, to our dismay, that they had been totally obliterated by the mindless vandalism of tourists who had incised their names over them on the soft rock.<sup>4</sup> At present, the only source for these two inscriptions is the excellent reproduction of Hultzsch's 1897 estampage in Fawcett 1901.<sup>5</sup>

#### (ii) *New discoveries at Edakal*

The proverbial silver lining in the dark cloud appeared in the form of the discovery, as a result of our intensive search in February 1996, of two more Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions<sup>6</sup> on the north rock wall of the cave, which had earlier escaped the attention of Fawcett. All the four short Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions appear to be contemporary and may be assigned to ca. 3rd century A.D. on palaeographic grounds. The occurrence of the expression *kaṭummiputa cēra* in one of the newly

1. ARE 123 / 1897 = estampage No. 4 in Fawcett 1901 = Nos. 81 & 82.
2. The members of the team which visited the cave were, besides myself, Rajan Gurukkal and M.R. Raghava Varier from the Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam, S. Swaminathan from the Directorate of Epigraphy, ASI, Mysore, and A. Seetharaman, Thanjavur.
3. See Fig. 1.3 in the present volume reproducing the photograph in Pl. VI: Fig. 1 in Fawcett 1901. The Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are visible at top left. They are no longer extant.
4. The vandalism had started right from the discovery of the cave. Hultzsch noted, "To the right of the second line, [photograph] No. 1. shows the signature of a certain C. Kannan in modern Malayalam characters". Fawcett added drily, "In reference to the above remarks, I may note that the C. Kannan was the work of one of my own men" (Fawcett 1901: p. 412). Mercifully, the said C. Kannan did not engrave his name over the inscriptions, a fate which later befell ARE 123 / 1897 (estampage No. 4 in Fawcett 1901).
5. Reprinted in Pl. 37 in this volume.
6. Nos. 79 and 80. The inscriptions were discovered by S. Swaminathan of our team.

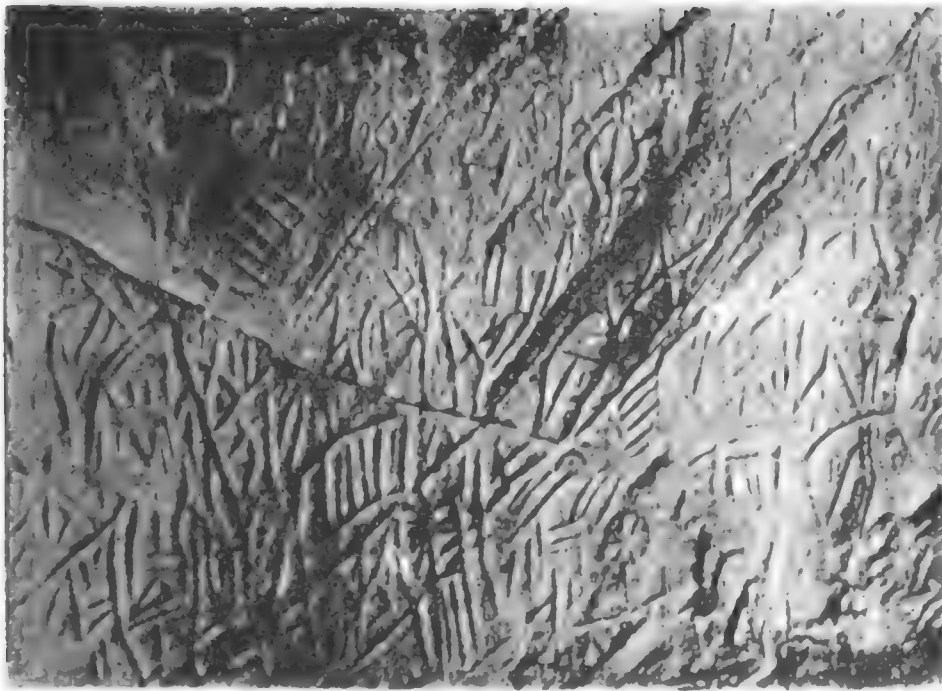


Figure 1.3. Edakal: cave with prehistoric rock carvings. Photograph taken in 1894-96. The Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (top left) are no longer extant.



Figure 1.4. Kilavalavu: cave with Tamil-Brāhmī inscription. (The pillars are recent structures.)

discovered inscriptions<sup>1</sup> proves that these are records of the times of the Cēra dynasty of the Caṅkam Age. The Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions from the Edakal cave have now been read and are included as Nos. 79-82 in the present Corpus.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.2.3 Kilavalavu: the earliest reference to Tondi on the east coast

In 1903, Venkoba Rao discovered an inscription in "archaic characters" in a cave on the rocky outcrop at Kilavalavu, a small village about 38 km. north-east of Madurai (Fig. 1.4).<sup>3</sup> Even though the inscription is engraved in bold and legible characters and is reasonably well-preserved, it could not be read and its significance was not recognised until much later after many similar inscriptions had come to light. Neither Venkayya<sup>4</sup> nor Krishna Sastri<sup>5</sup> refers to it in the Annual Reports on the discovery of the cave inscriptions up to 1909. It was only in 1910, seven years after the discovery, that the Kilavalavu cave and its inscription find a mention in Krishna Sastri's report.<sup>6</sup> Even thereafter, the estampage of the inscription was not included in the large number of photographs of the cave inscriptions published in the Annual Reports during 1911-18.<sup>7</sup> The correct reading of this inscription has eluded the investigators until recently probably because of the unusual manner in which it is engraved.<sup>8</sup> The present Corpus includes the most recent direct reading from the stone and the interpretation based on it.<sup>9</sup> The inscription is notable for the earliest reference to the port of Tondi on the east coast.

### 1.3 A flood of discoveries (1906-18)

The cave inscriptions at Mettuppatti,<sup>10</sup> a village 40 km. north-west of Madurai, were first reported by Francis in 1906. In the same year, L.A. Cammiade, a Deputy Collector, discovered a cave

1. In No. 80.
2. Our expedition to Edakal also led to an improved interpretation of the Sanskrit inscription in the cave, a revised reading of the Early Vaṭṭeluttu inscription read by Hultzsch and the decipherment of the second Early Vaṭṭeluttu inscription in the cave regarded as "unintelligible" by him (the latter two in Nos. 118 & 119 respectively). See the detailed report on the expedition to the Edakal cave (I. Mahadevan 1999: pp. 1-19.)
3. G. Venkoba Rao: ARE 135 / 1903 = *SII*. VIII: No. 422 = No. 10. He also discovered another inscription in similar characters in this cave. Krishna Sastri makes a passing reference to it as "much damaged" (ARE 1909-10: paragraph 4). The inscription is not included in ARE 1903 or *SII*. VIII, but I have seen the almost completely illegible estampage (133B / 1903) in the Directorate of Epigraphy, ASI, Mysore. During my visits to the cave, I have not been able to locate this inscription which seems to have been completely eroded as it was engraved above the drip ledge.
4. ARE 1906-07: (paragraphs 1-5) and 1907-08 (paragraphs 1-7).
5. ARE 1908-09: (paragraphs 1-9).
6. ARE 1909-10: (paragraph 4).
7. The estampage was first published in T.V. Mahalingam 1967: Pl. 7.
8. The inscription is engraved from right to left and with most (but not all) of the characters turned upside down. See section 5.8 (Direction of writing) for discussion on this peculiar feature found at Kilavalavu and a few other caves.
9. No. 10 is a revised version of my earlier attempt in the *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966* (1968): No. 9). See also Fig. 8.8 (tracing) and Pl. 8 (estampage).
10. W. Francis 1906: vol. I, pp. 294-295. See also Fig. 1.14 in this vol.



Figure 1.5. Alagarmalai: general view of the hill.

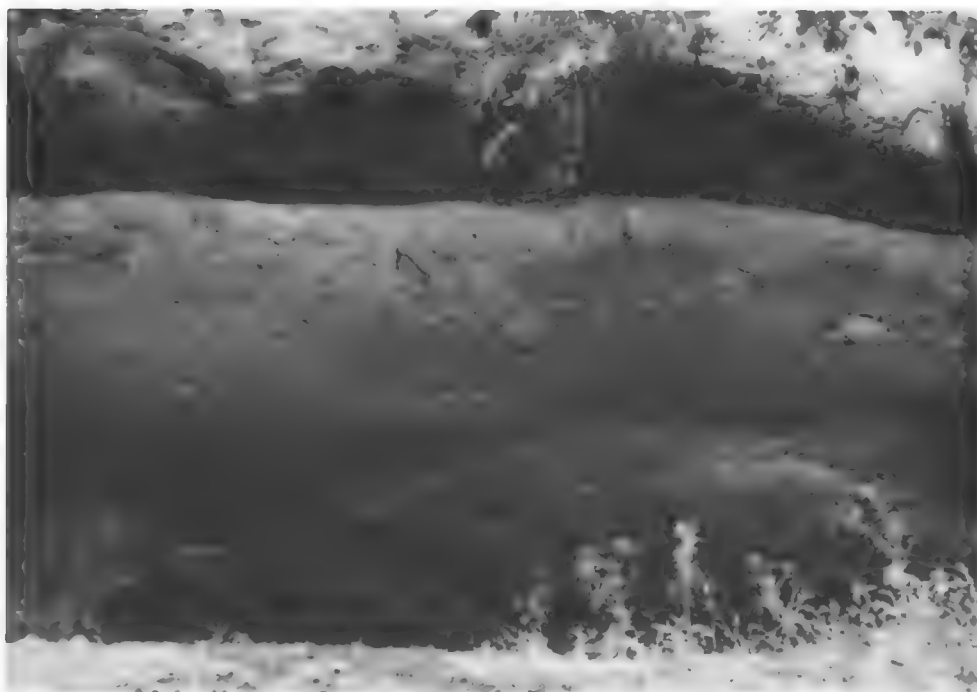


Figure 1.6. Alagarmalai: cave with Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions.

inscription at Marukaltalai<sup>1</sup> near Tirunelveli and Subrahmanya Aiyer discovered another at Anaimalai<sup>2</sup> near Madurai. The cave inscriptions at Mangulam<sup>3</sup> and Mettuppatti<sup>4</sup> were rediscovered by Subrahmanya Aiyer in 1906 and Venkayya in 1908 respectively. Unlike at Edakal and Kilavalavu, the newly discovered cave inscriptions were immediately recognised as written in the Brāhmī script.<sup>5</sup> The unexpected occurrence of Brāhmī inscriptions in the Tamil country aroused great interest and, as a result of vigorous search, no less than 39 inscriptions from 12 caves were found in quick succession from the southern Districts of Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli.<sup>6</sup> The list of inscriptions copied each year was published in the *ARE*<sup>7</sup> along with description of the caves and other interesting features associated with them.<sup>8</sup> During this period, photographs of estampages of most of the cave inscriptions discovered up to 1918 were also published in the *ARE* from time to time.<sup>9</sup> Among the inscriptions discovered during this extraordinarily productive period,<sup>10</sup> the most significant ones are, besides the two Pāṇṭiya inscriptions from Mangulam mentioned earlier, those from Alagarmalai which record the gifts of merchants from Madurai and another from Sittannavasal providing interesting evidence for early contacts with the Jains of Karnataka.

### 1.3.1 *Alagarmalai: endowment by merchants from Madurai*

The cave at Alagarmalai, about 20 km. north-east of Madurai, is located at a considerable height on the hill range and can be reached only after a stiff climb (Fig. 1.5).<sup>11</sup> The cave is spacious and has a number of stone beds carved on the rocky floor and a deep pool in one corner. The ceiling of the cave is quite high and it is very difficult to read or copy the inscriptions engraved at an inaccessible height on the brow of the cave. The inscriptions were copied only in 1910, two years after they were discovered, when a high wooden scaffolding was erected with the help of the

1. *ARE* 407/1906.
2. *ARE* 457/1906.
3. *ARE* 460-465/1906.
4. *ARE* 45 (a)-(e)/1908.
5. *ARE* 1906-07: paragraph 1; 1907-08: paragraph 1.
6. Marukaltalai, Anaimalai and Mangulam (1906); Varichiyur, Mettuppatti, Tirupparankunram and Alagarmalai (1908); Kunnakkudi (1909); Kongarpuliyankulam and Muttuppatti (1910); Karungalakkudi (1911) and Sittannavasal-A (1914). Additional inscriptions were also discovered at Alagarmalai in 1910 and Mettuppatti in 1917-18.
7. See *ARE* for the respective years for details of the location of the inscriptions.
8. V. Venkayya in *ARE* 1906-07: paragraphs 1-5; 1907-08: paragraphs 1-7. H. Krishna Sastri in *ARE* 1908-09: paragraphs 1-9; 1909-10: paragraphs 1-5; 1911-12: paragraphs 1 & 2; 1914-15: paragraphs 1 & 2; 1917-18: paragraphs 8 & 10.
9. *ARE* 1911-12, 1914-15 and 1917-18.
10. Varichiyur was discovered by L. Vibert, Additional District Magistrate, Madurai, and Karungalakkudi by the Collector of Madurai (whose name is not recorded in the *ARE*). Sittannavasal was discovered by Radhakrishna Aiyar of the Pudukkottai Educational Service. The other inscriptions found during this period (after 1908) were discovered by officers working under the Government Epigraphist.
11. For an account of the discovery of the Alagarmalai cave and its features, see H. Krishna Sastri, *ARE* 1908-09: paragraphs 5-7; 1909-10: paragraph 5. The inscriptions are numbered *ARE* 334/1908 and 70-79/1910.



Figure 1.7. Sittannavasal-A: general view of the cave.



Figure 1.8. Sittannavasal-A: stone bed with inscribed edges.

village headman.<sup>1</sup> After a long interval, the Alagarmalai inscriptions were copied again by the ASI in 1963-64 when two more inscriptions were noticed on the brow of the cave.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of the Alagarmalai inscriptions was not recognised for a long time after the discovery as the estampages of the weather-worn inscriptions are mostly illegible,<sup>3</sup> and their photographs published in the *ARE*<sup>4</sup> are too small in size to show much detail. The attempts by Krishna Sastri<sup>5</sup> and Subrahmanya Aiyer<sup>6</sup> to edit the inscriptions from estampages were not successful.

The Alagarmalai inscriptions were copied again by two successive teams led by me, once in 1965 and again in 1992, from specially built steel scaffolding, each time securing better copies than what were available before. The earlier readings were published in 1966<sup>7</sup> and the further improved readings are included in this volume.<sup>8</sup>

The Alagarmalai cave (Fig. 1.6) has 13 Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, the largest number from a single site. One of the inscriptions is engraved on a stone bed on the floor and the others on the brow of the cave. The inscriptions may be assigned to ca. 1st century B.C. on palaeographic evidence. They record the endowment made by a group of merchants and other donors, all from Maḍurai. The merchants are identified as traders in salt, sugar, iron implements and textiles. One of the donors is a goldsmith. Among the others are an accountant (described as the 'chief of scribes'), a Jaina nun and probably a Pāṇṭiya prince. The Alagarmalai inscriptions provide important evidence for the support extended to the Jaina monasteries by the merchant communities in this period.

### 1.3.2 *Sittannavasal: abode of a Jaina nun from Karnataka*

One of the better-known early cave inscriptions in Tamil Nadu is at Sittannavasal in Pudukkottai District. A large natural cave locally known as Ēḷaṭippaṭṭam (Fig. 1.7) is situated near the summit along the eastern face of the hill.<sup>9</sup> Inside the cave is a large and smoothly polished stone bed. A Tamil-Brāhmī inscription is deeply engraved along two adjacent edges of the bed (Fig. 1.8). As the stone bed is inside the cave and the characters of the inscription have been carefully smoothened, this is the best preserved of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions discovered so far.<sup>10</sup>

1. "Estampages of these [inscriptions] were secured from a high scaffolding erected there under the order of the Collector of Madura by the energetic village munsif of Kidarippatti who spared no pains in securing the necessary materials from insignificant hamlets and sending them up a very steep and inaccessible height of rock". H. Krishna Sastri in *ARE* 1909-10: paragraph 5.
2. *ARE* 244 & 245 / 1963-64. Both had been copied earlier also in 1910, but not included in the Annual Report.
3. The Alagarmalai estampages copied in 1963-64 by the ASI are included in the present Corpus (Nos. 36-48).
4. *ARE* 1911-12: Pl. facing p. 50; *ARE* 1917-18: Pl. facing p. 6.
5. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: pp. 344-346. However, he could offer no interpretation of the texts.
6. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: p. 299. He confined himself to the reading of a few disjointed expressions.
7. *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966* (1968): Nos. 30-44. See also Fig. 2.1.
8. Nos. 36 to 48. See also Figs. 8.20-8.22 (tracings) and Pls. 16B-20 (estampages).
9. For a description of the upper cave of Sittannavasal and its features, see H. Krishna Sastri in *ARE* 1914-15: paragraphs 1 & 2.
10. *ARE* 388 A / 1914. See the excellent reproduction of the estampage in *ARE* 1914-15: Pl. I.

There are 16 more stone beds in this cave, some of them bearing later inscriptions in the Tamil characters of ca. 8th century A.D. These beds are not so well-made and some of them are damaged. A study *in situ* has shown that the centrally located and exceptionally well-made stone bed with the Tamil-Brāhmī inscription was fashioned much earlier and remained the only one in the cave for centuries until the other stone beds with inscriptions in the Tamil script were added in the early medieval period.

The well-preserved and easily accessible Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscription at Sittannavasal has received attention from many scholars. Krishna Sastri made two attempts to read the inscription;<sup>1</sup> but neither was successful as he could not suggest any plausible interpretation of his own readings. Subrahmanya Aiyer's reading produced the first broadly correct interpretation of the inscription, even though he misread some of the letters occurring in proper names.<sup>2</sup>

As some of the expressions like *eruminātu* in the inscription appeared to indicate contacts with Karnataka, I felt that it should be re-examined by an interdisciplinary team with expertise in Tamil and Kannada epigraphy. At my invitation, M.D. Sampath, Chief Epigraphist, ASI, joined our team which visited Sittannavasal in December 1991.<sup>3</sup> After a very careful study of the inscription and review of earlier readings, the expert team arrived at the following translation:

(To) Kavuti born at Kumulūr in Eruminātu.

The seat was made by the Ilayar of Tenku Cīrupocil.<sup>4</sup>

The most remarkable fact emerging from the re-examination of this inscription is that the stone bed was specially made and gifted to a Jaina nun named Kavuti (Ka. *gavuḍi*). She is described as being born at Kumulūr in Eruminātu (*erumainātu*, the Mysore region of Karnataka). The inscription is the earliest epigraphic evidence for contacts between the Jaina communities in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

#### 1.4 Waning interest and random discoveries (1926-52)

After 1918, interest in the cave inscriptions waned.<sup>5</sup> During the next four decades, only five sites with seventeen inscriptions were discovered at long intervals, all of them accidentally. Only two of the newly discovered sites (Vikkiramangalam and the upper cave at Tirupparankunram) are from the southern region to which the earlier search was confined. The other three sites are Pugalur near Karur in the western region, Tiruchirapalli in the eastern region and Mamandur near Kanchipuram in the northern region. The new discoveries made by officers working under the Government

1. ARE 1914-15: paragraph 2. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: pp. 344-346.

2. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: pp. 296-299.

3. The other members of the team, besides myself, were N. Srinivasan, TNSA, Madagadi Thangavelu, civil engineer, (who made the tracing) and A. Seetharaman from Thanjavur.

4. See No. 49 and the Commentary on it. See also Fig. 8.23 (tracing) and Pl. 21 (estampage).

5. Ironically, it is during this lean period for discovery that two major studies on the cave inscriptions appeared, which laid the foundation for all future research in the field (H. Krishna Sastri 1919 and K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924). We shall consider their contribution in the next chapter.

Epigraphist, were routinely announced in the *ARE*,<sup>1</sup> and only one estampage (of the inscription from Tirupparankunram)<sup>2</sup> was published. Among the few new discoveries made during this period, the Pugalur cave inscriptions of the Cēras of the Caṅkam Age stand out. The inscription on the hill at Tiruchirapalli is no longer extant.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1.4.1 Pugalur: Cēra inscriptions of the Caṅkam Age

An outstanding discovery<sup>4</sup> of great historical importance was made at Pugalur in 1928; but the cave inscription was not correctly deciphered at the time, and its significance as a Cēra record of the Caṅkam Age remained unrecognised for almost four decades thereafter.

Pugalur (ancient Pukaḷiyūr) is situated on the south bank of the river Cauvery about 15 km. north-west of Karur, the ancient Cēra capital (and presently the headquarters of the District with the same name). Overlooking the river is a hill called Ārunāṭṭārmalai (known in ancient times as Pukaḷimalai) with a Subrahmanya temple at the summit. On the southern slope of the hill, there are two caves with Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions on the brow and on the stone beds (Figs. 1.9 & 1.10).<sup>5</sup> There is also a cave on the northern side of the hill with another inscription on a stone bed.<sup>6</sup>

##### (i) The 'forgotten' inscription at Pugalur

The Annual Report for the year described the Pugalur cave inscriptions as "mostly damaged" and commented on the longest inscription found at the site as follows:

In the first cavern there is a comparatively long record of four lines (No. 348) which ends with the word *aṟattār* meaning those who follow *aṟam* (dharma). As the rock is very much weather-beaten, it is difficult to make out this record completely. One of the monks of the Buddhist order mentioned in it whose name can be read clearly is a certain Kōsipaṇ Ātaṇ. This word reminds us of Ātaṇ, the name borne by a few Chēra Kings.<sup>7</sup>

1. Vikkiramangalam (in) *ARE* 1926-27: paragraph 8; 621-623/1926 = Nos. 20-22.  
Pugalur (in) *ARE* 1927-28: paragraph 1; 341-347/1927-28 = Nos. 61, 63-64 & 66-72.  
Tiruchirapalli (in) *ARE* 1937-38: paragraph 3; 139/1937-38 = No. 78.  
Mamandur (in) *ARE* 1939-43: paragraph 1; 171/1939-40 = No. 73.  
Tirupparankunram (upper cave) (in) *ARE* 1951-52: p. 3; No. B. 140-142/1951-52 = Nos. 53 & 54.
2. *ARE* 1951-52: Pl. facing p. 22.
3. *ARE* 139/1937-38 = No. 78. It was discovered by the ASI in the narrow passage on the northern face of the hill leading to the cave shelter on the western side (see Fig. 1.15). The passage is a mere cleft and "a portion of the approach has to be negotiated on all fours underneath a projecting boulder, a false step meaning a fatal drop down the precipitous side" (*ARE* 1937-38, Part I, paragraph 2). During our search in December 1991, one of the members of our team nearly lost his foothold and was saved in time, but he dropped the brush (used in preparing estampages) which rolled down the precipice. In spite of our intensive search, the inscription could not be located and is presumed lost. It has been edited in this volume from the estampage taken when the inscription was discovered.
4. *ARE* 349/1927-28.
5. *ARE* 341-346/1927-28.
6. *ARE* 347/1927-28.
7. *ARE* 1927-28: paragraph 1. 'No. 348' mentioned in the Report is a typographical error for No. 349.



Figure 1.9. Pugalur: cave with Cēra inscriptions.

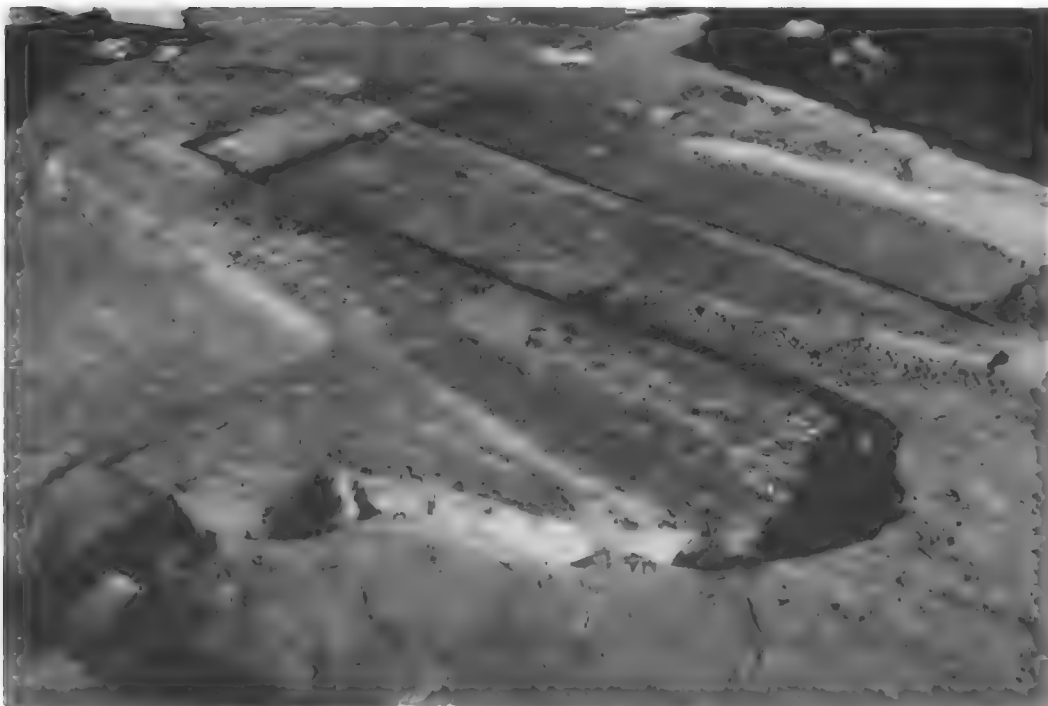


Figure 1.10. Pugalur: inscriptions on stone beds on the floor of the cave.  
Note modern pornographic graffiti on one of the stone beds.

The reading is garbled and the only word correctly made out is *Ātaṇ* which was, however, incorrectly identified as the name of a monk.<sup>1</sup>

Two more cave inscriptions were discovered much later in 1963-64 at Pugalur.<sup>2</sup> These were also described as "very much damaged due to their exposure to the weather".<sup>3</sup> One of these inscriptions also has four lines and is engraved on the brow of the same cave just above the one discovered earlier. This has been described as follows:

No. 297, in the second cave before the turning in the overhanging rock, records that the rock (*kaḷ*) was cut (*aṇṇupita*) by Kaṇṇuṇṇōṇ-Eḷaṇṇōṇ Kōḷaṇ, son of Kōṇ Kaṇṇuṇṇōṇ. Probably the reference is to the cutting of the overhanging rock below which this record is found.<sup>4</sup>

Even though two Tamil words are correctly identified, the reading of the personal names is garbled and the purport of the record was as completely missed as in the case of the lower inscription found earlier.

(ii) *Rediscovery of the Cēra inscriptions at Pugalur*

I visited Pugalur for the first time in February 1965. I reached the western cave on the southern side of the hill late in the afternoon. The brow of the cave was bathed in the orange glow of the setting sun, the oblique lighting picking out clearly the boldly engraved characters of the lower inscription.<sup>5</sup> I had come prepared to see a damaged or fragmentary inscription. What I saw was a weather-worn inscription which was otherwise not damaged at all and could be read without much effort. As I read the words *kō*, *ātaṇ* and *irumpoṇai*, I realised with astonishment that the inscription was indeed a record of a Cēra king of the Irumpoṇai line which ruled from Karur in the Caṅkam Age. The name of the city is mentioned as *karu-ūr* in one of the stone-bed inscriptions in front of the cave.<sup>6</sup>

The upper inscription<sup>7</sup> on the brow of this cave is much fainter and more difficult to make out. However, with some effort, it could also be read almost completely except for three letters lost in

1. Apparently, the reading was based on the almost wholly illegible estampage which I have seen in the Directorate of Epigraphy, ASI, Mysore. The equally illegible estampage taken in 1963-64 has been published by T.V. Mahalingam (1967: Pl. 23, printed upside down); but his reading (ibid. p. 280) appears to be based on the tracing published by me earlier (I. Mahadevan 1965a).
2. ARE B. 296 & 297/ 1963-64. Even though the newly discovered inscriptions occur in the same caves at Pugalur as those reported in ARE 1927-28, the name of the site has been changed in the later Report as Velayudhampalaiyam. Considering the long association of the hill with Pugalur since ancient times, the original name of the site has been retained in the present study.
3. ARE 1963-64: pp. 28-29.
4. Ibid.
5. ARE 349/1927-28 = No. 61. See also Fig. 8.29 (tracing) and Pl. 27 (computer-enhanced print from a direct colour photograph).
6. ARE 343/1927-28 = No. 69.
7. ARE B. 297/1963-64 and Pl. IIIb = No. 62.

the second line due to flaking of the stone. It turned out that the upper inscription is a near-identical repetition of the lower one and the few letters lost in the former could be restored from the identical passage in the latter.

The preliminary report on the decipherment of the Cēra (Irumporai) inscriptions at Pugalur published by me in a newspaper article <sup>1</sup> in March 1965 aroused much scholarly interest,<sup>2</sup> since no inscriptions of the Caṅkam Age were known to exist till then.<sup>3</sup>

The inscriptions record the construction of a rock shelter for Ceṅkāyapaṇ, a senior Jaina monk on the occasion of the investiture of Iḷaṅkaṭuṅkō as the heir apparent. The prince is described as the son of Peruṅkaṭuṅkōṇ who is the son of King Ātaṇ Cel Irumporai. The inscriptions may be assigned to the 2nd century A.D. on palaeographic evidence.

### 1.5 Revival of interest: fresh copying of inscriptions (1961-80)

There was a revival of interest in the cave inscriptions in the sixties of the last century when the Government Epigraphist undertook fresh copying of the inscriptions discovered earlier.<sup>4</sup> The exercise resulted in the discovery of eight additional cave inscriptions from five sites already known.<sup>5</sup> Further, six new sites with a total of nine cave inscriptions,<sup>6</sup> and two more inscriptions, one each from the earlier sites <sup>7</sup> of Kunnakkudi and Vikkiramangalam, were also discovered during this period

1. I. Mahadevan 1965a. The Pugalur inscriptions, illustrated with tracings of some of the better preserved ones, were also published by me in the *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966* (1968): Nos. 56-67. Revised readings illustrated with improved tracings and estampages have been included in the present Corpus (Nos. 61-72).
2. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer whom I met in May 1966 was pleasantly surprised that the two Cēra inscriptions at Pugalur are preserved well enough to be visible to the naked eye even though their estampages are illegible. He informed me that he had not personally visited the site.
3. I was so excited by the unexpected discovery that I wrote, somewhat too lyrically perhaps, that "the Tamil kings of the Sangam Age have at last come into the limelight of history and archaeology from the twilight of fables and ballads" (I. Mahadevan 1965a).
4. Unknowingly, I had a small part to play in this development. At my request, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the renowned historian, obtained a set of estampages of the inscriptions from the Government Epigraphist in 1961 for me to study. I struggled with them for a few months but made no progress at all. Nilakanta Sastri advised the Government Epigraphist to copy the cave inscriptions again, which was undertaken during 1963-64 (H.K. Narasimhaswamy 1968: p. 191).
5. Mangulam: ARE B. 242/1963-64 = No. 4. Muttupatti: ARE B. 243/1963-64 = No. 56. Alagarmalai: ARE B. 244 & 245 / 1963-64 = Nos. 36 & 37. Vikkiramangalam: ARE B. 285 & 286/1963-64 = Nos. 19 & 23. Pugalur: ARE B. 296 & 297/1963-64 = Nos. 65 & 62 respectively.
6. Arachalur: ARE B. 280-282 / 1961-62 = Nos. 85-87. Tiruvadavur: ARE B. 275 & 276 / 1965-66 = Nos. 9 & 8. Aiyarmalai: ARE B. 231/1973-74 = No. 50. Arittapatti: ARE B. 264/1978-79 = No. 7. Mudalaikulam: ARE B. 265/1978-79 = No. 35. Ammankoyilpatti: ARE B. 258/1979-80 = No. 84.
7. Kunnakkudi: *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966* (1968), No. 70 = No. 75. Vikkiramangalam: G. Siromoney and E. Jebarajan 1978 = No. 18.

by scholars outside the ASI.<sup>1</sup> Four of the inscriptions were illustrated with estampages in the *ARE* of the respective years.<sup>2</sup> While only very few inscriptions were discovered during this period (1961-80), much progress was made in reading and interpreting the inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

### 1.5.1 Arachalur: musical notations

The other most outstanding discovery of the period comes from Arachalur. The musical notations in the Arachalur cave inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> assigned to ca. 4th century A.D. on palaeographic grounds, are the earliest epigraphic evidence for the cultivation of music and dance in the Tamil country.<sup>5</sup> The inscriptions are also important from the palaeographic point of view as they mark the end of the Tamil-Brāhmī period and anticipate the emergence of the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu script from Tamil-Brāhmī during 5th-6th centuries A.D.

### 1.6 Recent discoveries (1981-2000)

During the last two decades, eleven more cave inscriptions have been discovered, out of which eight are from six new sites<sup>6</sup> and three from two known sites.<sup>7</sup> Many of the recent discoveries have been made by the younger epigraphists of the TNSA, who are familiar with the terrain and have acquired remarkable proficiency in reading the Tamil-Brāhmī script.<sup>8</sup> Only one of the inscriptions has been illustrated with estampage in the *ARE*.<sup>9</sup> However, estampages of all other newly discovered inscriptions have been promptly published by the scholars who made the discoveries or who have read the inscriptions – a welcome new development in the field.

1. Arachalur was discovered by M.S. Venkataswamy and S. Raju; Kunnakkudi (No. 75) and Tiruvadavur by I. Mahadevan; Aiyarmalai by M. Chandiramurthy (TNSA); Arittapatti by K.V. Raman and Y. Subbarayalu; Vikkiramangalam and Mudalaikulam by G. Siromoney and E. Jebarajan; and Ammankoyilpatti by P.B. Venkataraman.
2. Arachalur: *ARE* 1961-62 (B.280) = No. 85. Pugalur: *ARE* 1963-64 (B. 297) = No. 62. Tiruvadavur: *ARE* 1965-66 (B. 276) = No. 8. Aiyarmalai: *ARE* 1973-74 (B. 231) = No. 50.
3. See Chapter 2 for details.
4. *ARE* B. 280-282 / 1961-62 = Nos. 85-87. See also Fig. 8.41 (tracing) and Pls. 40 & 41 (estampages).
5. The interpretation was first suggested by T.N. Ramachandran (1962), with further improvements by R. Nagaswamy (1972d) and K.G. Krishnan (1973-74b).
6. Jambai: R. Nagaswamy 1981a & b (No. 59). Tirumalai: *kalveṭṭu*, No. 24, 1989 (Nos. 51 & 52). Tondur: *Dinamani*, Chennai, October 20, 1991 (No. 76). Nekanurpatti: *Dinamani*, Chennai, March 26, 1992 (No. 83). Kudumiyamalai: C. Santhalingam 1999a (No. 77). Mannarkoil: *The New Indian Express*, Chennai, December 21, 2000 (Nos. 88 & 89).
7. Mettuppatti: *ARE* B.373/1985-86 (No. 24). Edakal-A: I. Mahadevan & S. Swaminathan 1998 (Nos. 79 & 80).
8. Jambai was discovered by K. Selvaraj; Tirumalai by C. Santhalingam and V. Vedachalam; Tondur by M. Chandiramurthy; and Kudumiyamalai by P. Rajendran and C. Santhalingam. Nekanurpatti was discovered by S. Rajavelu (ASI) and C. Viraraghavan and Mannarkoil by Manohari, research scholar, Parasakthi College, Courtallam. The additional inscription at Mettuppatti was discovered by E. Jebarajan, American College, Madurai, and those at Edakal-A by S. Swaminathan (ASI), a member of the team led by I. Mahadevan.
9. Mettuppatti in *ARE* 1985-86 (B. 373) = No. 24.



Figure 1.11. Jambai: general view of the hill.

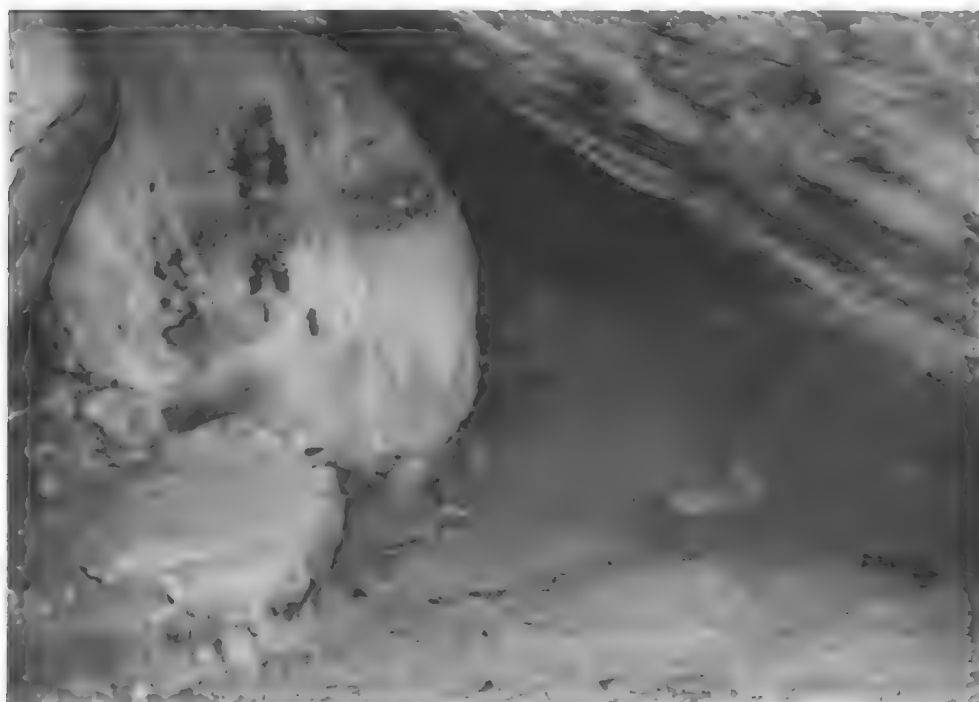


Figure 1.12. Jambai: cave with the inscription of Atiyaṇ Neṭumāṇ Añci.

### 1.6.1 Jambai: inscription of *Atiyan Neṭumāṇ Añci*

The most outstanding discovery in this period comes from Jambai,<sup>1</sup> a small village on the north bank of the South Pennar river near the town of Tirukkoyilur in Viluppuram District. There are two caves on the hill (Fig. 1.11) to the east of the village, one of them (Fig. 1.12) with a Tamil-Brāhmī inscription, which is exceptionally well preserved as it is engraved on the rear rock wall deep inside the cave. Selvaraj, a young trainee student in the TNSA, stumbled on the inscription in October 1981 during a routine field survey. He informed Nagaswamy, Director of Archaeology, who deciphered the inscription and announced the discovery through a couple of newspaper articles.<sup>2</sup>

The Jambai inscription records the grant of the cave shelter by *atiyan neṭumāṇ añci* who has the title *satiyaputō*. The record can be dated to ca. 1st century A.D. on palaeographic grounds. The donor of the grant has been identified by Nagaswamy as *Atiyamāṇ Neṭumāṇ Añci*, the famous chieftain of Takaṭūr (modern Dharmapuri), celebrated in the Caṅkam classic, *Puṇanāṇūru*. The title *satiyaputō* occurs in Asoka's Second Rock Edict along with names identified as *Cēras*, *Cōlas* and *Pāṇṭiyas*. It has been suspected earlier on linguistic grounds that *satiyaputō* is connected etymologically to *atiyamāṇ*. The Jambai inscription which provides conclusive evidence in support of this identification has been aptly described by Nagaswamy as a 'new link' between Asoka and the Tamil country.

Jambai ranks with the Mangulam, Pugalur and Edakal cave inscriptions as a historical record of exceptional importance. One would have thought, therefore, that the discovery would have been hailed. That was not what happened. The 'authenticity' of the inscription was called into question by some scholars on two grounds, namely, that a Prakrit expression like *satiyaputō* cannot occur in a Tamil inscription and that the dental *n* was employed in the inscription in the place of the correct alveolar *ṇ*.<sup>3</sup> Neither objection can stand scrutiny. Numerous Prakrit loanwords occur in Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions; it is indeed this feature which sets apart the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions from the later Tamil inscriptions. For example, compare *satiyaputō* at Jambai with *kaṭummiputa* at Edakal,<sup>4</sup> *utayaṇasa* 'of Utayaṇaṇ' at Mettuppatti<sup>5</sup> and *sapamitā* (name of a Jaina nun) at Alagarmalai.<sup>6</sup> As regards the second objection, Tamil epigraphists know only too well that the use of dental *n* for alveolar *ṇ* is the commonest scribal error in Tamil inscriptions, and the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are no exception to this general trend.<sup>7</sup> Neither the palaeography, nor the general appearance of the inscription, nor the circumstances of the discovery give rise to the slightest suspicion about the authenticity of the record confirmed by numerous scholars who have visited the cave since the discovery.

1. No. 59. See also Fig. 8.27 (tracing) and Pl. 26A (estampage).
2. R. Nagaswamy 1981a & b. I. Mahadevan 1994a: pp. 123-127. See also section 4.5.1.
3. E.g., K.V. Ramesh 1985: pp. 3-4.
4. No. 80.
5. No. 24.
6. No. 41.
7. E.g., Nos. 20 & 70 for other examples.

I became concerned about the controversy and decided to conduct an investigation *in situ*. With the co-operation of the District Collector and the Revenue authorities, I convened a meeting at Jambai on 14th December 1991, which was attended by Revenue officials and the village elders. Appavu, the village *talayāri* who along with two cowherds of the village had guided Selvaraj to the cave, testified at the meeting that they had known about the inscription since their boyhood as they used to rest in the cave when grazing their cattle nearby. And then the clinching evidence turned up. Kodumudi Shanmugam, a senior engineer of the Public Works Department and noted Tamil scholar, who attended the meeting, arranged to have the topsoil removed from the floor of both the caves. Two stone beds of the usual description associated with Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions elsewhere, were discovered in the cave just opposite to the one with the inscription. The discovery put an end to the needless controversy.<sup>1</sup> Jambai is also known to have been a flourishing Jaina centre in later historical times.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1.6.2 Mannarkoil: the earliest reference to a *kaṭikai* (*ghaṭikā*)

This account of the discovery of the Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions concludes with a brief note on the most recent and southernmost of these records discovered in the closing days of the 20th century at Mannarkoil, a village near Ambasamudram in Tirunelveli District. A pair of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> one on the ceiling inside a cave and the other on a stone bed at the summit of a bare rock outside, are located near the foothills of the famed Potikai mountain, the legendary abode of Akattiyar (Agastya), the Tamil sage. The inscriptions are dated to ca. 2nd century A.D. on palaeographic grounds. One of them<sup>4</sup> contains the earliest epigraphic reference to a *kaṭikai* (*ghaṭikā*) 'assembly of learned persons, institution of higher learning or place of the assembly'. The place may plausibly be identified with the modern village of Kadayam near the site.

It is a measure of the progress made in understanding Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions that while the earliest discoveries made around the beginning of the century baffled the most experienced epigraphists of the day, the Mannarkoil inscriptions discovered at the end of the century were immediately deciphered by the TNSA, and the estampages were published with full and accurate translation of the texts in the local newspapers within days of the discovery.<sup>5</sup> My personal voyage of discovery of the Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions which began on 11th February 1962 at Marukaltalai ended 38 years later on 30th December 2000 at Mannarkoil, the two southernmost sites both in Tirunelveli District.<sup>6</sup>

1. See also the earlier account of this episode in my Foreword in R. Nagaswamy 1995.
2. See remarks on Jambai in Mayilai Seeni Venkataswamy 1954 (1980 reprint): pp. 42 & 122.
3. Nos. 88 & 89. See also Figs. 8.42 & 8.43 (tracings) and Pl. 42 (estampages). As the inscriptions were discovered after the manuscript of the present volume was got ready for the press, they had to be placed at the end of the section on Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions in the present Corpus, and not in the proper chronological order after Anaimalai (No. 60) and before Pugalur (Nos. 61-72).
4. No. 88.
5. The inscriptions have been read by M. Senthil Selvakumaran and C. Chandiravanam of the TNSA.
6. I spent the next two days at Kanyakumari to watch the last sunset of the old millennium and the first sunrise of the new millennium.

### 1.7 Physical features of caves with Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions

Unlike the elaborately carved rock-cut shrines of the later Pallava-Pāṇṭiya periods, the caves (or caverns) with Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are no more than naturally occurring rock shelters, mostly shallow, formed under one or more massive overhanging boulders that dot the hilly terrain. A drip ledge is cut into the brow of the overhanging boulder for the entire length of the opening of the cave below to prevent rain water from flowing inside (Fig. 1.13). On the rocky floor of the cave, a number of narrow stone beds are carved, generally provided with raised pillow lofts on one side (Fig. 1.14).<sup>1</sup> A number of post-holes are drilled into the brow of the cave and the rocky floor below indicating the earlier presence of props for a thatched roof overhead to provide some protection to the occupants of the cave from sun and rain. Drinking water was obtained from natural rocky pools on the hill or from a water reservoir or a water course nearby. Caves facing east or south with the cool breeze blowing in were the preferred locations.<sup>2</sup>

The Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, mostly very short, are engraved on the brow of the overhanging boulders generally under the drip ledge or on the stone beds in the caves. The inscriptions, which record the gift of the rock shelters and stone beds, mention mostly the names of the donors, less commonly of the monks or nuns occupying the cave shelters and stone beds, and rarely of the stone masons who carved the drip ledges and stone beds.<sup>3</sup> An interesting feature of many of the caves is the presence of Jaina sculptures and Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions from a later period (ca. 8th-10th centuries A.D.)<sup>4</sup>

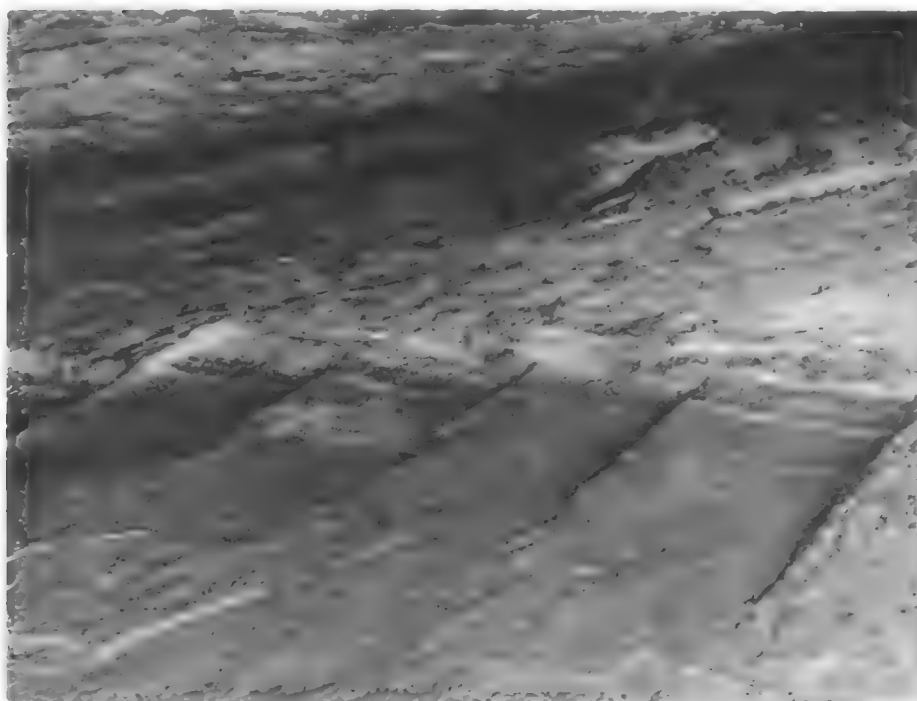
### 1.8 Discovery of Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions

Unlike in the case of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, the discovery of Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions did not cause much excitement. They were immediately recognised as in an 'archaic' form of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script. However, the decipherment and proper dating of the inscriptions had to await the accumulation of adequate inscriptional material for comparative study in more recent years. The following is a brief description of the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions (ca. 5th and 6th centuries A.D.) included in this volume.<sup>5</sup> They are considered here not in the chronological order of discovery, but according to the type of monuments on which they are engraved.

1. The stone beds are locally known as *Pañcapāṇṭavar paṭukkai* 'beds of the Five Pāṇḍavas', an allusion to the southern sojourn of the Pāṇḍavas in exile.
2. See section 4.9.8 for the technical terms occurring in the inscriptions for the physical features of the caves.
3. The only Tamil-Brāhmī site in Tamil Nadu not associated with Jaina cave shelters is Ammankoyilpatti (ca. 4th century A.D.) recording the endowment of a rocky pool (*cunai*) (ARE B. 158/1979-80 = No. 84 in the present Corpus). The cave at Edakal in Kerala does not also fit into the general description of the Jaina cave shelters found in Tamil Nadu. There are no stone beds or later Jaina sculptures in these caves.
4. The significance of this feature is discussed in section 4.12.
5. Nos. 101-121.



**Figure 1.13.** Drip ledge: a prominent feature of the caves (Tiruvadavur).  
Note inscriptions above and below the drip ledge.



**Figure 1.14.** Stone beds: with inscriptions (Mettuppatti).  
Some inscriptions disfigured by later overwriting.

### 1.8.1 Cave shelters

#### (i) Sittannavasal-B

The lower cave at Sittannavasal where these inscriptions<sup>1</sup> occur, is situated at the deeper end of a narrow waterworn ravine and is rather inaccessible. The floor of the cave has been completely eroded, leaving only jagged, sharp-edged boulders with hardly any place even to stand. No stone beds are seen. On the rock wall inside the cave, seven Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions are deeply engraved in bold characters. However, the rock is soft, permanently damp and covered with thick moss, making it very difficult to copy the inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> They appear to record the names of the donors; the longest inscription refers to the collective gift of the cave shelter by a village. The inscriptions which may be assigned to ca. 5th century A.D. on palaeographic grounds mark the end of the era of Jaina cave shelters in the Tamil country, which commenced in ca. 2nd century B.C.

#### (ii) Tiruchirapalli-B

During the unsuccessful search for the lost Tamil-Brāhmī inscription<sup>3</sup> on the Rockfort hill at Tiruchirapalli, our team discovered a new Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription<sup>4</sup> on the rock wall abutting the narrow passage along the northern face of the hill (Fig. 1.15). We could also secure better copies and suggest improved readings of two other published Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions<sup>5</sup> engraved on the rocky floor of the passage.

#### (iii) Perumukkal

The cave situated on the hill at Perumukkal (near Tindivanam in Viluppuram District) is notable for the rock carvings<sup>6</sup> which cover the inside walls. The carvings resemble those at Edakal, Kerala.<sup>7</sup> The Perumukkal cave, also like the one at Edakal, is not a Jaina establishment and there are no stone beds in it. A short label inscription is incised on a rock wall near the anthropomorphic carvings.

1. ARE B. 338 / 1992-93 = Nos. **101-107**. See also Figs. 8.44-8.46 (tracings) and Pls. 43-45A (estampages). The inscriptions were discovered by the ASI.
2. There are faint traces of more inscriptions on the rock wall, which could not be traced or copied by our team due to practical difficulties. Some of these are recorded in the eye copies in S. Rajavelu 1995b: pp. 9-12.
3. ARE 139 / 1937-38 = No. **78**. See also Pl. 35B (estampage).
4. No. **108**. The inscription was located by M. Nalini (Rajamanikkanar Centre for Historical Research, Tiruchirapalli) who was a member of our team. M. Nalini 1993: p. 50.
5. ARE 136 [A & B] / 1937-38 = Nos. **109 & 110**. These inscriptions were earlier discovered by the ASI.
6. A. Thasarathan and B. Kannaiyan (1993: pp. 121-128) who discovered the rock carvings in the cave attribute them to the 'prehistoric period' and describe the figures as the "hieroglyphs of the Tamils which might have been a source for the development of such writings in the Egyptian Pyramids". In a critical review, R. Vasanthakalyani (1994: pp. 23-30) debunks the wildly exaggerated claims of the discoverers; but her dating of the rock carvings in ca. 6th or 7th century A.D. is too late and is perhaps influenced by the presence of the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription which is, however, much later than the rock carvings in the cave. See the following note.
7. According to Rajan Gurukkal who has made a comparative study *in situ* of the Edakal and Perumukkal rock carvings, the latter are of more recent origin as they appear to have been made with iron implements, most probably in the Megalithic Period / Iron Age (personal discussion).



Figure 1.15. Tiruchirapalli Rockfort: Early Vatteḷuttu inscriptions. Note the hazardous passage (long, narrow cleft halfway up the hill).



Figure 1.16. Tirunatharkunru: the *nicitikai* is seen inside the fencing.

The inscription in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of ca. 5th century A.D. is much later than the rock carvings in the cave. The label which reads *irācar* 'kings'<sup>1</sup> has apparently been incised by a casual visitor to the cave who regarded the anthropomorphic figures as depicting royal personages.

### 1.8.2 Jaina *nicīṭikai* inscriptions

#### (i) Tirunatharkunru

An inscription in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu script was discovered by the ASI in 1904 on the bare summit of a rocky outcrop (Fig. 1.16) at Tirunatharkunru near Senji (Gingee) in Viluppuram District.<sup>2</sup> The text and translation with an eye copy of the inscription were published by Gopinatha Rao in 1908.<sup>3</sup> The inscription is an epitaph commemorating the death of Cantirananti, a Jaina monk, after 57 days of fasting.<sup>4</sup>

The *nicīṭikai*<sup>5</sup> inscription at Tirunatharkunru is an important discovery for several reasons. It is the first of the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions discovered in Tamil Nadu. It is also the first discovery of a Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription from the northern region (forming part of the Pallava territories). It is a Jaina record of a type altogether different from the earlier cave inscriptions in the Tamil-Brāhmī script, but closely resembling similar Old Kannada inscriptions in Karnataka.

It is interesting that though Gopinatha Rao could read and interpret the text, he considered that the inscription was in the 'Tamil script',<sup>6</sup> probably because no Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription was then known outside the Pāṇṭiya and Cēra territories. Later, Subramanian identified the script as Vaṭṭeḷuttu and inferred that this script was once in use all over the Tamil country.<sup>7</sup> He assigned the inscription tentatively to ca. 300 A.D., later modifying the date as ca. 400 A.D.<sup>8</sup> On the basis of comparison with several Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions discovered later, the Tirunatharkunru inscription is now placed in the 6th century A.D.<sup>9</sup>

#### (ii) Paraiyanpattu

An Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription in five lines is engraved deeply in bold characters on the bare summit of a rocky outcrop at Paraiyanpattu<sup>10</sup> (near Avalurpet, Senji Taluk, Viluppuram District). It is a Jaina epitaph of the same type as the one found earlier at Tirunatharkunru. The inscription

1. No. *III*. See also Fig. 8.48B (tracing) and Pl. 46B (estampage).

2. *ARE* 239/1904.

3. *TAS*. I, 1908 (1988 reprint): p. 339.

4. See No. *II* 6. See also Fig. 8.51 (tracing) and Pl. 50 (estampage).

5. The expression *nicīṭikai* is interpreted in this study as a 'seat of penance'. See Commentary on Nos. *II* 5 & *II* 6.

6. *TAS*. I, 1908 (1988 reprint): pp. 299-316.

7. T.N. Subramanian 1938 (1996 reprint): p. 84.

8. T. N. Subramanian 1957: p. 1555.

9. See section 5.19 (Vaṭṭeḷuttu) and Palaeographic Charts 4, 6 and 8 in Chapter 5.

10. *ARE* B 355/1984-85 = No. *II* 5. See also Fig. 8.50 (tracing) and Pl. 49 (estampage). The inscription was discovered by Pulavar S. Kuppuswamy.

may be assigned to ca. 6th century A.D. from palaeographic evidence. It records the death by religious fasting (*ārātāṇi*) of a disciple of Vaccaṇanti Ācāriyar of Pāṇāṭu.

### 1.8.3 *Stelae inscriptions: Arasalapuram and Indalur*

The two stelae inscriptions, one each from Arasalapuram <sup>1</sup> (Viluppuram Taluk and District) and Indalur <sup>2</sup> (Cheyyur Taluk, Kancheepuram District) are remarkably similar, though the former dates from the 5th century and the latter from the 6th century A.D. judging from palaeographic evidence. They are memorial stones erected by the villagers to honour the fighting cocks which presumably died fighting. The figure of a fighting cock with a brief accompanying inscription in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu is carved on each of the stelae. The inscriptions corroborate literary references to the sport of cockfight popular in the Tamil countryside.<sup>3</sup> These unique memorial stones for fighting cocks are earlier than the numerous herostones in Dharmapuri District and Chengam Taluk in the western region erected to honour the heroes who fell in battle or while fighting cattle rustlers or wild animals.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.8.4 *A unique inscribed object: the Erettimalai Stone*

Erettimalai is a small village near Anthiyur in Bhavani Taluk, Erode District, situated in a forest area near the border with Karnataka. A shoe-shaped smooth granite object (approximately 25 x 16 x 15 cm.) was found in a field in the village.<sup>5</sup> An Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription in characters of ca. 5th century A.D. is inscribed in two lines on the object (Fig. 1.17). The size and shape of the object indicate that it was used as a stone stopper to plug the vent of a sluice. A similar stone stopper, more recent and without inscription, is in the collections of the Department of Epigraphy, Tamil University, Thanjavur. The Erettimalai Stone is now preserved in the office of the TNSA at Chennai where I had the opportunity to examine it closely and copy the inscription on it. The inscription describes the object as a stone (stopper) fitted inside the vent of a sluice.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.8.5 *A rock-cut shrine: Pillaiyarpatti*

The discovery of a cave inscription at Pillaiyarpatti (Tiruppattur Taluk, Sivaganga District) by the ASI in 1935-36<sup>7</sup> marks a turning point in Vaṭṭeḷuttu palaeography; unlike the earlier inscriptions in natural caves, it is engraved in a rock-cut shrine, the earliest in the Pāṇṭiya territory marking the

1. The inscription was discovered by Mangai Raghavan and published by S. Rajavelu (1996: pp. 88-89). The stela has now been removed to the Public Works Department office compound at Viluppuram. See No. 112. See also Fig. 8.49A (tracing) and Pl. 47A (estampage).
2. Discovered by Thamaraikkannan (1979: pp. 120-129). See No. 113. See also Fig. 8.49B (tracing) and Pl. 47B (estampage).
3. See Commentary on No. 113. See also section 4.23.
4. *Chengam Naṭukaṛkaḷ*. Also see R. Nagaswamy (ed.) 1974.
5. Discovered by A. Palaniyappan, a school teacher, and published in Natana Kasinathan 1985: pp. 16-19 (with Pl.) and 1988: pp. 116-118.
6. No. 114. See also Fig. 8.49C (tracing) and Pl. 48 (estampage).
7. ARE 156/1935-36. See also Fig. 8.52 (tracing) and Pl. 51 (estampage).

revival of the Saiva faith. The *ARE* describes the inscription as in 'archaic' Vaṭṭeḷuttu; but the attempt made in the Report to read the text is unsuccessful.<sup>1</sup> The dating of the inscription to the 7th century A.D. seems to be influenced by the belief that no rock-cut shrine in Tamil Nadu could antedate Mahendra Pallava who is credited with introducing rock-cut architecture in this part of the country. However, a palaeographic comparison with Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions discovered subsequently leads to the conclusion that the date of the Pillaiyarpatti inscription is unlikely to be later than the middle of the 6th century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

I published a revised reading of the inscription in 1965;<sup>3</sup> but this has been superseded by the version published by Nagaswamy in 1972.<sup>4</sup> The inscription records the name of the master mason (*peruntaccan*) who excavated or made improvements to the rock-cut shrine. Thus the cave must be as old as, if not older than, the inscription found engraved on a smooth pilaster.

#### 1.8.6 Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions from outside Tamil Nadu

The Corpus includes four Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions discovered outside the present borders of Tamil Nadu, three from Kerala and one from Karnataka.

##### (i) *Ezhuttukallu*

Ezhuttukallu (literally, 'inscribed stone') is a large boulder of gneiss rock jutting out from the bed of the Cherupuzha river deep inside the Nilambur forest in Malappuram District, Kerala. A two-line inscription engraved deeply in bold characters on this boulder is partly submerged under water and is fully visible only in extreme dry weather.<sup>5</sup> The inscription was copied in 1958-59 by the Government Epigraphist. The Report noted that the inscription was partly submerged, described it as in "archaic Southern characters" and made an unsuccessful attempt to decipher it.<sup>6</sup> Narayanan published his reading and interpretation of the inscription in 1972.<sup>7</sup>

I visited the site in October 1995 with an expert team<sup>8</sup> to study the inscription *in situ*. Unfortunately, the water level in the stream was high; the lower line with just two characters was submerged (Fig. 1.18), but could be made out as the water was crystal-clear. The inscription is in Tamil written in the

1. *ARE* 156/1935-36.

2. See discussion in the Commentary on No. 117.

3. I. Mahadevan 1965d. (Also in) *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966* (1968): No. 75.

4. R. Nagaswamy 1972d: pp. 79-80.

5. Earliest notices in W. Logan 1887: vol. II, p. 356; and C.A. Innes 1908 (1951 reprint): p. 446. These sources also describe the gold-washing operations in the Nilambur region.

6. *ARE* B. 281/1958-59. I have seen the unpublished estampage of the inscription in the Directorate of Epigraphy, ASI, Mysore. It has the impression of only the upper line.

7. M.G.S. Narayanan 1972: pp. 317-321 (not illustrated).

8. The team included, besides myself, M.G.S. Narayanan, M.R. Raghava Varier, S. Swaminathan (ASI), and Donald Davis (a student from the University of Wisconsin, U.S.A.).

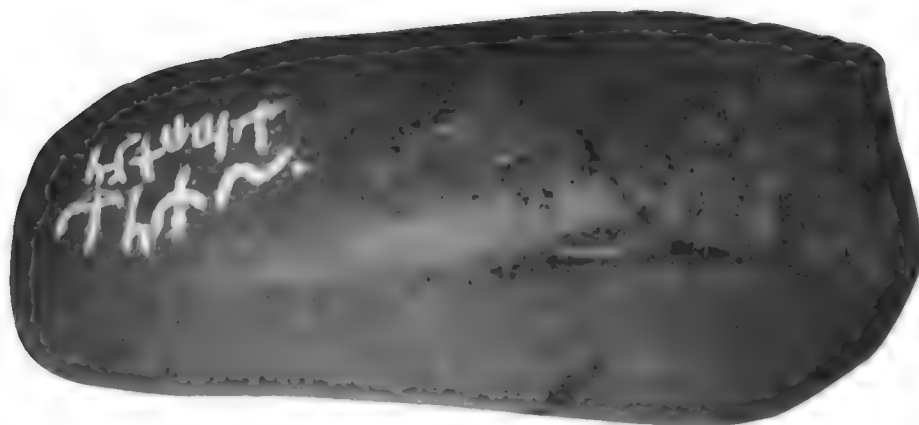


Figure 1.17. Erettimalai: inscribed stone-stopper.



Figure 1.18. Ezhuttukallu: boulder (middle right) in the river bed with partly submerged inscription.

Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of about the 5th century A.D. It records the existence of a dam (*aṇa*) across the stream at the place called Mācakōṭu.<sup>1</sup>

I have suggested that the 'dam' was most probably a seasonal structure built of timber to arrest the flow of water to facilitate the gold-washing operations known to have been conducted in the past in the Nilambur region as recorded by Logan and Innes. The dam must have been abandoned in course of time when gold-washing was discontinued due to decreased availability.<sup>2</sup> The inscription is also interesting from the linguistic point of view. It provides the earliest epigraphic attestation of the pre-Malayalam form *aṇa* (LT *aṇai*) 'dam' as early as in the 5th century A.D.<sup>3</sup>

(ii) *Edakal-B*

As mentioned earlier, among the cave inscriptions at Edakal, Kerala, discovered by Fawcett in 1894 and copied by Hultzsch in 1897, there are two Tamil inscriptions in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu script of ca. 5th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> Hultzsch made two attempts to read one of the inscriptions, but neither was wholly successful.<sup>5</sup> He declared that the other inscription was "unintelligible" to him.<sup>6</sup> Both inscriptions, engraved in bold characters and still in an excellent state of preservation, were copied and deciphered by our team which visited the site twice during 1995-96.<sup>7</sup>

(iii) *Tamatakallu*

The brief inscription on the rim of a herostone at Tamatakallu near Chitradurga town in Karnataka is the northernmost Tamil inscription in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu discovered so far.<sup>8</sup> The herostone depicts three warriors in bas relief with an accompanying Sanskrit inscription in the Early Telugu-Kannada script. The Sanskrit inscription was published earlier by Rice<sup>9</sup> who apparently did not notice the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription engraved inconspicuously on the rim of the herostone. Rajasekharappa who discovered the rim inscription has suggested plausibly that it is the signature of the Tamil mason and scribe who carved the herostone and engraved the Sanskrit inscription on it.<sup>10</sup> This is a unique occurrence as none of the herostones found in the Tamil country have the signature of the mason or scribe on them. The Sanskrit inscription and the Tamil Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription on the same herostone may be assigned to the beginning of the 6th century A.D. on palaeographic grounds.

1. See No. 120 illustrated by a direct photograph of the complete inscription taken in extreme dry weather in 1971 by M.G.S. Narayanan (Pl. 53).

2. I. Mahadevan 1999: pp. 1-19.

3. Ibid.

4. See section 1.2.2.

5. In Fawcett 1901: Estampage No. 2 = ARE 121/1897.

6. Ibid. Estampage No. 3 = ARE 122/1897.

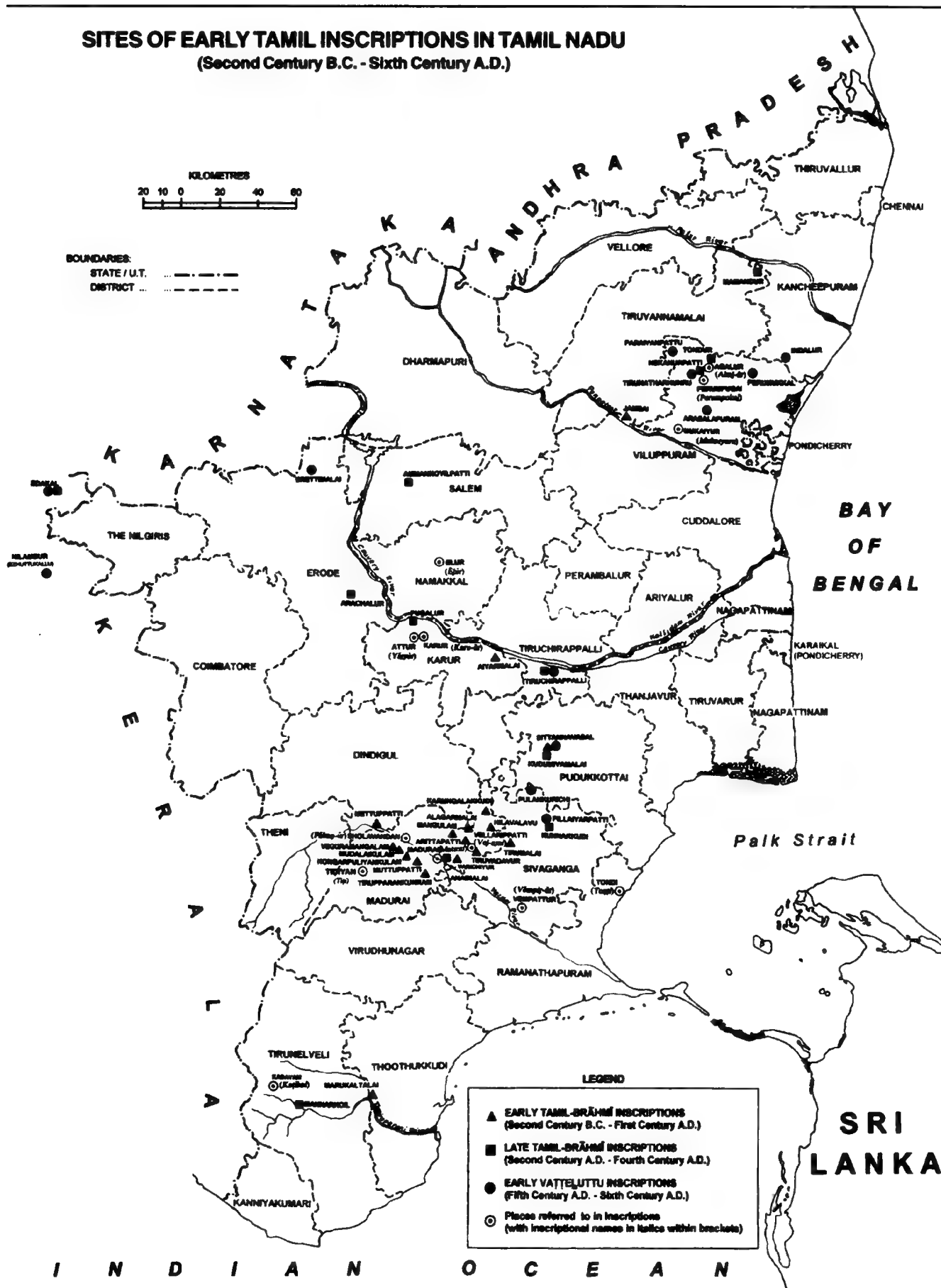
7. Nos. 118 & 119. See also Fig. 8.53 (tracings) and Pl. 52 (estampages).

8. No. 121. I. Mahadevan and S. Swaminathan 1996: pp. 9-12 (with Pl.). See also Fig. 8.54 (tracing) and Pl. 54 (estampage).

9. *Epi.Car.* XI (ed. B.L. Rice), Chitaldurg, No. 42.

10. B. Rajasekharappa 1995. Unpublished paper in Kannada; also in personal discussions when he conducted S. Swaminathan (ASI) and myself to the site in February 1996.

# SITES OF EARLY TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS IN TAMIL NADU (Second Century B.C. - Sixth Century A.D.)



Map I. Sites with Early Tamil inscriptions. (Excluding Tamatakallu, Chitradurga District, Karnataka.)



Map I A. Detail showing concentration of Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions in the Madurai region.

Region	Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions		Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Inscriptions	
	Sites	Inscriptions	Sites	Inscriptions
Northern	4	4	5	5
Southern	20	63	2	8
Western	5	21	3	4
Eastern	1	1	1	3
Total	30	89	†11	†20

† Excluding the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Tamatakallu in Karnataka.

Table 1.1. Geographical distribution of Early Tamil inscriptions in the Corpus.

### 1.9 Map showing sites with Early Tamil inscriptions

Map I shows the distribution of sites with Early Tamil inscriptions. Three periods, namely, Early Tamil-Brāhmī (ca. 2nd century B.C.-1st century A.D.), Late Tamil-Brāhmī (ca. 2nd-4th centuries A.D.) and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (ca. 5th and 6th centuries A.D.) are distinguished in the map.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the inscriptional sites, the map also shows the location of places referred to in the inscriptions, which have been identified. (Modern names are indicated in normal type and inscriptional names in italics.) See also Table 4.3 for the list of identified place names.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.10 Distribution of Early Tamil inscriptions

It is instructive to study the geographical distribution of Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions with reference to the territorial divisions in ancient Tamil country (including present-day Kerala):

Geographical Areas	Ancient Territorial Divisions
Northern region	Toṇṭai Nāṭu (later forming the nucleus of the Pallava Kingdom)
Southern region	Pāṇṭiya Nāṭu
Western region	Cēra Nāṭu (including Kerala and Koṅku Nāṭu)
Eastern region	Cōḷa Nāṭu

The number of sites and inscriptions occurring in each region is shown in Table 1.1.

The most significant feature of the geographical distribution of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions is their heavy concentration in the southern region (Pāṇṭiya Nāṭu). Even within this region, all but two of the sites are clustered around Madurai within about a day's march from the city (see detail in Map IA). Another significant feature is that most of the Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are also in the southern region and again mostly around Madurai. The evidence points to the creation of the Tamil-Brāhmī script at Madurai in the Pāṇṭiya kingdom sometime around the end of the 3rd century B.C. and its dissemination to other parts of the Tamil country shortly thereafter.

The western region (Cēra Nāṭu) accounts for the second highest number of sites with Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. Here again it is significant that most of the inscriptions in this region (12 out of 21) come from Pugalur near Karur, the ancient Cēra capital. Another significant feature is that all but one inscription from this region belong to the Late Tamil-Brāhmī Period.

The northern region (Toṇṭai Nāṭu) has relatively fewer inscriptions and all but one of them belong to the Late Tamil-Brāhmī Period. One of the inscriptions occurs at Mamandur near Kanchipuram, the capital city of Toṇṭai Nāṭu (and later, of the Pallava kingdom).

The eastern region (Cōḷa Nāṭu) is represented by a solitary inscription of the Late Period from a single site (Tiruchirapalli near Uraiyur, the ancient Cōḷa capital). The absence of hills in the Cauvery

1. For chronology of Early Tamil inscriptions, see section 2.16.

2. See section 4.20.5 for the list of identified place names. See also Index to Place Names (Appendix III). Muciri, identified as Cranganore in Kerala, is not shown in Map I.

delta does not fully account for the near-complete absence of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions from this region. Pottery inscriptions in the Tamil-Brāhmī script have been discovered only from two sites (Uraiyur<sup>1</sup> and Vallam<sup>2</sup>); other inscribed objects like coins, seals, rings, etc., with Tamil-Brāhmī legends have not so far been reported from the eastern region.

### 1.11 Distribution of Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions

The number of Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions<sup>3</sup> discovered so far is significantly less than that of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions of the earlier period. This situation looks unusual as one should expect increasing number of inscriptions with the spread of literacy, better communications and trade. Such a development did take place later in the Tamil country from the 7th century A.D. when there was a phenomenal increase in the number of Tamil inscriptions with each passing century. The conclusion is inescapable that the discontinuity in the lithic records in the Tamil country was due to political upheaval and unsettled conditions and the consequent decline in trade caused during the Kalabhra interregnum when a non-Tamil tribe (most probably from Karnataka) uprooted the long-established Tamil monarchies towards the end of the 3rd century A.D. It was only towards the end of the 6th century A.D. that the Pāṇṭiyas in the south and the Pallavas in the north defeated the Kalabhra and restored order which was reflected in the steadily increasing number of inscriptions thereafter.

The regional distribution of Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions is also significantly different from that of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions in the earlier period. As against five sites in the northern region and three in the western region, there are only two in the southern region, while the eastern region continues in the last place with just one site. Considering that the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script evolved from Tamil-Brāhmī, one should expect more Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu records from the southern region. The fact that this is not so again demonstrates the political instability in this region until the restoration of the Pāṇṭiya rule. With the significant exception of the Pulankurichi inscriptions in the south, most of the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu records in this transitional period are found on the herostones in Dharmapuri District and Chengam Taluk in the western region. After the 7th century A.D., increasing number of Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions occur in the southern region under the restored Pāṇṭiya rule.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.12 Catalogues of Early Tamil inscriptions

See Tables 1.2 & 1.3 for catalogues of Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions.

1. K. V. Raman (ed.) 1988: p. 72, Fig. 24.
2. Y. Subbarayalu 1984: Fig. 26 & Pl. XII.
3. Excluding herostones with Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions.
4. See section 5.19 on Vaṭṭeḷuttu.

Table 1.2

Catalogue of Tamil-Brahmī Inscriptions				
Site No.	Site	Taluk	District	Inscr. Nos.
XIV	<b>Aiyarmalai</b> ( <i>aiyarmalai</i> ) (hamlet of) Satyamangalam	Kulittalai	Karur	50
XII	<b>Alagarmalai</b> ( <i>alākarmalai</i> ) (hill in) Kidarippatti	Melur	Madurai	36-48
XXVIII	<b>Ammankoyilpatti</b> ( <i>ammaṇkōyilpaṭṭi</i> ) (hamlet of) Periyerippatti	Omalur	Salem	84
XIX	<b>Anaimalai</b> ( <i>āṇaimalai</i> ) (hill in) Narasingam	Madurai North	Madurai	60
XXIX	<b>Arachalur</b> ( <i>araccalūr</i> )	Erode	Erode	85-87
II	<b>Arittapatti</b> ( <i>ariṭṭāpaṭṭi</i> )	Melur	Madurai	7
XXVI	<b>Edakal-A</b> ( <i>eṭakal</i> ) (hill near) Sultan Batheri	Wynad	Wynad (Kerala)	79-82
XVIII	<b>Jambai</b> ( <i>jampai</i> )	Tirukkoyilur	Viluppuram	59
X	<b>Karungalakkudi</b> ( <i>karuṅkālakkuṭi</i> )	Melur	Madurai	34
IV	<b>Kilavalavu</b> ( <i>kiḷavaḷavu</i> )	Melur	Madurai	10
V	<b>Kongarpuliyankulam</b> ( <i>koṅkarpuliyāṅkuḷam</i> )	Tirumangalam	Madurai	11-13
XXIV	<b>Kudumiyamalai</b> ( <i>kuṭumiyāmalai</i> )	Iluppur	Pudukkottai	77

Table 1.2 (contd.)

Catalogue of Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions				
Site No.	Site	Taluk	District	Inscr. Nos.
XXII	<b>Kunnakkudi</b> ( <i>kuṇṇakkuṭi</i> )	Tiruppattur	Sivaganga	74-75
XXI	<b>Mamandur</b> ( <i>māmaṇṭūr</i> )	Cheyyar	Tiruvannamalai	73
I	<b>Mangulam</b> ( <i>māṅkuḷam</i> ) (in Meenakshipuram, originally a hamlet of Mangulam)	Madurai North	Madurai	1-6
XXX	<b>Mannarkoil</b> ( <i>maṇṇārkōyil</i> )	Ambasamudram	Tirunelveli	88-89
VI	<b>Marukaltalai</b> ( <i>maṇukāltalai</i> ) (hamlet of) Sivalapperi	Tirunelveli	Tirunelveli	14
IX	<b>Mettuppatti</b> ( <i>mēṭṭuppaṭṭi</i> )	Nilakkottai	Dindigul	24-33
XI	<b>Mudalaikulam</b> ( <i>mutalaikuḷam</i> )	Usilampatti	Madurai	35
XVII	<b>Muttuppatti</b> ( <i>muttuppaṭṭi</i> ) (hamlet of) Vadapalanji	Madurai South	Madurai	56-58
XXVII	<b>Nekanurpatti</b> ( <i>nēkaṇūrpaṭṭi</i> ) (hamlet of) Nekanur	Senji (Gingee)	Viluppuram	83
XX	<b>Pugalur</b> ( <i>pukaḷūr</i> ) (Punjai Pugalur Town)	Karur	Karur	61-72
XIII	<b>Sittannavasal-A</b> ( <i>cittaṇṇavācal</i> )	Iluppur	Pudukkottai	49

Table 1.2 (contd.)

Catalogue of Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions				
Site No.	Site	Taluk	District	Inscr. Nos.
XXV	<b>Tiruchirapalli-A</b> ( <i>tiruccirāppaḷḷi</i> )	Tiruchirapalli Town	Tiruchirapalli	78
XV	<b>Tirumalai</b> ( <i>tirumalai</i> ) (hill in ) Tirumalai Konerippatti	Sivaganga	Sivaganga	51-52
XVI	<b>Tirupparankunram</b> ( <i>tirupparaṅkuṇṇam</i> )	Madurai South	Madurai	53-55
III	<b>Tiruvadavur</b> ( <i>tiruvātavūr</i> )	Melur	Melur	8-9
XXIII	<b>Tondur</b> ( <i>tonṭūr</i> )	Senji (Ginjee)	Viluppuram	76
VII	<b>Varichiyur</b> ( <i>varicciyūr</i> )	Madurai North	Madurai	15-17
VIII	<b>Vikkiramangalam</b> ( <i>vikkiramaṅkalam</i> )	Usilampatti	Madurai	18-23

**Notes:** 1. See Map I for sites.

2. For more details, see data on each inscription included in the Corpus.

Table 1.3

Catalogue of Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Inscriptions				
Site No.	Site	Taluk	District	Inscr. Nos.
XXXIV	<b>Arasalapuram</b> ( <i>aracalāpuram</i> )	Viluppuram	Viluppuram	112
XL	<b>Edakal-B</b> ( <i>eṭakal</i> ) (hill near) Sultan Batheri	Wynad	Wynad (Kerala)	118-119
XXXVI	<b>Erettimalai</b> ( <i>īreṭṭimalai</i> )	Bhavani	Erode	114
XLI	<b>Ezhuttukallu</b> ( <i>eḷuttukallu</i> )	Nilambur	Malappuram (Kerala)	120
XXXV	<b>Indalur</b> ( <i>intaḷūr</i> )	Cheyyur	Kancheepuram	113
XXXVII	<b>Paraiyanpattu</b> ( <i>paraḷiyanpaṭṭu</i> )	Senji (Gingee)	Viluppuram	115
XXXIII	<b>Perumukkal</b> ( <i>perumukkal</i> )	Tindivanam	Viluppuram	111
XXXIX	<b>Pillaiyarpatti</b> ( <i>piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi</i> )	Tiruppattur	Sivaganga	117
XXXI	<b>Sittannavasal-B</b> ( <i>cittaṇṇavācal</i> )	Iluppur	Pudukkottai	101-107
XLII	<b>Tamatakallu</b> ( <i>tamaṭakallu</i> )	Chitradurga	Chitradurga (Karnataka)	121

Table 1.3 (contd.)

Catalogue of Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Inscriptions				
Site No.	Site	Taluk	District	Inscr. Nos.
XXXII	<b>Tiruchirapalli-B</b> ( <i>tiruccirāppalli</i> )	Tiruchirapalli Town	Tiruchirapalli	<b>108-110</b>
XXXVIII	<b>Tirunatharkunru</b> ( <i>tirunātarkunru</i> ) (hill in) Singavaram	Senji (Gingee)	Viluppuram	<b>116</b>

- Notes:** 1. See Map I for sites.  
2. For more details, see data on each inscription included in the Corpus.

## ANNEXURE

### TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS ON POTTERY AND OTHER INSCRIBED OBJECTS

#### 1.13 Pottery inscriptions

##### 1.13.1 Introduction

Until almost the middle of the last century, cave inscriptions were the only records known in the Tamil-Brāhmī script. This circumstance gave rise to the presumption that Tamil-Brāhmī was employed by the Buddhist or Jaina monks who came from outside the Tamil country and were not quite conversant with the local language. It implied that Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions did not represent the standard or the spoken Tamil of the day. All this changed with the discovery of pottery inscriptions first at Arikamedu between 1941-44 and later from many more ancient sites spread all over the Tamil country. At present, there are 20 sites, 14 of them excavated and the remaining explored, which have yielded hundreds of pottery inscriptions in Tamil written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script (Table 1.4, Map II).<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions have been dated by various methods including stratigraphy, associated artefacts and palaeographic evidence from ca. 2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. The practice of writing on pottery seems to have been given up by about the end of the 3rd century A.D.

Yet another dimension to the study of Tamil-Brāhmī has been added with the discovery of pottery inscriptions from sites outside the Tamil country as at Salihundam (Andhra Pradesh), Jaffna (Sri Lanka) and the ancient ports on the Red Sea coast of Egypt (Quseir al-Qadim and Berenike).

While pottery inscriptions are fragmentary when compared to cave inscriptions, they are, in general, more securely dated and provide a glimpse into the secular character of ancient Tamil society. I shall argue in a later chapter that pottery inscriptions indicate widespread literacy in all strata of the Tamil society in the Tamil-Brāhmī period.<sup>2</sup>

Select pottery inscriptions from various sites are illustrated in Figs. 1.19 to 1.21. A catalogue of these inscriptions with readings and references to sources is appended in Table 1.5.

##### 1.13.2 Arikamedu

Arikamedu, also known as Virampatnam,<sup>3</sup> is on the east coast four km. south of Pondicherry on the south bank of the Ariyankuppam river near its confluence with the sea. The site has been excavated four times, first by a French team in 1941-44, then by Mortimer Wheeler in 1945, again by the French in 1947-50 and most recently by Vimala Begley during 1989-92.<sup>4</sup> The importance of Arikamedu in determining South Indian chronology lies in the fact that it was an 'Indo-Roman trading-station', and imported artefacts from the Mediterranean like amphoras, Arretine ware

1. See S. Rajavelu and G. Thirumoorthy 1995 for a succinct account of sites and excavations.

2. See section 4.24 on literacy in early Tamil society.

3. Derived from *vīrai*, the ancient name of the port, mentioned in early Tamil literature. I. Mahadevan 1970b.

4. See Vimala Begley *et al.* 1996: pp. 3-4 for details of excavations at Arikamedu and the reports on excavations.

(terra sigillata), rouletted ware, glass and ceramic items have helped in assigning precise dates to the local culture for the first time.<sup>1</sup> However, the site is a disturbed one and dates based on stratification are not very secure. Wheeler's date for Arikamedu in the first two centuries A.D. has been contested by Vimala Begley who has proposed a wider timespread between ca. 200 B.C. and 300 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

About 66 fragmentary pottery inscriptions have been found at Arikamedu from different excavations.<sup>3</sup> Most of them are in Tamil, but a few are also in Prakrit and Sinhala-Prakrit languages.<sup>4</sup> The inscriptions may be assigned to dates between ca. 2nd century B.C. and 3rd century A.D. mainly on palaeographic evidence.

### 1.13.3 Uraiyur

Uraiyur, now a suburb of Tiruchirappalli town on the south bank of the river Cauvery, was the most ancient capital of the Cōḷas and was a flourishing city during the Caṅkam Age. Since it has been under continuous occupation, it is highly disturbed and has very few open spaces. Excavations in limited areas at different locations were carried out by Mahalingam during 1965-69 and a report on them was published by Raman in 1988.<sup>5</sup>

The excavations have yielded 20 inscribed sherds from Period I levels.<sup>6</sup> The inscriptions, mostly fragmentary, are in Tamil and incised on black and red ware, russet-coated painted ware and red polished ware. Rouletted ware assigned to the 1st century A.D. appears in the levels immediately above the inscribed sherds. On the basis of stratigraphy, associated pottery and palaeographic evidence, the inscribed sherds are dated to the 1st century B.C.

### 1.13.4 Kodumanal

Kodumanal is now a small village situated on the north bank of the river Noyyal in Perundurai Taluk, Erode District. It was, however, a major industrial and trading centre during the Caṅkam Age and was noted for its manufacture of jewellery from semi-precious stones. It is referred to in Caṅkam literature by its older name *koṭumaṇam*.<sup>7</sup> It is significant that the site is located just across the river from Padiyur known in antiquity for the export of beryl (aquamarine) stones to Rome. The site is strategically situated commanding the trade routes from the west coast via the Palghat Gap and onward to Karur, Madurai and the east coast. The importance of the site was recognised from surface collection of gems, terracotta figures and ancient pottery.

1. R.E.M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: sections 4 A (pp. 34-48) and 4F to H (pp. 101-102). Vimala Begley and R.D. De Puma (eds.) 1991: chapters 8 & 9 (pp. 134-156). Vimala Begley *et al.* 1996: chapters 6-8 (pp. 317-387).
2. For chronology of Arikamedu, see section 2.16.1.
3. See the list of pottery inscriptions from Arikamedu in I. Mahadevan 1996a: p. 287. See also Nos. 1 & 2, Table 1.5 and Figs. 1.19 A & B in this vol.
4. The languages of the pottery inscriptions from Arikamedu are discussed in I. Mahadevan 1996a: p. 291.
5. K.V. Raman (ed.) 1988.
6. *Ibid.* chapter 5 by P. Shanmugam (pp. 69-75). See also No. 3, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.19C in this vol.
7. *Patir.* 67 & 74.

The site has been excavated in three stretches during 1985-86, 1989-90 and from 1996-97, first by a Tamil University team led by Subbarayalu and then by a TNSA team led by Natana Kasinathan. The excavation reports are yet to be published, though some important findings have been reported in various publications.<sup>1</sup> This section is mainly based on Subbarayalu's unpublished manuscripts, 'Report on Kodumanal Excavations' (1988) and 'Illustrated Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumanal' (1996), and a personal communication (1997) on the chronology of the site with special reference to the inscribed sherds.

The site comprises a habitation mound and a burial mound (with megalithic graves). The inhabitants of the site in Period I (ca. 200 B.C.-50 A.D.) were principally engaged in the manufacture of gems and iron weapons and implements. The inhabitants in Period II (ca. 50-150 A.D.) were mainly agriculturists. The site has yielded large quantities of beads of carnelian and other semi-precious stones. The gemstone industry at this site seems to have come to an end around 100 A.D.

About 170 inscriptions on pottery, mostly from Period I and incised on russet-coated and black and red ware, have been recovered, the maximum number so far from an ancient Tamil site.<sup>2</sup> The language of the inscriptions is mostly Tamil; only two or three seem to be in Prakrit and one in Sinhala-Prakrit.<sup>3</sup> One of the inscribed sherds with the name *visākī* (fem.) was found inside a megalithic grave.<sup>4</sup> Two remarkable features of writing at this site are the juxtaposition of Tamil-Brāhmī letters and megalithic symbols within the same inscriptions<sup>5</sup> and a very distinctive angular or rectilinear style of writing seldom found at other sites.

It is difficult to accept the explanation of the excavators for the style that it is easier to write in straight lines on pottery, since such writing is not found from other sites. The angular writing has to be regarded for the present as the 'signature' of the Kodumanal scribes. This would help us to recognise pottery inscriptions from Kodumanal at other sites.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.13.5 Alagankulam

Alagankulam is now a small village near Ramesvaram on the east coast, situated on the north bank of the river Vaigai. In ancient times, the river must have joined the sea at this point, but at present,

1. K. Rajan 1994: chapter 6 'Excavations at Kodumanal' (pp. 57-89); chapter 9, section on Kodumanal graffiti (pp. 116-122); 1997: chapter 3, section on Kodumanal (pp. 75-90).
2. ARE B. 306-475/1993-94. Y. Subbarayalu: Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumanal 1996 (unpublished). More inscriptions have been found in further seasons of work by the TNSA at this site. See also No. 4, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.20A in this vol.
3. No. 34 in Sinhala-Prakrit in Subbarayalu's Catalogue has been published in I. Mahadevan 1996c: No. 7.
4. No. 1 in Subbarayalu's Catalogue. For details of the discovery, see K. Rajan 1994: pp. 75-76.
5. K. Rajan 2001: pp. 1-18. See also Fig. 5.13 in this vol.
6. E.g., a pottery inscription from Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka, is written in this style (R.A.E. Coningham *et al.*, 1996: pp. 73-97, No. 16,472). The 'distinctive angularity' of the letters has been noted by the authors (p. 85, Fig. at p. 84). See especially Nos. 12 and 115 in Subbarayalu's Catalogue for very close parallels. I suggest that the inscribed sherd reading *ti mu ja* (prob. for *tami ja*) or the scribe who incised it came from Kodumanal, perhaps in the course of the gem trade. The date (190 B.C.) assigned to the Anuradhapura sherd on the basis of stratification falls within the range known at Kodumanal.

the sea has receded and the river no longer empties into it. However, judging from the quantity of articles made from chank and semi-precious stone beads found here, there is no doubt that Alagankulam was once a thriving sea and river port connecting Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom, with the sea. A remarkable graffito on pottery found at the site depicts realistically a 'large Roman ship' <sup>1</sup> calling at the port. It proves conclusively that Alagankulam took part in the trade with Rome in Classical times.

The importance of the site was recognised from surface finds of rouletted ware, semi-precious stone beads, etc. Regular excavations by the TNSA commenced in 1986 led by Nagaswamy and later by Natana Kasinathan. Only preliminary reports on the excavations and the inscribed sherds have been published so far.<sup>2</sup>

A total of 25 pottery inscriptions <sup>3</sup> were found from the site in five seasons of work during 1986-96. A few of the inscriptions were surface finds and the rest came from excavations. Most of the inscriptions are in Tamil written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script. Among the noteworthy finds are those mentioning *patumāṭ-kōtai* (Patumāṇ Kōtai), <sup>4</sup> apparently a Cēra prince judging from his name, and the personal names *kuviraṇ* <sup>5</sup> (< *kubēra*) and *cātavēta* <sup>6</sup> (< *jāta vedas*). One of the three Sinhala-Prakrit inscriptions <sup>7</sup> found at the site (virtually overlooking Sri Lanka on the other side of the narrow straits) is influenced by Tamil orthography (*cā mu ta ha* for Sinh. Pkt. *śamudaha* 'of Samuda' (< *samudra*); another Sinhala-Prakrit inscription, a surface find, reads *saga* <sup>8</sup> apparently referring to the Buddhist *saṃgha*.

As Northern Black Polished (NBP) ware and a punch-marked coin were found at the lowest levels, and Roman coins of late 4th /early 5th centuries A.D. at the upper levels, the site must have flourished between ca. 3rd century B.C. and 5th century A.D.<sup>9</sup> However, the pottery inscriptions found at the site fall within a narrower range between ca. 2nd century B.C. and 1st century A.D. judging from palaeographic evidence.<sup>10</sup>

1. Lionel Casson 1997. See also Fig. 4.3 and section 4.20.4 (v) in this vol.
2. R. Nagaswamy 1991c: pp. 247-254, Pl. 25.1 & 2; 1995: pp. 70-81. A. Abdul Majeed *et al.* 1992.
3. 15 inscribed sherds from Alagankulam have been published in Natana Kasinathan 1997: pp. 69-72, Pls. II-VII. He has dealt with 9 more inscriptions in a later paper (unpublished). Subsequently, one more pottery inscription was picked up from the surface at the site.
4. See No. 5, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.20B. See also section 4.5.5.
5. Natana Kasinathan 1997: No. 14. See also section 4.19.2 (iii) in this vol.
6. Ibid. No. 13 (with a different reading). See also section 4.19.3 (iv) in this vol.
7. A. Abdul Majeed *et al.* 1992: p. 13, No. 3.
8. Unpublished. I have seen the sherd in the collections of TNSA, Chennai. The occurrence of the rare *sa* in lieu of the more frequent *śa* is noteworthy.
9. These are the dates proposed in R. Nagaswamy 1991c: p. 274, Fig. 1.
10. This is based on my study of the originals in the collections of TNSA, Chennai.

### 1.13.6 Other excavated sites with pottery inscriptions

Apart from the four major sites discussed above, ten other excavated sites have yielded relatively fewer pottery inscriptions (Table 1.4, Map II). Among these sites, Kanchipuram,<sup>1</sup> Karur,<sup>2</sup> Korkai<sup>3</sup> and Poompuhar (Kāviri-p-pūm-paṭṭiṇam)<sup>4</sup> have the potential to yield much greater number of pottery inscriptions than discovered so far. Kanchipuram and Karur have had the same problems as Uraiyur, namely continuous occupation and heavily built-up areas with little room left for large-scale excavations. Still it is rather surprising that Kanchipuram and even Poompuhar (with relatively more open spaces) have not yielded pottery inscriptions in Tamil. The only inscribed sherd found at Kanchipuram<sup>5</sup> is in Prakrit, and the one from Poompuhar<sup>6</sup> is in Sinhala-Prakrit. The pottery inscriptions in Tamil in the Tamil-Brāhmī script found in the excavations at Alagarai,<sup>7</sup> Kovalanpottal,<sup>8</sup> Poluvampatti<sup>9</sup> and Vallam<sup>10</sup> have been published (without illustrations except in the last case). Inscriptions from the recently excavated sites at Maligaimedu and Teriruvēli are yet to be published.<sup>11</sup>

### 1.13.7 Other explored sites with pottery inscriptions

Stray finds of pottery inscriptions have been reported from surface explorations or by chance at Attur,<sup>12</sup> Jambai,<sup>13</sup> T. Kallupatti and S. Pappinayakkanpatti,<sup>14</sup> Odaikalpalaiyam,<sup>15</sup> and Sivakasi<sup>16</sup>

1. *IAR* 1953-54, 1962-63, 1969-70, 1970-71, 1971-72, 1972-73, 1974-75 and 1975-76. K. V. Raman 1987: pp. 61-72.
2. R. Nagaswamy 1981d: pp. 337-339; 1995: chapters 2 & 3 (pp. 63-69). K. Sridharan and K. Arjunan 1992. See also No. 6, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.20C in this vol.
3. R. Nagaswamy 1970: pp. 50-54.
4. *IAR* 1962-63, 1963-64, 1964-65, 1965-66, 1966-67, 1970-71, 1972-73, 1973-74 and 1974-75. K. V. Raman 1968: pp. 238-240.
5. Inscribed sherd published without illustration in *IAR* 1969-70: pp. 34-35. I. Mahadevan 1997a: pp. 238-240 (with illustrations and corrected reading). The Pkt. legend reads *puśa-lakhita* . . . (< *pushya-rakshita/-lakshita*).
6. Natana Kasinathan 1998: pp. 152-154 (Fig. at p. 153). S. Rajavelu 1999: p. 154 (with corrected reading). This interesting Sinh. Pkt. inscription reads: *abi maga-ttō* 'from Princess Maga (< Skt. *māghā*). Influence of Tamil orthography is seen in the doubled *-tt-*.
7. T. V. Mahalingam 1970. The inscribed sherd is not mentioned in this excavation report, but in T. V. Mahalingam 1968: pp. 42-43 (not illustrated).
8. *IAR* 1979-80.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Y. Subbarayalu 1984: pp. 1-98, Fig. 26, Pl. XII.
11. In the collections of TNSA, Chennai. One of the inscriptions from Teriruvēli refers to *neṭuṇki[[i\*]]*, probably a Cōja prince. See section 4.4.2 for discussion.
12. Unpublished. In the collections of TNSA Museum, Karur.
13. Photograph in the report on exploration at Jambai by K. Selvaraj 1981 (unpublished), TNSA Library, Chennai.
14. Two inscribed sherds from each of these two sites found around 1996 during fieldwork by V. Selvakumar, Deccan College, Pune (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation).
15. Unpublished. In the collections of TNSA, Chennai.
16. Inscribed sherds found during exploration in the villages of Karaseri, Visvanatham, Tiruttangal and Anaikuttam near Sivakasi. *Dinamani*, Chennai, Sep. 25, 1990 (with photographs).

(Table 1.4, Map II). Two more unpublished inscriptions recently found on the surface at Poluvampatti<sup>1</sup> are noteworthy as the only ones found so far in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu script (ca. 5th century A.D.).

#### 1.13.8 *Tamil-Brāhmī pottery inscriptions from sites outside Tamil Nadu*

##### *Salihundam, Andhra Pradesh*

Salihundam, a Buddhist site in Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh, has yielded 69 inscribed sherds dating between ca. 3rd-2nd century B.C. and 4th-5th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions are in Prakrit in the Southern Brāhmī script with one notable exception. The unique inscribed sherd is a fragment of a rouletted ware dish of fine fabric found at surface level<sup>3</sup> and said to be similar to Type 1a pottery at Arikamedu. The sherd has been assigned to ca. 3rd or 2nd century B.C. by the excavator who has offered two or three alternative readings of the inscription,<sup>4</sup> According to my revised reading, the text is *na ku lā na* (*nakulan*), a masculine personal name (*Nakulan*) in Tamil<sup>5</sup> after one of the Pāṇḍava brothers. The orthography is influenced by the Bhattiprolu style as may be seen from the apparent lengthening of *lā*. The inscription may be dated to ca. 1st century B.C. from palaeographic evidence. The inscription was incised probably by a Tamil monk or pilgrim at the site.

#### 1.13.9 *Tamil-Brāhmī pottery inscriptions outside India*

##### (i) *Jaffna, Sri Lanka*

The population of Jaffna, Sri Lanka, has been Tamil-speaking since time immemorial and it is not surprising that Tamil-Brāhmī pottery inscriptions occur there contemporaneously with the Tamil country. Several inscribed sherds have been discovered during exploration of villages in the Poonagari region of Jaffna.<sup>6</sup> One of the inscriptions reads *vēḷāṇ*, a clan name related to *vēḷ*.<sup>7</sup> Most of the other sherds are too fragmentary, but the occurrence of the diagnostic Tamil-Brāhmī letters *ḷ* *ḷ* *ḷ* and *ṇ* leaves no doubt that the language of the pottery inscription is Tamil.<sup>8</sup> The sherds have been tentatively assigned to ca. 2nd century B.C. pending regular excavations of the sites.

1. Unpublished. In the collections of TNSA Museum, Coimbatore.

2. R. Subrahmanyam 1964: pp. 43-45, 83-90, Pls. XLVII-LIX.

3. Ibid. Fig. 13, No. 3a; Pl. XLVII, top left.

4. Ibid. p. 44, No. 3a; p. 83, No. 1.

5. I. Mahadevan 1994b: p. 145, Pl. 10. The language is not Prakrit as the reading requires a basic consonant in final position. The language is also not Old Telugu as the expected *-anṛ* ending does not occur. Tamil satisfies all the criteria including orthography. The medial vowel notation is a mixture of the TB-I & II systems as in the Alagarmalai inscriptions (especially, Nos. 38-45, ca. 1st century B.C.). See sections 6.5 to 6.8 on medial vowel notations in Tamil-Brāhmī. The use of dental *n* instead of alveolar *ṇ* has parallels in the Jambai inscription (No. 59, ca. 1st century A.D.).

6. P. Pushparatnam 1993: pp. 36-42, Figs. 27, 30-34; 2000a: pp. 12-13, Table 1; 2001: pp. 85-97, Figs. 1 & 2. I. Mahadevan 1994b: p. 139, Pls. 4 & 5.

7. See No. 7, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.21 A.

8. See also sections 5.12.1 (f), 2(c), 3(c) and 4(c) for the occurrence of these Tamil-Brāhmī letters in loanwords in the Sinhala-Brāhmī cave inscriptions of Sri Lanka.

(ii) *Roman settlements on the Red Sea coast, Egypt*(a) *Quseir al-Qadim*

Excavations in a Roman settlement at this ancient port on the Red Sea coast of Egypt brought to light two inscribed sherds in Tamil written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions read *ka ṇa ṇa (kaṇṇaṇ)* and *cā ta ṇa (cāttaṇ)*. The occurrence of the Tamil nominal ending *-aṇ* in the personal names leaves no doubt about the identification of the language and the script. The inscriptions may be dated to ca. 1st century A.D. on palaeographic evidence.<sup>2</sup> It is significant that both the personal names are also found in pottery inscriptions of the same period from Arikamedu.<sup>3</sup> An ostrakon inscription was earlier found at this site on the surface.<sup>4</sup> The inscription is in Prakrit written in the Southern Brāhmī characters of ca. 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.

(b) *Berenike*

The excavations of a Ptolemaic-Roman settlement at this ancient port on the Red Sea coast of Egypt in 1995 yielded an inscribed amphora fragment dated by stratigraphy to 60-70 A.D.<sup>5</sup> The inscription is in Tamil and written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script. The reading is *ko ṛa pū mā ṇa (koṛra-pūmāṇ)* 'Koṛra(ṇ), the chieftain'.

1.13.10 *General characteristics of pottery inscriptions*(i) *Languages and scripts*

The vast majority of the pottery inscriptions from ancient Tamil sites are in Tamil written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script. Relatively much fewer inscribed sherds are in Prakrit in the Southern Brāhmī script. The pottery inscriptions in Prakrit occur mostly in cities, ports and industrial or trading centres. A unique pottery inscription from Arikamedu dated to ca. 1st century A.D. is in Hybrid Sanskrit written in the Northern Brāhmī script.<sup>6</sup> A small but significant group of pottery inscriptions is in the Sinhala-Prakrit language written in the Early Sinhala-Brāhmī script (ca. 2nd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.).<sup>7</sup> These inscriptions occur at the ports of Arikamedu and Alagankulam and the inland site of Kodumanal which had trade relations with Sri Lanka. The pottery inscription from Kanchipuram is probably in Pāli.<sup>8</sup> Pottery (terra sigillata) stamped in Latin in the Roman script occurs at Arikamedu.<sup>9</sup>

1. D. S. Whitcomb and J.H. Johnson 1979: Pl. 27j; 1982: Pl. 61.O. I. Mahadevan 1994b: pp. 136-155, Pls. 7 & 8.

2. See No. 8, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.21 B.

3. I. Mahadevan 1996a: Nos. 5.22 & 5.25.

4. R. Salomon 1991: pp. 731-736.

5. I. Mahadevan 1996b: pp. 205-208, Pl. 9.1 and Fig. 9.2.

6. R.E.M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: p. 112, Fig. 46.3, Pl. XLI.3. I. Mahadevan 1973: pp. 60-64, No. I, Fig. 1. A.H. Dani 1986: pp. 73-74. His reading *yakhamitrasya* in Hybrid Sanskrit is followed here.

7. I. Mahadevan 1996c: pp. 55-68, Inscriptions 1-7, Figs. 1-7.

8. For discussion, see I. Mahadevan 1997a: pp. 238-240.

9. R.E.M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946. pp. 34-40, Pl. XXIII.

(ii) *Palaeography and orthography*

Palaeography of the pottery inscriptions is considered along with that of the stone inscriptions in Chapter 5,<sup>1</sup> where the special palaeographic forms which occur in the pottery inscriptions are illustrated in Palaeographic Chart No. 7. The orthographic features of the pottery inscriptions are considered along with those of the stone inscriptions in Chapter 6.<sup>2</sup>

(iii) *Contents*

While considering the language and contents of the Tamil-Brāhmī stone inscriptions throughout this study, parallels have been drawn with similar features occurring in the pottery inscriptions.

**1.14 Inscribed objects with Tamil-Brāhmī legends: coins, seals and rings**

Until about a quarter of a century ago, no inscribed objects with Tamil-Brāhmī legends were known other than the pottery inscriptions. The situation has changed dramatically since then and a virtual numismatic revolution has taken place in Tamil Nadu with the discovery of a flood of coins, seals and rings with Tamil-Brāhmī legends. These have been discovered mostly from the dry bed of the river Amaravathi at Karur, the ancient Cēra capital.<sup>3</sup> A smaller number of inscribed objects have been picked up from the beds of other rivers like South Pennar and Vaigai.

As in the case of pottery inscriptions, inscribed objects in Tamil-Brāhmī like coins, seals, etc., have also been found outside the Tamil country. Noteworthy among these are the silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas with the legends on the reverse of the coins in Tamil-Brāhmī; a silver seal engraved with megalithic symbols and Tamil-Brāhmī characters found in a megalithic grave at Anaikoddai, Jaffna, Sri Lanka; a set of local lead coins with Tamil-Brāhmī legends from Tissamaharama on the south-eastern coast of Sri Lanka, and a unique inscribed touchstone found in Thailand.

The appended catalogues of coins, seals, and rings with Tamil-Brāhmī legends (Tables 1.6 to 1.8 respectively) provide a brief description of the inscribed objects, references to the sources and also to the sections in this volume where they are discussed further in the context of the stone inscriptions. As the present study relates to epigraphy, the emphasis is on the palaeographic, orthographic and linguistic features of the inscriptions. Other numismatic data relating to the symbols and physical measurements and specifications will be found in the references cited in the Tables. Most of the legends are in Tamil written in Tamil-Brāhmī. A few of the legends are in Prakrit, and the legend

1. See sections 5.9 to 5.14.

2. See section 6.12.

3. I visited Karur for field study in March 1991. I was amazed to see in the glass cases of jewellery shops in the town hundreds of coins, mainly of the Cēras of the Caṅkam Age, not known earlier. I was told that all of them had been picked up from the river bed. I walked along the dry bed of the river Amaravathi and could see several small groups of tribals digging shallow pits in the sand and panning for coins and gold pieces. On an impulse, I asked one of them to dig at a point chosen by me at random. A shallow circular pit was dug to a depth of one metre when water level was reached. Out of this pit came in the next few minutes a square copper coin of the Cēra dynasty, a Roman copper coin and a gold ring made of wire!

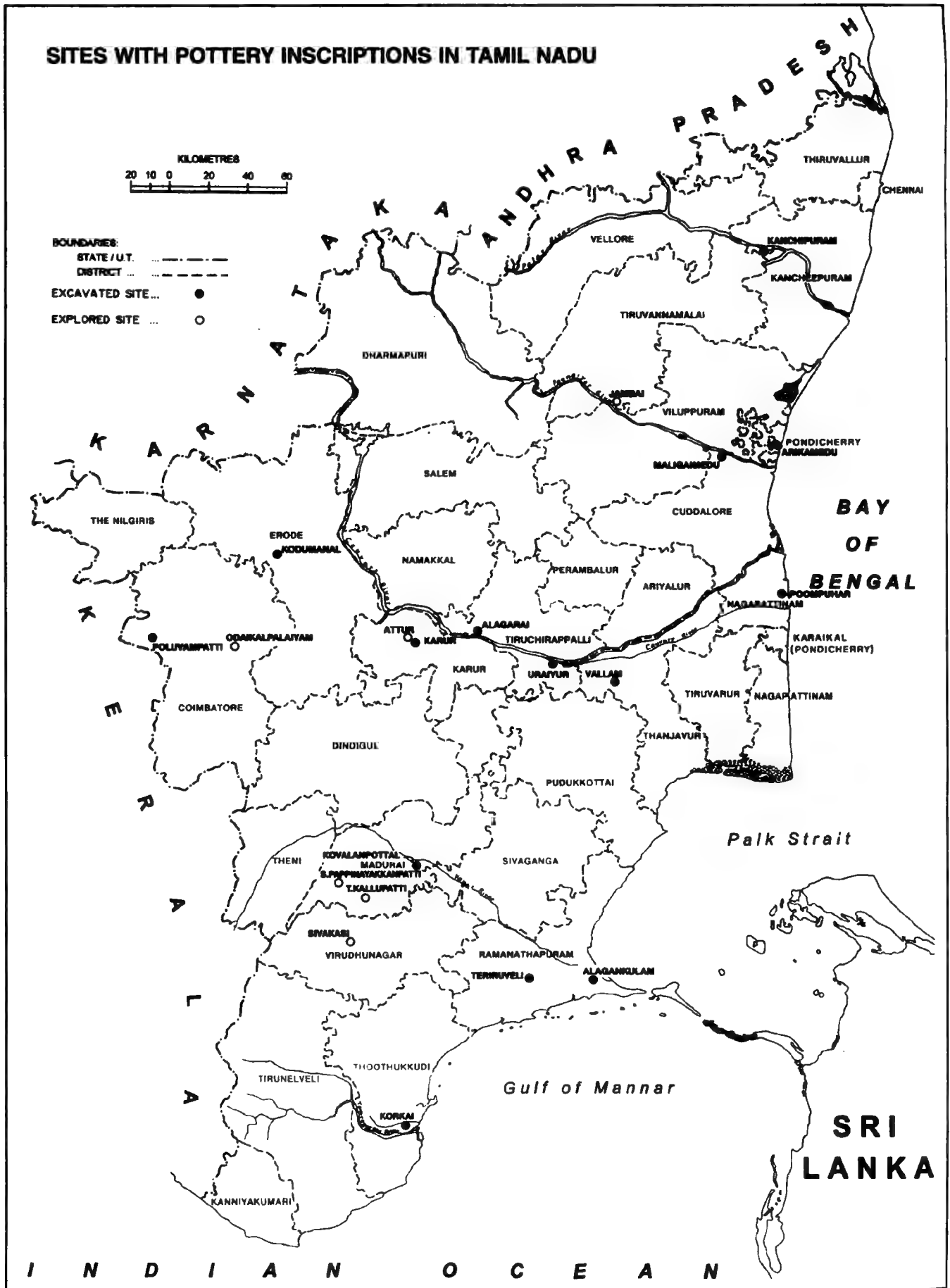
on a unique gold ring from Karur (No. 11 in Table 1.8) appears to be in Pāli; in these cases the script is Southern Brāhmī. Select inscribed objects with Tamil-Brāhmī legends are illustrated in Figs. 1.22 to 1.24.

### 1.15 A unique inscribed touchstone from Thailand

An Indo-Japanese archaeological team led by Noboru Karashima toured Thailand in 1992-93. They visited a local museum in the ancient port city of Khuan Luk Pat on the Klong Thom river in the west coast of southern Thailand. There they saw a small oblong piece of polished stone inscribed in Tamil-Brāhmī with the legend *perum pataṇ kal* 'the (touch) stone of Perumpattaṇ'.<sup>1</sup> As *pattaṇ* in Tamil means a 'goldsmith', the inscribed stone has been identified as a touchstone (*uraikal*) for testing the fineness of gold. The inscription has been dated to ca. 3rd or 4th century A.D. on palaeographic evidence. This is one of the earliest Tamil inscriptions from South-east Asia attesting to the overseas trade of the Tamils with the Far East in ancient times.

1. See No. 5, Table 1.7 and Fig. 1.24 E.

# SITES WITH POTTERY INSCRIPTIONS IN TAMIL NADU



Map II. Sites with Tamil-Brahmī pottery inscriptions in Tamil Nadu.

Table 1.4

Sites with Tamil-Brāhmī Pottery Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu				
S.No.	Site	Taluk	District	Exc. (Excavated) Exp. (Explored)
1.	Alagankulam†	Ramanathapuram	Ramanathapuram	Exc.
2.	Alagarai	Thottiyam	Tiruchirapalli	Exc.
3.	Arikamedu†	Ariyankuppam Commune	Pondicherry (Union Territory)	Exc.
4.	Attur	Karur	Karur	Exp.
5.	Jambai	Tirukkoyilur	Viluppuram	Exp.
6.	T. Kallupatti	Peraiyur	Madurai	Exp.
7.	Kanchipuram	Kancheepuram	Kancheepuram	Exc.
8.	Karur @	Karur	Karur	Exc.
9.	Kodumanal†	Perundurai	Erode	Exc.
10.	Korkai	Srivaikuntam	Thoothukkudi	Exc.
11.	Kovalanpottal	Madurai South	Madurai	Exc.
12.	Maligaimedu	Panruti	Cuddalore	Exc.
13.	Odaikalpalaiyam	Palladam	Coimbatore	Exp.
14.	S. Pappinayakkanpatti	Peraiyur	Madurai	Exp.
15.	Poluvampatti #	Coimbatore South	Coimbatore	Exc.
16.	Poompuhar	Sirkazhi	Nagapattinam	Exc.
17.	Sivakasi	Sivakasi	Virudhunagar	Exp.
18.	Teriruvēli	Mudukulathur	Ramanathapuram	Exc.
19.	Uraiur†	Tiruchirapalli	Tiruchirapalli	Exc.
20.	Vallam	Thanjavur	Thanjavur	Exc.

**Notes:**

- † Major excavated sites with larger number of pottery inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī (ca. 2nd century B.C.-3rd century A.D.).
- @ Most of the inscribed objects (coins, seals and rings) noticed in this study were found in the dry bed of the river Amaravathi at Karur.
- # Only site with a surface find of two unique pottery inscriptions in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (ca. 5th century A.D.).



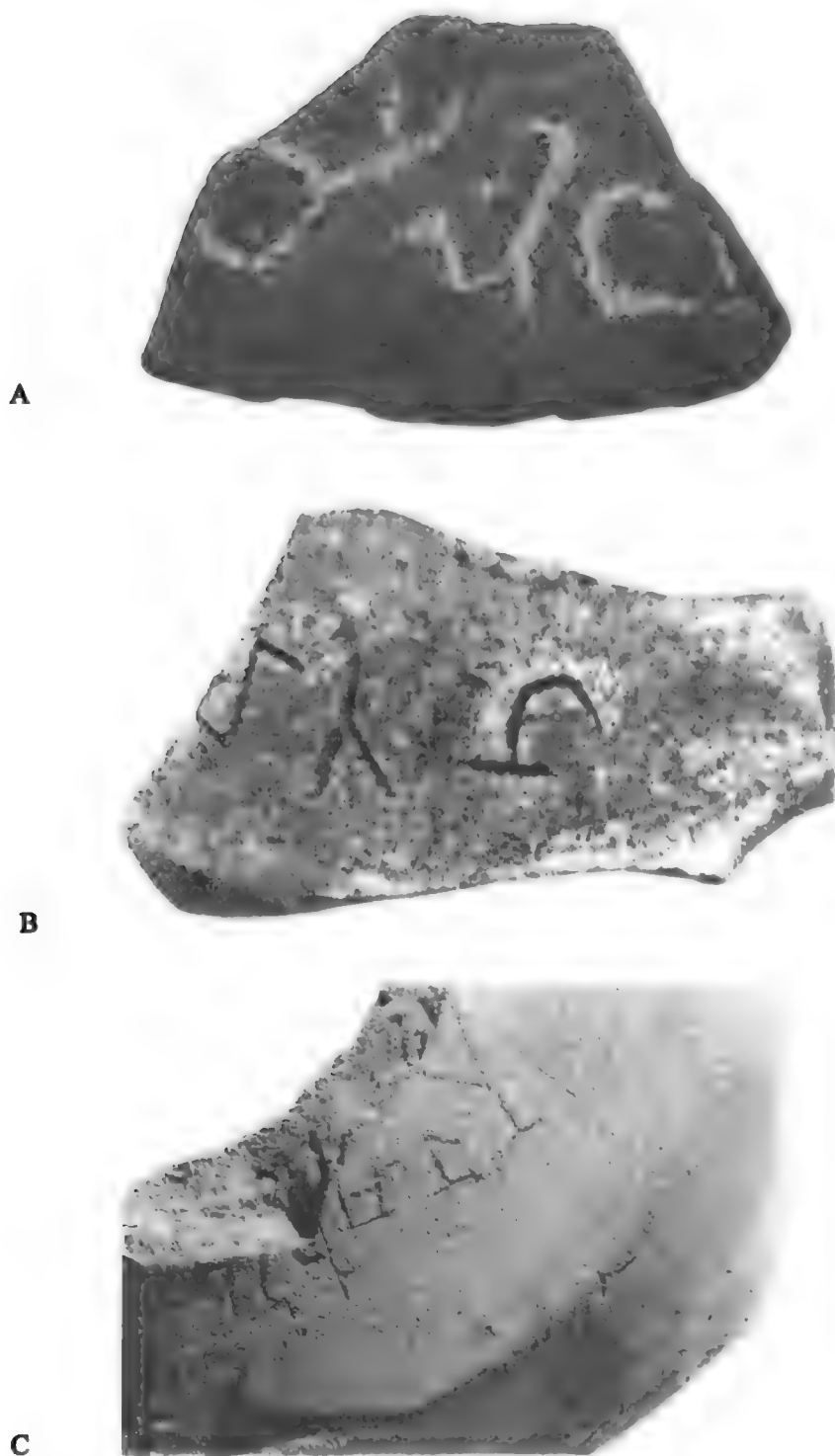
Figure 1.19. Pottery inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī.  
A & B: Arikamedu. C: Uraiyur. See Table 1.5.



Figure 1.20. Pottery inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī.

A: Kodumanal. B: Alagankulam.

C: Karur. See Table 1.5.



**Figure 1.21. Pottery inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī.**  
**A:** Jaffna, Sri Lanka. **B:** Quseir al-Qadim.  
**C:** Berenike. See Table 1.5.



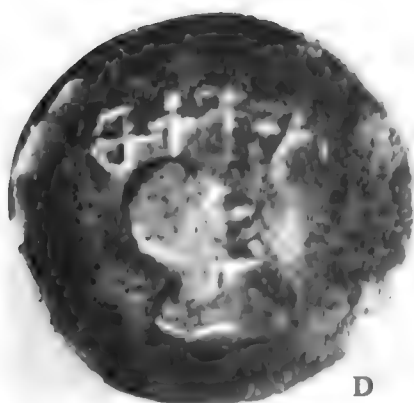
A



B



C



D



E

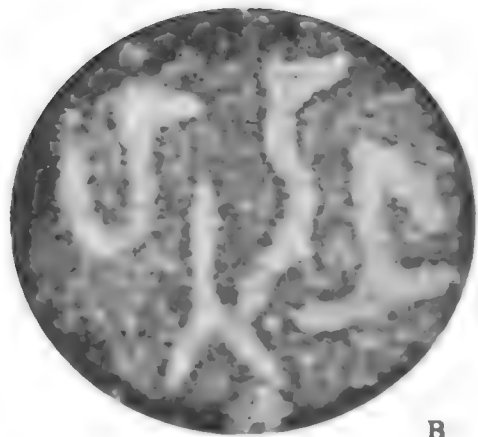
Figure 1.22. Coins with Tamil-Brāhmī legends (inscribed sides only).

A: Peruvaḷuti. B: Kol-i-p-purai. C: Kol-irum-purai-y.

D: Mākkōtai. E: Kuṭṭuvaṇ Kōtai. See Table 1.6.



A



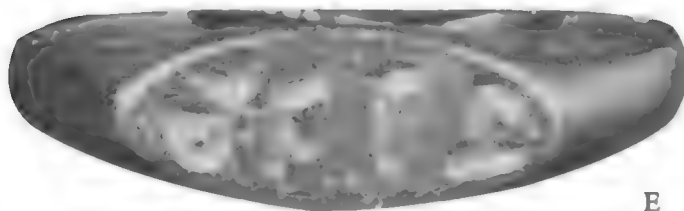
B



C



D



E

Figure 1.23. Inscribed objects with Tamil-Brāhmī legends.

Seals – A: Kuṛavaṇ. B: Parataṇ.

Rings – C: Tiyaṇ. D: Tiyaṇ Ōtalaṇ.

E: Mitiraṇ. See Tables 1.7 & 1.8.



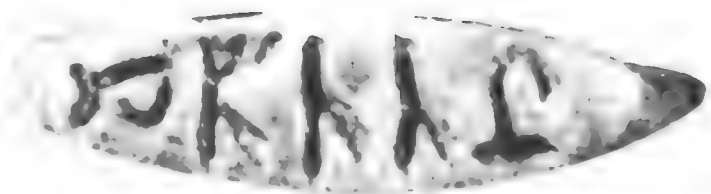
A



B



C



D



E

Figure 1.24. Inscribed objects with Tamil-Brāhmī legends.

Rings – A: Upa-aṇ. B: Veḷ-i Cāmpaṇ.

C: Pēr-avatāṇa. D: Tittaṇ.

Touchstone – E: Perum-pataṇ. See Tables 1.7 & 1.8.

Table 1.5

## Catalogue of Select Pottery Inscriptions from Various Sites

No.	Date ca.	Provenance & Description	Legend	References & Remarks (Fig. Nos. from this vol. in bold)
1.	1-2 cent. A.D.	Arikamedu. Fragment of a thick-walled vessel.	... <i>ṇ</i> <i>tevvai-tattai kōttirā-a!</i> 'Tevvaitattai (< Skt. <i>Dēvadattā</i> ) of the <i>gōtra</i> of ... <i>ṇ</i> .	Found in French excavations. Govt. Museum, Pondicherry. P.Z.Pattabiramin 1946: Pl. XXI, No. 5. Wheeler <i>et al.</i> 1946: Fig. 47.19. I. Mahadevan 1973: No. III. (Fig. 1.19 A)
2.	1-2 cent. A.D.	Arikamedu. Fragment of the incurved rim of a dish.	<i>cāṭṭaṇ-āvi-iṇ kōṭiracaṇ ātiraiyaṇ</i> 'Ātiraiyaṇ, the <i>gōṭraja</i> (descendant) of <i>Cāṭṭaṇ Āvi</i> '.	Wheeler <i>et al.</i> 1946: Pl. XLI, 9. I. Mahadevan 1973: No. II. (Fig. 1.19 B)
3.	1st cent. B.C.	Uraiyur. Neck of a rimmed bowl.	<i>mu lā ṇa pē ṭu a na tā ṇā ṇa ū mā ṇa</i> 'Antaṇaṇ, salt merchant of <i>Mūlaṇṇēṇu</i> ' (in the TB-I notation).	T.V. Mahalingam 1967: p. 311, Pl. 31. K.V. Raman (ed.) 1988: p. 73, Pl. 16. (Fig. 1.19 C)
4.	1st cent. B.C.	Kodumanal. Neck of a rimmed bowl.	<i>kā ṇa ṇā ṇa ā tā ṇa</i> 'Kaṇṇaṇ Ātaṇ' (in the TB-I notation).	Y. Subbarayalu, Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumanal 1996 (unpublished): No. 113. (Fig. 1.20 A)
5.	1st cent. A.D.	Alagankulam. Red slipped ware.	<i>patumāṇ-kōtai</i> 'Patumaṇ Kōtai' (in large stylised letters).	Natana Kasinathan 1997: pp. 69-72, Pl. IV, 8 (with a different reading). See section 4.5.5. (Fig. 1.20 B)

Table 1.5 (contd.)

No.	Date ca.	Provenance & Description	Legend	References & Remarks (Fig. Nos. from this vol. in bold)
6.	1st cent. A.D.	Karur. Black and red ware bowl.	[a*]r(i)ti-y aya marai-y ayai pā[ti*] 'Vessel of Marai Ayyai, (wife / daughter ? ) of (A)riyti Ayya(ṇ)'. Note the peculiar form of the letter y repeated many times.	Natana Kasinathan 1997: p. 71, Pl. II.2. (Fig. 1.20 C)
7.	2nd cent. B.C.(?)	Jaffna, Sri Lanka.	vēlāṇ 'Vēlāṇ' (a clan or caste name).	P. Pushparatnam 1993: p. 40, Fig. 34. I. Mahadevan 1994b: pp. 136-155, Pl. 5. See section 1.13.9 (i). (Fig. 1.21 A)
8.	1st cent. A.D.	Quseir al-Qadim. (Red Sea coast, Egypt).	cāṭaṇ 'Cāṭaṇ' (a personal name).	D. S. Whitcomb and J.H. Johnson 1982: Pl. 61. O (drawing). Photograph published in S.E. Sidebotham 1991: pp. 12-38, Pl. 2.22. I had earlier dated the inscription in ca. 2nd century A.D. from the drawing. The revised dating is based on the photograph which clearly shows the earlier form of c with the closed loop. See section 1.13.9 (ii) (a). (Fig. 1.21 B)
9.	1st cent. A.D.	Berenike. (Red Sea coast, Egypt).	koṛa pūmāṇ 'Koṛa Pūmāṇ' (name of a chieftain).	I. Mahadevan 1996b: pp. 205-208, Pl. 9.1 and 9.2. See section 1.13.9 (ii) (b). (Fig. 1.21 C)

Table 1.6

Catalogue of Coins with Tamil-Brāhmī Legends				
No. Metal	Dynasty/King	Date ca.	Obverse	Reverse
1. Copper	Pāṇṇiya. Peruvaḷuti	2nd cent. B.C.	Horse to l. with other symbols. Bi-lingual legends: <i>pe ru vā ju ti</i> <i>pe ru v[a] lu ti sa</i>	Stylised double fish symbol.
2. Copper	Pāṇṇiya. Peruvaḷuti	2nd cent. B.C.	Horse to l. <i>pe ru vā ju ti</i>	Stylised double fish symbol.
3. Lead	Local issue from Tissamaharama, Sri Lanka.	2nd cent. B.C.	Cock to r.	Svastikā symbol. <i>ma ha cā ta a ṇa</i> ( <i>mahā-cāttan</i> )
4. Lead	Local issue from Tissamaharama, Sri Lanka.	2nd cent. B.C.	Floral design	Floral design. <i>ka pā ti ka ṭā la a ṇa</i> ( <i>kapati kaṭalan</i> )
5. Lead	Local issue from Tissamaharama, Sri Lanka.	2nd cent. B.C.	Floral design	Svastikā symbol. <i>ū ti ṛa ṇa</i> ( <i>uttiran</i> )
6. Lead	Local issue from Tissamaharama, Sri Lanka.	2nd cent. B.C.	Wheel motif	Floral design. <i>t[i] sa pi ṭā ṇa</i> [ <i>tissa piṭtan</i> ]
7. Copper	Cēra. Iṇṇuporai line	1st cent. A.D.	A standing personage under a <i>tōraṇa</i> and other symbols. <i>kol-i-p-purai (kolli purai)</i> 'Porai of Kolli'.	Bow and arrow and other symbols.
				References & Remarks (Fig. Nos. from this vol. in bold)
				R. Krishnamurthy 1987: No. 1; 1997a: No. 8. Acc. to him, the Tamil legend is repeated twice on the obv., and the ending -sa is a symbol (triskle), but see M.D. Sampath 1988.
				R. Krishnamurthy 1987: No. 2; 1997a: No. 9. See section 4.2.2 on Nos. 1 & 2. (Fig. 1.22 A) from A. Seetharaman's collection.
				O. Bopearachchi <i>et al.</i> 2000: No. 17. I. Mahadevan 2000: No. I. P. Pushparatnam 2001: chapter 3, No. 4. Reading in Pushparatnam followed here.
				O. Bopearachchi <i>et al.</i> 2000: No. 20. I. Mahadevan 2000: No. II. See section 4.6.9.
				O. Bopearachchi <i>et al.</i> 2000: No. 21. I. Mahadevan 2000: No. III. See section 4.19.5(iv).
				O. Bopearachchi <i>et al.</i> 2000: No. 37. I. Mahadevan 2000: No. IV. (See this paper on S.Nos. 3 to 6).
				R. Nagaswamy 1995: pp. 9-10, Pl. facing p. 106. R. Krishnamurthy 1997a: No. 173. (Fig. 1.22 B) from A. Seetharaman's collection.

Table 1.6 (contd.)

No.	Metal	Dynasty/King	Date ca.	Obverse	Reverse	References & Remarks (Fig. Nos. from this vol. in bold)
8.	Copper	Cēra. Iṛumpōrai line	1st cent. A.D.	As above with the legend <i>kol-irumpūrai-y</i> ( <i>kol-i + irumpūrai-y</i> ) 'Iṛumpōrai of Kolli'.	Bow and arrow and other symbols.	A. Seetharaman 1994: No. 13. R. Krishnamurthy 1997a: No. 174. See section 4.3.2 on S. Nos. 7 & 8. (Fig. 1.22C) from A. Seetharaman's collection.
9.	Silver	Sātavāhana. Vāsishthīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi	2nd cent. A.D.	Bust of king to r. with a circular legend in Pkt. in Southern Brāhmi script. <i>rāṇō vāsīthi-putasa</i> <i>siri puḷumāvīsa</i>	Various symbols with a circular legend in Tamil in Tamil-Brāhmi script. <i>aracaṇ-ku vāciṭṭi-makaṇ-</i> <i>ku tiru puḷumāvi-ku</i> ( <i>puḷḷi</i> added to <i>ṣ</i> ).	Legends restored from several specimens. See photographs in Fig. 5.9. Courtesy National Museum, New Delhi, and Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nashik.
10.	Silver	Sātavāhana. Vāsishthīputra Śrī Sātakaṃṇi	2nd cent. A.D.	As above with the legend <i>rāṇō vāsīthi-putasa</i> <i>siri sātakaṇisa</i>	As above with the legend <i>aracaṇ-ku vāciṭṭi-makaṇ-</i> <i>ku tiru cātakaṇi-ku</i> ( <i>puḷḷi</i> added to <i>ṣ</i> ).	As above. See section 5.15 on S.Nos. 9 & 10.
11.	Silver	Cēra. Mākkōtai	3rd cent. A.D.	Bust of king to r. with legend above. <i>mā k kō tai</i> ( <i>mākkōtai</i> )	Blank	A. Seetharaman 1994: No. 14. R. Krishnamurthy 1997a: Nos. 164-171. (Fig. 1.22 D from A. Seetharaman's collection.)
12.	Silver	Cēra. Kuṭṭuvaṇ Kōtai	3rd cent. A.D.	As above with the legend <i>ku ṭ tu va ṇ kō tai</i> ( <i>kuṭṭuvaṇ kōtai</i> ) The medial sign in <i>-ku</i> is reversed; the <i>puḷḷi</i> is added to the 3rd instead of the 2nd letter.	Blank	R. Krishnamurthy 1997a: No. 172. See section 4.3.4 on Nos. 11 & 12. (Fig. 1.22 E from the collections of Balaswamy Jewellers, Karur. Photograph, courtesy R. Krishnamurthy.)
13.	Lead	Chieftain of a local dynasty. Cēntaṇ	3rd cent. A.D.	<i>atiṇṇaṇ etirāṇ cēntaṇ</i> 'Cēntaṇ, descendant (?) of Atiṇṇaṇ'.	Hills and river motif.	P. N. Mohandas 1968. K. G. Krishnan 1973-74c. See section 4.5.4.

Table 1.7

Catalogue of Seals with Tamil-Brahmi Legends				
No.	Metal	Date ca.	Provenance & Description	Legend
1.	Silver(?)	2nd cent. B.C.	Anaikoddai, Jaffna, Sri Lanka. A square seal with reversed writing in two lines. Three megalithic symbols in the upper line. A Tamil-Brahmi legend in the lower line.	<i>kō vē (cē?) ta</i> 'king/ chief Vēta (or Cēta)'.  K. Indrapala 1981, 1987. P. Raghupathy 1987: pp. 199-204. I. Mahadevan 1994b: pp. 136-155, Pl. I. See section 5.18.4 on the symbols in the upper line. (Fig. 5.14)
2.	Silver	1st cent. B.C.	Karur. A square seal with <i>śrīvatsa</i> and other symbols; legend directly incised.	<i>ku rā vā ṇa</i> ( <i>kuṛa vaṇ</i> ) 'a member of the Kuṛavar clan'.  A. Seetharaman 1994: No. 6. See section 4.18.1 (iii). (Fig. 1.23 A)
3.	Terracotta	1st cent. B.C.	Kadathur (Dharmapuri Dt.). A circular seal directly incised in bold characters.	<i>pā rā ta ṇa</i> ( <i>parataṇ</i> ) 'a member of the Paratar clan'.  P. B. Venkataraman 1991. TNSA collection. See section 4.18.1 (v). (Fig. 1.23 B)
4.	Bronze	1st cent. A.D.	Karur. A conical seal with a flat circular face. <i>Indra-dhvaja</i> in front of a galloping horse in the field.	No legend.  A. Seetharaman 1994: No. 7. I. Mahadevan 1993: pp. 435-445, Fig. 39.7. See section 4.19.3 (v).
5.	Stone	3-4 cent. A.D.	Khuan Luk Pat (Thailand). A touchstone with legend directly incised.	<i>perumpataṇ kal</i> 'the (touch) stone of Perumpattāṇ'.  P. Shanmugam 1993: pp. 81-84, Pl. facing p. 106. I. Mahadevan 1994b: pp. 136-155, Pl. 6. (Fig. 1.24 E)

Table 1.8

## Catalogue of Rings with Tamil-Brāhmī Legends

No. Metal	Date ca.	Provenance & Description	Legend	References & Remarks (Fig. Nos. from this vol. in bold)
1. Gold	1st cent. B.C.	Karur. The figure of a young prince (prob. Bharata) battling a rearing lion in the field. Legend at l. along the rim. Directly incised.	<i>ti yā ṇa</i> ( <i>tiyaṇ</i> ) A personal name.	Edited from a photograph, courtesy Sankaran Raman. See sections 4.18.1(v) and 4.19.4 (i). I. Mahadevan and S. Raman 2002. (Fig 1.23 C)
2. Gold	1st cent. B.C.	Karur. Legend directly incised.	<i>ti yā ṇa ō tā lā ṇa</i> ( <i>tiyaṇ ōtalāṇ</i> ) A personal name.	TNSA collections. Natana Kasinathan 1994: No. 27. K. Sridharan & K. Arjunan 1992: p. 22 (with a different reading). For discussion on <i>Tiyaṇ</i> , see sections 4.81.1(v) and 4.19.4 (i). (Fig 1.23 D)
3. Gold	1st cent. B.C.	Karur. Legend directly incised.	<i>mi ti rā ṇa</i> ( <i>mittiraṇ</i> ) A personal name.	M. Rajasekhara Thangamani 1999: pp. 90-92 (not illustrated). Edited from a photograph, courtesy M.R. Thangamani. See section 4.19.3 (i). (Fig 1.23 E)
4. Gold	1st cent. B.C.	Karur. Legend flanked by two symbols and reversed as on a seal.	<i>ū pā ā ṇa</i> ( <i>upa[c*]aṇ</i> ) A title.	A. Seetharaman 1994: No. 2. The expression means 'a spiritual teacher'. See section 4.9.3 (iii). (Fig 1.24 A)
5. Gold	1st cent. B.C.	Karur. Legend directly incised. <i>nandipāda</i> symbol at r. end.	<i>a ri a mā ṇa</i> ( <i>ariamaṇ</i> ) A personal name.	R. Krishnamurthy 1997b: pp. 41-43 (with a different reading). See section 4.19.3 (iii).

Table 1.8 (contd.)

No.	Metal	Date ca.	Provenance & Description	Legend	References & Remarks (Fig. Nos. from this vol. in bold)
6.	Silver	1st cent. B.C.	Karur. Legend directly incised.	<i>a na ti kã pa</i> ( <i>antikaṇ</i> ) A personal name.	S. Raju 2001: p. 158 (Fig. at p. 161).
7.	Silver	1st cent. B.C.	Karur. Legend directly incised in two lines.	<i>veḷ-i</i> <i>cāmpāṇ</i> ( <i>veḷli cāmpāṇ</i> ) A personal name.	A. Seetharaman 1994: No. 3. Cf. <i>veḷ-i</i> ( <i>veḷli</i> ) with <i>kol-i</i> ( <i>koli</i> ) in Nos. 7 & 8, Table 1.6. (Fig 1.24 B)
8.	Silver	1st cent. B.C.	Karur. Legend directly incised.	<i>pēr-avatāṇa</i> ( <i>pēravatāṇa</i> [m*]) A title.	The expression means 'one skilled in great feats of memory'; cf. Ta. <i>avatāṇam</i> , <i>avatāṇi</i> (TL). TNSA collections. Natana Kasinathan 1994: No. 28. K. Sridharan & K. Arjunan 1992 p. 22. (Fig 1.24 C)
9.	Gold	1st cent. B.C.	Karur. A bi-lingual legend in two lines; reversed as on a seal. Fish symbol at bottom.	<i>sāṭaṇ</i> (in Ta.) <i>sāti vēḷi-sa</i> (in Pkt.) Personal name(s).	<i>sāṭaṇ</i> : cf. Ta. <i>cāṭaṇ</i> . <i>sāti</i> may be fem. of <i>sāṭaṇ</i> , or the name of a person based on the asterism <i>svāti</i> . <i>vēḷisa</i> : 'of Vēṅgi', a territory. K.V. Raman 1996 (with a different interpretation).
10.	Gold	1st cent. B.C.	Karur. Legend reversed as on a seal; surrounded by an ornamental border.	<i>bhā va ta ta sa</i> ( <i>bhava-taṭṭa-sa</i> ) 'of Bhava-datta'. A personal name.	Pkt. influenced by Tamil orthography. cf. <i>pavatattāṇ</i> ( <i>Cīvaka</i> . 1573). Sankaran Raman 2000: p. 153 (Fig. at p. 147).

Table 1.8 (contd.)

No.	Metal	Date ca.	Provenance & Description	Legend	References & Remarks (Fig. Nos. from this vol. in bold)
11.	Gold	1st cent. B.C.	Karur. A headless goat or sheep facing l., apparently an animal which has been sacrificed.	<i>brahma-sahasa</i> (< Skt. <i>brahma-sahasra</i> )	Ajay Mitra Shastri 2001: pp. 57-59. He reads the legend as a personal name in Pkt. ( <i>brahma-saha-sa</i> ). The legend as read by me appears to be in Pāli and probably refers to some sacrifice.
12.	Silver	1st cent. A.D.	Karur. Legend directly incised. <i>nandipāda</i> symbol at l. end.	<i>tittan</i> ( <i>tittan</i> ) A personal name.	A. Seetharaman 1994: No. 4. See section 4.4.1.(Fig. 1.24 D)
13.	Gold	2nd cent. A.D.	Karur. A Tamil name written in Pkt. in Southern Brāhmī characters. Reversed as on a seal.	<i>na lve llai sa</i> ( <i>nal-vejjai-sa</i> ) 'of Nal-vejjai'. A personal name.	K. V. Raman 1994. cf. Nal-vejjai (Poet, <i>Nag.</i> 250). Conjunct consonants and the Southern Brāhmī <i>l</i> are noteworthy. See section 4.19.3 (vi)
14.	Gold	2nd cent. A.D.	Karur. A standing <i>mithuna</i> (amorous) couple engraved in the oval field.	No legend.	A ring of rare beauty. R. Nagaswamy 1991a & b; 1995: (pp. 66-69, Pl. facing p. 66). See section 4.22.1. (Fig. 4.4)



Figure 1.25. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer (1875-1969).  
His classic paper (1924) led to the  
decipherment of the Tamil-Brāhmī script.

## 2

### DECIPHERMENT

#### 2.1 Introduction

The term 'decipherment' is generally employed to denote the successful reading and understanding of an unknown script in a language which is, to begin with, unknown. It may, therefore, appear *prima facie* inapt to apply the term to the reading and interpretation of the earliest cave inscriptions in the Tamil country, as neither the script (Brāhmī) nor the languages likely to be involved (Prakrit and Tamil) can be described as 'unknown'. However, the fact remains that when the cave inscriptions were discovered, they were found to be wholly unintelligible, and it took the combined labours of several scholars for well over half a century before the inscriptions could be understood.

The following are the main stages by which the cave inscriptions became progressively more intelligible.

- (1) Determination of the true phonological character of the script, which ruled out Indo-Aryan as the language of the inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) Identification of the special Tamil characters *l*, *ḷ*, *ṛ* and *ṟ* in the script.<sup>2</sup>
- (3) Discovery that the cave inscriptions followed orthographic conventions different from those of the Mauryan Brāhmī, but related to the Bhattiprolu casket inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>
- (4) Study of the cave inscriptions *in situ* and editing them direct from the stone.<sup>4</sup>

The whole process can be truly described as 'decipherment' as it revolutionised our understanding of the script and the language of the inscriptions and led to fresh insight into the origin and evolution of Tamil writing systems.

This chapter is a brief chronological account of the decipherment of the Tamil-Brāhmī script. The results of the decipherment relating to the language and contents of the inscriptions are presented respectively in the next two chapters.

#### 2.2 Venkayya's reading

Venkayya was the first to identify the script of the cave inscriptions as Brāhmī.<sup>5</sup> His judgement that "the alphabet of the inscription(s) resembles that of the Asoka edicts and may be assigned roughly to the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd century B.C." <sup>6</sup> has stood the test of time. However, his assumptions, even before any of the inscriptions could be read, that "the language

1. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924.
2. *l* by H. Krishna Sastri (1919) and the rest by K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer (1924).
3. T.N. Subramanian 1938 and 1957. T.V. Mahalingam 1967. I. Mahadevan 1968 and 1971.
4. I. Mahadevan, *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions* 1966 (1968) with further improvements in this volume.
5. ARE 1906-07: paragraphs 1-5; 1907-08: paragraphs 1-7.
6. ARE 1906-07: paragraph 3.

employed in them is Pāli" and that "it was understood in the Pāṇḍya country even at that early period" <sup>1</sup> proved to be incorrect and stalled his efforts to understand the inscriptions. He attempted to read the inscription on a stone bed at Mettuppatti <sup>2</sup> as follows:

The writing on the first bed seems to be *anatai ariyā*. If my reading be correct, one would be tempted to take *anatai*, which occurs also in three other beds, as derivative of the Vedic root *an* 'to live'. If this be the correct derivation of *anatai*, it might mean *living*. The second word in the first bed is *ariyā* which is, perhaps, meant for *ariyānā* 'of the (Buddhist) saints' (?).<sup>3</sup>

This very first attempt to read a cave inscription illustrates a major difficulty, namely, that even if the characters are read correctly with values as in the Brāhmī script, the text turns out to be unintelligible. It is interesting that Venkayya did not consider the possibility that the text, or at least part of it, could be in Tamil, the local language.<sup>4</sup> In any case, Venkayya did not take his own reading too seriously and admitted that "we must wait for more allied inscriptions in good preservation before we can be sure about their interpretation".<sup>5</sup>

### 2.3 Krishna Sastri's readings

Krishna Sastri made the next attempt to read the cave inscription at Sittannavasal,<sup>6</sup> but admitted that he was not able to suggest any possible interpretation of the inscription.<sup>7</sup> However, his tentative reading illustrates another characteristic of the Tamil cave inscriptions, namely, that even where the writing is bold, clear and exceptionally well-preserved as in this case, the text is almost wholly unintelligible. We know now that Krishna Sastri could not have succeeded in reading the inscription as the clues to a correct understanding of the script were yet to be discovered. However, Krishna Sastri had already started moving away from Venkayya's position and, adopting a more cautious approach, declared that the language of the cave inscriptions was "neither Pāli nor Dravidian".<sup>8</sup>

Krishna Sastri lamented that even though the Brāhmī cave inscriptions were brought to the notice of scholars and were also submitted to some for critical study, they still remained "uninterpreted" and that scholars "have not paid to these ancient records the attention they deserve".<sup>9</sup> Probably in desperation, he suggested to Ramaprasad Chanda, described as a brilliant scholar in ethnology

1. ARE 1906-07: paragraph 3.

2. ARE 45a / 1908 = No. 25.

3. ARE 1907-08: paragraph 7.

4. According to our present understanding, the inscription reads *antai ariyti* (the last letter *ti* being engraved on the next bed), where *antai* is a Tamil honorific and *ariyti* (< Pkt. *hariti*) a personal name. See Commentary.

5. ARE 1907-08: paragraph 7.

6. ARE 388A / 1914 = No. 49.

7. ARE 1914-15: paragraph 2. See section 1.3.2 and Commentary (No. 49) for interpretation of this inscription.

8. ARE 1909-10: paragraph 5.

9. ARE 1917-18: paragraph 8. At least part of the blame for this unhappy situation lay with the Government Epigraphist who published photographs of the estampages in such small size as to be virtually unreadable. ARE 1911-12 has one Plate with 12 inscriptions and ARE 1917-18 has another with 22 inscriptions!

"to take up these curious Brāhmī documents of Southern India for study and make an attempt, however slight it may be, to interpret them".<sup>1</sup> He took Chanda on a tour of the caves and supplied him with transcriptions and estampages of the inscriptions. However, his hope that Chanda was "shortly going to publish a monograph on these inscriptions which is expected to throw some fresh light on these hitherto obscure documents" remained unfulfilled.<sup>2</sup> Nothing more was heard of the project which was in any case doomed from the start, as Chanda, a scholar from Bengal and presumably unfamiliar with Dravidian, was not the best choice for the job.

The first major study of the cave inscriptions is the paper presented by Krishna Sastri at the First Oriental Conference held in Poona (Pune).<sup>3</sup> The paper includes his readings of 31 inscriptions<sup>4</sup> from 11 sites. He did not translate or interpret the texts and confined himself to commenting on some of the words he could read in the inscriptions. Notwithstanding this serious limitation, Krishna Sastri's paper represents important, even if tentative, advances in understanding the script and the language of the cave inscriptions.

### 2.3.1 Script:

Krishna Sastri noted for the first time the "purely southern characteristic" of the palaeography of the cave inscriptions comparing them with those of the Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon (Sri Lanka).<sup>5</sup> The comparison was fruitful as it enabled him to identify the occurrence of the Dravidian *!* in the Tamil cave inscriptions based on the earlier discovery of this character by Parker in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Sri Lanka.<sup>6</sup> From the same source, he also identified *ī* which occurs earlier in the Tamil cave inscriptions when compared with the Brāhmī inscriptions elsewhere in the country.<sup>7</sup> This was a valuable contribution by Krishna Sastri to the study of the Tamil-Brāhmī script. He also noticed the occurrence of three other unusual characters in the script which, however, he could not identify.<sup>8</sup> Later, Subrahmanya Aiyer correctly identified them as the special Tamil characters for *l*, *r* and *ṇ*.<sup>9</sup>

### 2.3.2 Orthography:

Krishna Sastri was the first to compare the Tamil cave inscriptions with the Bhattiprolu casket inscriptions of Andhra.<sup>10</sup> However, he did not correctly apply the rules of the Bhattiprolu orthography discovered earlier by Bühler.<sup>11</sup> He assumed that a character in the cave

1. ARE 1917-18: paragraph 8.

2. Ibid. paragraph 10.

3. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: pp. 327-348 (= HKS).

4. 32 inscriptions according to the numbering in the present Corpus.

5. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: pp. 331-332, 347-348.

6. Ibid. p. 334, n.4; pp. 347-348. H. W. Parker 1909: Nos. 26 & 27 at p. 429; No. 38 at p. 431.

7. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: p. 348.

8. Ibid.

9. See section 2.4.2.

10. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: p. 347. See also section 5.6.3 on the Bhattiprolu casket inscriptions.

11. See section 6.6 for discussion on the orthography of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions.

inscriptions, which resembled *nā* of the casket inscriptions, was of the "Bhattiprolu type".<sup>1</sup> This led him to the implausible conclusion that "the numerous words ending in *nā* in all the inscriptions may be taken to be the genitive plurals ending in *-nām*",<sup>2</sup> resulting in a gross exaggeration of the "Prakrit element" in the cave inscriptions. Actually, the Bhattiprolu *nā* (or, more generally, the *-ā* medial sign of Bhattiprolu) never occurs in the Tamil-Brāhmī script. It was left to Subrahmanya Aiyer to correct the reading of *nā* to *ṇ* (the alveolar nasal which occurs only in the Tamil-Brāhmī script).<sup>3</sup>

Krishna Sastri was again the first to guess correctly (though rather intuitively from his knowledge of Tamil epigraphy) that at least some of the consonants in the cave inscriptions have to be treated as basic.<sup>4</sup> Actually, this is one of the main features of the Bhattiprolu orthography and it applies almost without exception to all the unmarked consonants in the early cave inscriptions.

### 2.3.3 Language:

Krishna Sastri was the first to recognise the presence of the "Dravidian element" in the cave inscriptions. He could, however, notice only four or five words "apparently in Tamil" (e.g., *ūr*, *nāṭu*) and the "superfluous *y* after words ending in medial *-ai*" as part of the Dravidian element.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the Prakrit element was, according to him, "more or less clearly expressed" in the inscriptions.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from his failure to understand the orthographic peculiarities of the inscriptions and to identify the special Tamil characters for *l*, *r* and *ṇ*, Krishna Sastri's readings have also been affected by his reliance on the unsatisfactory estampages of weather-worn inscriptions.<sup>7</sup>

## 2.4 Breakthrough: Subrahmanya Aiyer's decipherment

The paper by Subrahmanya Aiyer presented at the Third Oriental Conference held at Madras (Chennai) is the breakthrough leading to an understanding of the real nature of the script and language of the Tamil cave inscriptions.<sup>8</sup> In this paper, he presented his readings and interpretations of 30 inscriptions from 12 sites. While his readings of individual inscriptions are not without problems as we shall see presently, his elucidation of the phonological structure of the script, crucial

1. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: p. 337, n.11 and p. 348.

2. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: p. 347.

3. See section 2.4.2.

4. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: p. 347.

5. Ibid. p. 346.

6. Ibid. p. 347. For our present understanding of the true proportions of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan elements in the cave inscriptions, see sections 3.1.5.

7. There is internal evidence in his 1919 paper indicating his reliance on estampages and not on direct reading from the stone. His mixing up the estampages at Mangulam has already been referred to in section 1.2.1(ii). The sequence of his readings at Kongarpuliyankulam and Mettuppatti is also at variance with the order *in situ* (See Nos. 12 & 13 and 28 & 29.) Direct reading from the stone would have produced more accurate texts in other cases also.

8. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: pp. 275-300 (=KVS).

identification of the special characters for the Tamil sounds *l*, *r* and *ṇ*, and his demonstration that the language of the cave inscriptions is basically Old Tamil with an admixture of Prakrit loanwords have remained valid and constitute the real point of departure for all further work in the field.

#### 2.4.1 Phonological structure of the script

Subrahmanya Aiyer begins by pointing to a "powerful misguiding factor" that what is written in Brāhmī must necessarily be in Pāli or Sanskrit, as the script and the language are "inseparably associated in our minds".<sup>1</sup> Having freed himself from this assumption, he proceeds to delineate the phonological structure of the script employed in the cave inscriptions as follows.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) The *varga-prathamās* have generally been used.
- (2) The soft consonants i.e., the *varga-tṛtiyās* are conspicuous by their absence.
- (3) *śa* and *sha* are not met with, though *sa* is occasionally found.
- (4) The lingual *ḷa* occurs frequently.
- (5) Almost all the vowels with the exception of *ai*, *au*, *ṛi*, *ḷṛ*, *am* and *aḥ* are represented.
- (6) In the case of combined consonants the occurrence of short *e* and *o* deserve special attention, the two being the special characteristics of the Dravidian alphabets.<sup>3</sup>
- (7) The aspirates are seldom used; the only two letters that are met with are *ṭha*<sup>4</sup> and *dha*.
- (8) Some symbols which never find use in the contemporary Asokan edicts are here employed and the sounds which they represent remain to be determined. This is a factor which at once points out that the language employed in the inscriptions contains sounds that could not be represented by the symbols extant in the Asokan code.

Subrahmanya Aiyer also drew pointed attention to the complete absence of conjunct consonants in this script.<sup>5</sup> His analysis decisively ruled out Indo-Aryan as the language of the cave inscriptions.

#### 2.4.2 Discovery of the special Tamil characters

*l*: The letter *l* was first identified in the cave inscription at Tirupparankunram.<sup>6</sup> Krishna Sastri commented that "one can venture to say that it is somewhat like the modern Tamil letter *ḷa*".<sup>7</sup> However, he did not venture far enough and finally opted to read it as *jam* on the basis of its "very

1. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: p. 282.

2. Ibid. pp. 283-284.

3. The reference is obviously to the short *e* and *o* sounds in Dravidian, which are not, however, graphically represented in the early cave inscriptions.

4. *ṭh* does not in fact occur. The earlier form of *l* was misread as *ṭh* by Krishna Sastri and Subrahmanya Aiyer.

5. Ibid. p. 288.

6. Corpus: No. 55.

7. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: p. 336, n.7.

slight" similarity to the Asokan *j* at Khalsi.<sup>1</sup> Subrahmanya Aiyer identified the letter as *l* on the basis of its remarkable resemblance to the modern Tamil form.<sup>2</sup> As he pointed out, its significance would not have been missed but for its association with Brāhmī. The identification suited the context as it produced a recognisable Tamil word (*īla-*). The correctness of the identification has been amply confirmed by later discoveries of the letter in appropriate linguistic context in stone and pottery inscriptions.

However, even Subrahmanya Aiyer could not identify the still earlier form of the letter *l* with the 'circular top' found at Mangulam and other early sites, and misread most of the occurrences as *th*.<sup>3</sup> It was only in 1946 that the earlier form was correctly identified and illustrated in the palaeographic chart published in the report on the excavation at Arikamedu.<sup>4</sup>

**ṛ:** Krishna Sastri noticed the occurrence of two unusual letters in the cave inscription at Anaimalai,<sup>5</sup> "the formation of which is not found elsewhere". He attempted to read them as *ḍu* and *ḍai*, but admitted that the readings were not certain and wondered whether they might be "conjunct consonants".<sup>6</sup> Subrahmanya Aiyer was able to identify the letter correctly as *ṛ*.<sup>7</sup> He inferred from the shape of the letter resembling "a badly shaped *tu*" that it must be allied in sound with *ṭ*. He drew attention to the addition of medial signs to the letter, which showed that it must be a simple consonant and not a 'conjunct consonant' as suggested by Krishna Sastri. He pointed out that the only letter allied to *ṭ* for which a new character had to be added to the Asokan Brāhmī was the Dravidian *ṛ*. He located the clinching evidence in the cluster *-ṇṛ-* occurring in the word *kunṇa-* 'hill' in the Anaimalai inscription itself, which conclusively established the value of the letter in question as *ṛ*.<sup>8</sup> Subsequent discoveries of the letter in stone and pottery inscriptions have fully confirmed the correctness of the identification.

However, even Subrahmanya Aiyer was not always able to distinguish between *ṛ* and *tu* in the earlier inscriptions. The letter *ṛ* occurs ten times in the inscriptions read by him; he was able to identify the letter correctly only in four cases and misread the other occurrences mostly as *tu*.<sup>9</sup>

1. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: p. 336, n.7.

2. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924 : pp. 284-285.

3. Cf. Nos. 2, 3, 34, 43 & 44 for the older forms of *l*, which were not correctly identified in K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924.

4. R.E.M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: Fig. 45 at p. 110. Subrahmanya Aiyer was one of the experts contributing to this section in Wheeler's report. The following comment is made on this letter in the report (p. 111): "The letter *la* has a more circular form in the cavern inscriptions, whilst at Arikamedu it has the almost modern open form. This is a point in favour of a later date for the Arikamedu graffiti".

5. Corpus: No. 60.

6. H. Krishna Sastri 1919:334, n.3.

7. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: p. 285.

8. Ibid. pp.294-295.

9. The letter *ṛ* was correctly identified by Subrahmanya Aiyer in Nos. 11 (once), 49 (once), and 60 (twice), but not in Nos. 3, 6, 11 (once), 12 (twice) and 49 (once).

**ṇ**: The most frequent letter in the Tamil cave inscriptions resembles an inverted J. It does not occur in the Brāhmī script, but looks somewhat like the *nā* of the Bhattiprolu script, which misled Krishna Sastri to identify it as *nā* of the "Bhattiprolu type".<sup>1</sup> Subrahmanya Aiyer took a different line and was successful in identifying the letter as the alveolar nasal *ṇ* in Tamil. It is instructive to follow his line of reasoning summarised below.<sup>2</sup>

- (i) The letter is the most frequent one in the cave inscriptions and generally occurs in word-final position.
- (ii) The letter cannot be *nā* which also occurs in the same inscription along with the new letter.
- (iii) The only letter in Tamil which is mostly word-final and is allied in sound to *n* is *ṇ*.
- (iv) The value *ṇ* fits the context in all cases (see especially *kunṇa*- 'hill' in the Anaimalai inscription).

It is no exaggeration to claim that Subrahmanya Aiyer's identification of the correct values of the special Tamil characters for *ḷ*, *ṛ* and *ṇ* is a feat which places him in the front rank of palaeographers along with Prinsep and Bühler.

#### 2.4.3 Identification of Tamil grammatical elements

Subrahmanya Aiyer was the first to demonstrate convincingly the presence of grammatical features of the Tamil language in the cave inscriptions. Among the features pointed out by him are the following.<sup>3</sup>

- (i) Pronominal terminations *-aṇ*, *-āṇ*, *-ōṇ* and *-ōṛ*.
- (ii) Neuter nominative suffix *-m*.
- (iii) The archaic genitive case-ending *-a*.
- (iv) Verb forms like *kuṭupita*, *ceyta*, *piṛanta*, etc.

#### 2.4.4 Language of cave inscriptions

Subrahmanya Aiyer's analysis not only ruled out Indo-Aryan as the language of the cave inscriptions, but also established convincingly that the language is Old Tamil with an admixture of Prakrit loanwords. His conclusion that "it is quite consistent that in a Tamil country, the inscriptions, meant to be understood by the race, which is not known to have spoken any other language must be Tamil"<sup>4</sup> has never been seriously disputed thereafter.

#### 2.4.5 Problems with Subrahmanya Aiyer's readings

A study of Subrahmanya Aiyer's work reveals that in spite of the correct premises he proceeded from, his readings were often less than successful mainly on account of the following reasons.

1. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: p. 337, n.11 and p. 348.
2. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: p. 284.
3. Ibid. pp. 286-287 & 296.
4. Ibid. p. 286.

(a) *Incorrect orthography*

Subrahmanya Aiyer was aware that the orthographic conventions relating to medial vowels in the Tamil cave inscriptions were different from those of the Asokan Brāhmī script. He refers to the Bhattiprolu casket inscriptions and actually cites Bühler's crucial discovery that "the medial short -a is indicated in the Southern Mauryan script by the addition of a horizontal stroke to the top of the consonant, which denotes the long -ā in Mauryan", but rejects its application to the cave inscriptions on the ground that "the addition of the horizontal stroke without any further change represents the long -ā in the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions".<sup>1</sup> Subrahmanya Aiyer's alternative suggestion that there is "unnecessary lengthening of penultimate short consonants (read syllables) in some words"<sup>2</sup> is not supported even by his own readings; e.g., *sālākāṇa* > *sālakaṇ*, where the last two vowels are 'lengthened'. The simpler solution that, unlike at Bhattiprolu, the medial stroke represented both -a and -ā according to the context in the cave inscriptions did not occur to him.

(b) *Overestimating the Prakrit element*

According to Subrahmanya Aiyer, "a large number of Sanskrit words in their Prākṛit forms" occur in these records.<sup>3</sup> Later studies have shown that he tended to overestimate the presence of the Indo-Aryan element in these records, though not perhaps to the same extent as was done by Krishna Sastri. Many of the so-called Prakrit words turn out to be due to incorrect reading. For example, out of the fifteen words listed by Subrahmanya Aiyer in their Sanskrit form to illustrate his point, about half the number do not in fact occur in the inscriptions read by him.<sup>4</sup>

(c) *Reliance on unsatisfactory estampages*

Even though Subrahmanya Aiyer discovered many of the cave inscriptions and had seen most others *in situ*, he appears to have edited the inscriptions for publication relying on unsatisfactory estampages of weather-worn inscriptions. Otherwise, the mixing up of estampages at Mangulam and the incorrect sequence of reading the inscriptions at Kongarpuliyankulam, Vikkiramangalam and Mettuppatti could not have happened.<sup>5</sup> I have no doubt that direct editing from the stone would have produced more accurate texts in most cases.

(d) *Some 'strange' readings*

The cumulative effect of the problems discussed above has been to produce some strange readings as the examples given below show. (The upper lines in normal type reproduce Subrahmanya Aiyer's readings, while the lower lines in italics are the corresponding texts in the present Corpus).

1. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: p. 283.

2. Ibid. p. 286.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. *karaṇi*, *kārita*, *kula*, *caitya*, *putra*, *yaksha* and *vatsa* in this list are the result of misread words.

5. See notes on locus in Nos. 3, 12, 13, 21, 27 and 28. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer himself states that his interpretations are based "mostly on the three plates given by Mr. Krishna Sastri" (1924: p. 282).

- (1) *veḷ aḍaiy nikāmatāko potir yakāsīti kāaritāva . . .<sup>1</sup>*  
*veḷ-aḍai-y nikamatu kāviti-iy kāḷitika antai . . .*
- (2) *ūpācāa pōta neṭula vōccō koṭu paḷii.<sup>2</sup>*  
*upaca-aṇ tonṭi=lavōṇ koṭu paḷi-i.*
- (3) *kūtu koṭālaku itātāviṇ ceṭu atāṇ lēṇ.<sup>3</sup>*  
*kuṭu koṭalku ittavaṇ ceṭ-ataṇ-ōṇ.*

#### 2.4.6 Assessment of Subrahmanya Aiyer's work

Notwithstanding the errors in Subrahmanya Aiyer's readings of individual inscriptions, which have been corrected by later research, his basic findings on the phonological structure of the script and nature of the language of the cave inscriptions have remained intact. They have provided the secure foundation for further work which has revealed that the cave inscriptions turn out to be in simple and intelligible Tamil when read with proper values for characters and with appropriate orthographic conventions.

#### 2.5 A comic interlude

Fifteen years after Subrahmanya Aiyer's path-breaking study appeared, Narayana Rao made an unsuccessful effort to put the clock back.<sup>4</sup> Basing himself wholly on Krishna Sastri's readings, Narayana Rao argued that since all known inscriptions in the Brāhmī script were in Prakrit, the cave inscriptions in this script in the Tamil country must also be in the same language. He suggested that these inscriptions were in "a form of Prākṛit described by the Prākṛit grammarians as Paisācī".<sup>5</sup> According to him, "the Pāṇḍya country ... is a tract where the prevailing language is Paisācī".<sup>6</sup> To prove his thesis, he tortured Krishna Sastri's readings to make them yield texts supposedly in Prakrit, getting his clue from the *-nā* (>*-nām*) ending suggested by Krishna Sastri for many of the inscriptions. For example, the long inscription at Mangulam read by Krishna Sastri and Subrahmanya Aiyer becomes (in the Sanskritised version by Narayana Rao):<sup>7</sup>

*gaṇakānām nāthā(nām) Śrī-yakshāṇām dharmam;*  
*idha (itaḥ) nartinām sārthavāhakānām*  
*Simhaḷānām śrēshṭhikānām dāna-dēyam;*  
*śrēshṭhikānām caitya-pālikā.*

1. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: p. 292: No. IVC= No. 3.
2. Ibid. p. 294: No. V=No. 10.
3. Ibid. p. 295: No. VIIC=No. 12.
4. C. Narayana Rao 1938-39: pp. 362-376 (=CNR).
5. Ibid. p. 376.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid. No. IV A at p. 368.

Narayana Rao's criticism of Subrahmanya Aiyer's work can, with better justification, be applied to his own readings:<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar made a mess of the whole lot of the inscriptions acting on the wrong lead given by Mr. Krishna Sastri concerning the existence of Tamil words. For his purpose of making them appear as complete Tamil records, he took undue and unwarranted liberty with them; he cut off vowels as well as consonants, added others, twisted some more, made wrong grouping of the letters, tried to force meanings into the words he had created, and when he failed to draw any sense out of them, as very often he could not draw, he was satisfied with saying that they are all proper names of persons or places.

The unsound attempt by Narayana Rao was not taken seriously by anyone else and it has now sunk into wholly deserved oblivion.

## 2.6 Elements of Bhattiprolu orthography in cave inscriptions

As we saw earlier, though Krishna Sastri and Subrahmanya Aiyer refer to the Bhattiprolu casket inscriptions and their unique orthographic conventions governing the depiction of medial vowels, neither of them really understood how these were related to the Tamil cave inscriptions. The next major advance in this direction is due to Subramanian who authored the first book in Tamil on palaeography in 1938 with an English translation by himself in 1957.<sup>2</sup> Subramanian did not read or interpret individual inscriptions and confined himself to a general discussion on the palaeography of the script illustrating it with the first published palaeographic chart based on the cave inscriptions discovered up to that time.<sup>3</sup> Subramanian was the first to recognise and state clearly that the Bhattiprolu conventions of

(a) treatment of the consonantal symbol as basic, that is, without the 'inherent' -a medial vowel; and

(b) the consequential use of the -ā medial stroke of Brāhmī to indicate the -a medial vowel, are "found also in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Tamiḷ-nāḍu".<sup>4</sup> Later discoveries of these orthographic conventions not only in cave inscriptions but also in pottery inscriptions and legends on coins, seals, etc., in the Early Tamil-Brāhmī script, have proved beyond doubt the correctness of the important observation made by Subramanian.

Subramanian also noted that the characteristic -ā medial sign of Bhattiprolu does not occur in the Tamil cave inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> He was, however, uncomfortable, like Subrahmanya Aiyer before him, with the idea that the same sign could represent either -a or -ā medial vowels according to the

1. C. Narayana Rao 1938-39: p. 376.

2. T.N. Subramanian 1938 (reprint 1996). His English translation (with revisions) is included in *SITI*. III. 2: 1499-1610. The citations are from the English translation unless otherwise stated.

3. T.N. Subramanian 1957: Pl. 1, p. 1512.

4. *Ibid.* pp. 1508-1509.

5. *Ibid.* p. 1509.

context. This explains his search for yet another alternative solution and his claim that the medial *-ā* was sometimes represented by two horizontal strokes attached to the consonantal symbol.<sup>1</sup> The claim is not borne out by actual evidence *in situ*.<sup>2</sup>

Subramanian does not also appear to have comprehended the true import of the Bhattiprolu conventions as seen from his explanation that they were intended to avoid the confusion between the Brāhmī *anusvāra* and the Tamil *puḷḷi*.<sup>3</sup> As we shall see presently, the *puḷḷi* was a later development in Tamil-Brāhmī in response to a problem which did not exist in the Bhattiprolu script.<sup>4</sup>

## 2.7 The first linguistic study

In 1964, Kamil Zvelebil, the renowned Dravidianist, published the first formal study of the language of the cave inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> The linguistic analysis is based on his readings of 34 inscriptions from 13 sites.<sup>6</sup> His readings from the photographs of estampages published in *ARE* stay close to those of Krishna Sastri and Subrahmanya Aiyer with only a few relatively minor emendations. It is thus inevitable that Zvelebil's readings share the same problems which have affected the earlier attempts, namely, lack of understanding of the relevant rules of orthography, wrong identification of the earlier forms of *l* and *r*, and the generally incorrect readings based on unsatisfactory estampages. As regards orthography, Subrahmanya Aiyer's rule that the penultimate vowel in a word tended to get unnecessarily lengthened, was extended by Zvelebil to include the "ultimate and penultimate syllables"<sup>7</sup> also. However, this modification too does not cover all the observed cases of apparent lengthening of vowels (e.g., *i ḷā nā tā ṇa* for *iḷanatan* in No. 17).<sup>8</sup> The simpler and more elegant solution to the problem of apparent lengthening of vowels is to recognise the dual values of the medial sign representing *-a* and *-ā* according to the context. In spite of these problems, Zvelebil was able to reach the conclusion that the language of the cave inscriptions is basically Tamil, though in a "hybridized form".<sup>9</sup> We shall consider the results of Zvelebil's linguistic analysis more fully in the next chapter.<sup>10</sup>

1. T.N. Subramanian 1957: p. 1509 and Pl. 1.
2. Subramanian does not cite the source of his illustration. Apparently his drawing of *cā* with two horizontal strokes is based on the estampage of an inscription at Kongarpuliyankulam (No. 12 in the present Corpus). The letter is read as *ce/cē* by most authorities including T.V. Mahalingam (1967: pp. 224-231) or as *cō* by others.
3. T.N. Subramanian 1957: p. 1508.
4. See sections 6.8 & 6.9.
5. Kamil Zvelebil 1964: *Archiv Orientalni*, 32, pp. 647-675 (reprinted in ) *Tamil Culture*, vol. XII, No. 1 (1966): pp. 13-50 (=KZ). Citations are from the latter source.
6. Excluding Sittannavasal II which belongs to a later period (ca. 8th century A.D.).
7. Kamil Zvelebil 1966: p. 46.
8. My earlier attempt to explain the apparent lengthening of the final syllable (*-a > -ā*) as due to writing the final *-ṇ* as *-aṇ* also failed for the same reason (I. Mahadevan 1965c).
9. Kamil Zvelebil 1966: p. 48.
10. See section 3.1.

## 2.8 Discovery of the *puḷḷi* in the Tamil-Brāhmī script

The *puḷḷi* (literally, 'dot') is a diacritic device in the Tamil script to mark the basic consonants and (formerly) the short *e* and *o* vowels.<sup>1</sup> The occurrence of the *puḷḷi* in the cave inscriptions was not suspected for a long time. Krishna Sastri did notice the 'dots' in the Anaimalai cave inscription, but considered them to be the *anusvāra* of the Brāhmī script.<sup>2</sup> Even Subrahmanya Aiyer failed to notice the occurrence of the *puḷḷi* in this inscription which he discovered. In general, he assumed that "as in most Tamil inscriptions and palm-leaf manuscripts, it (the *puḷḷi*) has to be supplied by the reader".<sup>3</sup> This assumption shows that he did not grasp the essence of the Bhattiprolu convention that the consonant symbol does not possess the so-called inherent -a medial vowel as pointed out by Bühler much earlier.<sup>4</sup>

The Arachalur cave inscription discovered in 1961 has a clear dot placed inside the character for the vowel *e*.<sup>5</sup> The significance of the dot as the *puḷḷi* indicating the short vowel *e* was first pointed out by Krishnan in 1973.<sup>6</sup> The next find of a *puḷḷi* came from a wholly unexpected source, the Tamil-Brāhmī legend on the reverse of the silver portrait coin of Sātakarṇi (2nd century A.D.). The occurrence of the *puḷḷi* in the coin-legend was first pointed out by Sircar.<sup>7</sup> This was soon followed by the discovery of the *puḷḷi* in the legend of the Andippatti Hoard of lead coins of Cēntaṇ (ca. 3rd century A.D.) by Mohandas.<sup>8</sup> The next advance came when Jebarajan and Gift Siromoney identified the *puḷḷi* in the Anaimalai cave inscription, overlooked by the earlier investigators.<sup>9</sup> It is now known that the earliest occurrence of the *puḷḷi* which can be dated is in the coin-legend on the silver portrait coin of Puḷumāvi issued towards the close of the 1st century A.D.<sup>10</sup>

## 2.9 The first book on cave inscriptions

In 1967, Mahalingam published the first book-length study of the Tamil cave inscriptions. In this volume, Mahalingam presented his readings and interpretations of 54 inscriptions from 17 sites discovered up to the end of 1962.<sup>11</sup> For the first time, almost all the inscriptions included in the volume have been illustrated with photographs of reasonable size supplied by the ASI. About 20 of the photographs appear here for the first time.

1. See sections 5.14, 6.8 and 6.9.

2. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: p. 334, n.6.

3. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: p. 287.

4. G. Bühler 1894b: pp. 323-329. See also section 6.6 in this vol.

5. No. 85.

6. K.G. Krishnan 1973-74b: pp. 91-93.

7. D.C. Sircar 1963-64b: pp. 247-252. See also Fig. 5.9 in this vol.

8. P.N. Mohandas 1968, *The Hindu*, January 7. K.G. Krishnan 1973-74c: pp. 139-140.

9. E. Jebarajan and Gift Siromoney 1978: pp. 1-10.

10. I.K. Sarma 1980: p. 115; Pl. 9 & 9A. See also section 5.15 in this vol. for discussion on the coin-legends.

11. T.V. Mahalingam 1967: pp. 201-298 (=TVM).

Publishing his work in the late sixties of the last century, Mahalingam started with several distinct advantages. The language of the cave inscriptions had been proved to be Tamil, and the four special Tamil characters *l*, *ḷ*, *r* and *ṇ* had been identified. The presence of the Bhattiprolu convention and the Tamil *puḷḷi* in the cave inscriptions were known to him. The number of inscriptions had almost doubled providing more material for comparative study.

In spite of these advantages, Mahalingam's readings and interpretations are disappointing. The failure is almost certainly due to his reliance on photographs of estampages and his apparent omission to check the readings *in situ*.<sup>1</sup> Had he done so, he could not have missed the longest Pāṇṭiya and Cēra inscriptions respectively at Mangulam and Pugalur not included in his book;<sup>2</sup> he would have also avoided the mix-up of estampages at Mangulam, the incorrect order of reading the inscriptions at Kongarpuliyankulam and Mettuppatti<sup>3</sup> and quite a few incorrect readings (like *ṭ* for *r* and *ṭh* for *ḷ*).<sup>4</sup> Following Subramanian, Mahalingam also claimed to have found the presence of two strokes attached to consonants to indicate the -ā medial vowel in two of the inscriptions edited by him.<sup>5</sup> This claim is also not borne out by actual evidence *in situ*.<sup>6</sup>

Mahalingam's interpretations, even when the readings are clear, lack plausibility in many cases. For example, he segments *koṭupitavaṇ* (LT *koṭuppittavaṇ* 'he who caused to be given') as *kōṭu* 'hill' and *pitavāṇ*, linking the latter to Skt. *pitā* 'father';<sup>7</sup> he reads *poṇ* 'gold' for which he suggests the alternative meanings of 'Mount Mēru' or 'trap' or 'cavern';<sup>8</sup> he reads *ita* and interprets it as 'Indra';<sup>9</sup> the personal name *ātaṇ* is derived from Skt. *āpta* and interpreted as "a holy person belonging to the Ājīvika faith";<sup>10</sup> in none of these cases, the suggested interpretations fit the context.

## 2.10 Renewed study of cave inscriptions: the first field expedition (1962-66)

The cave inscriptions are engraved on uneven, rough and badly weathered rock without any prior dressing of the surface. Estampages (inked impressions) show up pits, depressions and faults on the rock surface, creating a babel of background 'noise' which almost drowns the 'information' of the inscriptions. Except in cases where the inscriptions happen to be favourably located, the estampages tend to be virtually illegible. It is even more difficult to make out the texts from photographs of such estampages, given the scale of reduction, the quality of the photographs and

1. Except Kunnakkudi and Arachalur caves which he visited (T.V. Mahalingam 1958 and 1962 respectively).
2. Nos. 1 and 62 respectively.
3. T.V. Mahalingam (1967) follows the incorrect order in K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924.
4. E.g., *veḷ-aṭai* for *veḷ-aṭai* (T.V. Mahalingam 1967: No. 1 D & E at pp. 210-211); *eṭhuyūr* for *eḷaiy-ūr* (ibid. p. 213).
5. T.V. Mahalingam 1967: p. 228, n.6; pp. 253-254.
6. See n.3, No. 11 and n.4, No. 55.
7. T.V. Mahalingam 1967: p. 228.
8. Ibid. pp. 229-230.
9. Ibid. pp. 230-231.
10. Ibid. p. 287.

reproduction in print. The earlier attempts to decipher the cave inscriptions were unsuccessful largely due to reliance on unsatisfactory estampages and photographs. This is also the reason why many important inscriptions including a Pāṇṭiya inscription from Mangulam and a Cēra inscription from Pugalur remained unpublished for long periods of time.

When I took up the study of the cave inscriptions in 1961, the Government Epigraphist was good enough to place a set of estampages at my disposal. After struggling with them in vain for a few months, I gave up the attempt and decided to visit the caves personally to study each inscription *in situ*. It took me five working seasons mostly in the winter months of 1962-66 to complete the first round of visits to the caves. Where the inscriptions were at inaccessible heights, ladders or scaffolding constructed from bamboo, casuarina poles or steel slotted angles were made use of to look at the inscriptions from very close quarters and to prepare transcriptions and tracings. Most of the caves were visited more than once to study the inscriptions when sunlight fell on them at different angles during the day.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.11 Tracings of cave inscriptions

Inscriptions are normally illustrated with mechanically prepared estampages. Direct photographs of stone inscriptions, except in very favourable circumstances, are seldom satisfactory, and eye copies are not acceptable as they are liable to subjective error. However, an extraordinary situation prevailed in the case of the Tamil cave inscriptions calling for extraordinary remedies. Estampages had been published in the *ARE* and experts of the calibre of Krishna Sastri and Subrahmanya Aiyer had attempted to read them but not too successfully. There was a stalemate with no further progress for four decades between 1924 and 1964. Photographs of fresh estampages made by the ASI in 1963-64 were not noticeably better than the earlier ones. The option of publishing my readings without illustrations did not appeal to me. I was eager to communicate to the scholarly world what I saw—and what I saw was quite different from what had been published till then. It was in these exceptional circumstances that I adopted the unconventional course of preparing tracings direct from the stone and publishing them in support of my revised readings of the cave inscriptions.

The following is a brief account of how the tracings were made (Fig. 2.1). The rock surface was first cleaned to remove dirt, moss, etc. The grooves of the inscriptions were marked with chalk for better visibility through the translucent tracing paper which was then affixed to the rock surface with adhesive tape. The paper was then carefully squeezed into the grooves and a pencil was run along the sharp edges of the grooves to delineate the outline of the letters. After some experimentation and practice, we were able to make reasonably accurate tracings. Generally, more than one tracing was taken of each inscription. Finally, fair copies of the tracings were made in Indian ink for publication.

1. R. Nagaswamy, Director of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, provided all the necessary facilities for the field work and accompanied me to many of the caves. R. Selvakumaraswamy, Executive Engineer, provided technical support especially for erecting the scaffolding. Madagadi K. Thangavelu, civil engineer and expert draughtsman, prepared the tracings under my supervision.

## 2.12 *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966 (1968)*

A corpus of the cave inscriptions discovered up to the time comprising 74 Tamil-Brāhmī and 2 Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions from 21 sites was compiled by me in 1966 based on the following principles.

- (1) Each inscription was read and edited direct from the stone.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) The inscriptions were arranged chronologically based on palaeographic, orthographic and linguistic evidence as follows.

Early Period : 2-1 centuries B.C.

Middle Period : 1-2 centuries A.D.

Late Period : 3-4 centuries A.D.

Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Period : 5-6 centuries A.D.

- (3) The following rules of orthography for the notation of medial vowels were formulated and rigorously applied to the reading and interpretation of the texts.

### (a) *Earlier period*

- (i) A consonantal symbol unaccompanied by a medial vowel sign represents the basic consonant only.
- (ii) The medial -a and -ā vowels are indicated by the same sign and can be distinguished only from the linguistic context.
- (iii) The special -ā medial sign of the Bhattiprolu script is not found in the cave inscriptions.

### (b) *Later period*

- (i) A consonantal symbol is treated either as basic or with the 'inherent' medial -a depending on the linguistic context.
- (ii) The *puḷḷi* does not occur in the cave inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>
- (iii) The top horizontal stroke attached to a consonant represents the medial -ā only.

The *Corpus* was presented (as a pre-printed monograph) at the Seminar on Inscriptions held in Madras in 1966 and included in the Proceedings of the Seminar published in 1968.<sup>3</sup> The paper is illustrated with tracings of 46 selected inscriptions. A companion paper explaining the results of

1. Except IM No. 68/1966 at Tiruchirapalli-A (No. 78 in the present Corpus) which is no longer extant.
2. I had earlier failed to notice the occurrence of the *puḷḷi* in the Anaimalai and Arachalur cave inscriptions. The orthographic scheme was modified later to accommodate the *puḷḷi*.
3. I. Mahadevan, *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966*; (also in) R. Nagaswamy 1968 (ed.) *Seminar on inscriptions 1966*: pp. 57-73 (=IM 1966).

the revised readings in the Corpus was presented at the Second International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies held in Madras in January 1968.<sup>1</sup> The revised readings have been widely accepted and form the basis for much of the later work in the field.

## 2.13 Later publications on Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions

### 2.13.1 R. Nagaswamy 1972

This is a Tamil version of the texts of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (included in the *Corpus 1966*) with brief comments suggesting modifications in some of the readings and interpretations.<sup>2</sup> In particular, his reading and interpretation of the Arachalur musical inscriptions have superseded the earlier unsuccessful attempts by Mahalingam and myself.<sup>3</sup> Another major improvement is the correction of my reading *mātavirai* 'great (Buddhist) nun' to *mātatirai* (> *matirai*) 'the city of Madurai', in an inscription from Alagarmalai, restoring the earlier reading by Krishna Sastri and interpretations by Subrahmanya Aiyer and Mahalingam.<sup>4</sup> This is an important correction as it has done away with the only substantial evidence for associating the cave with the Buddhist faith. Nagaswamy also agreed with Mahalingam in reading *ivakunra* 'elephant hill' in the Anaimalai cave inscription.<sup>5</sup> He drew my attention to the occurrence of the *puḷḷi* in the stone-bed inscriptions at Pugalur.<sup>6</sup> Another significant improvement due to Nagaswamy is the revised reading *perunta(c)caṇ* 'master mason' in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Pillaiyarpatti, confirming that the excavation of the rock-cut shrine and the engraving of the inscription were coeval.<sup>7</sup> This has helped in dating Pillaiyarpatti, the earliest of the rock-cut shrines in the Pāṇṭiya country, in the 6th century A.D. on palaeographic evidence. I have incorporated these and a few other minor improvements suggested by Nagaswamy in the present Corpus.

### 2.13.2 R. Panneerselvam 1972

This is a critical study of 46 inscriptions selected from the *Corpus 1966*.<sup>8</sup> The tracings which illustrate these inscriptions in the *Corpus* have been reproduced in his paper. While closely following the readings and interpretations in the *Corpus*, Panneerselvam has also suggested a few modifications. Among the improvements made by him and incorporated by me in the present Corpus

1. I. Mahadevan 1971: pp. 73-106. The discussion on the paper (pp. 104-106) was centred on the finding that "Tamil became a written language for the first time in about 2nd cent. B.C. by the adaptation of the Brāhmī script to the Tamil phonetic system" (p. 94).
2. R. Nagaswamy 1972d: pp. 48-80 (=RN). He has dealt with 72 out of 76 inscriptions included in the *Corpus 1966*.
3. Ibid. pp. 75-79.
4. Ibid. p. 60.
5. Ibid. pp. 62-63.
6. Ibid. p. 68.
7. Ibid. pp. 79-80. See also R. Nagaswamy 1973: p. 69.
8. R. Panneerselvam 1972: pp. 163-197 (=RPS).

are the revised segmentation of the longer Mangulam inscriptions<sup>1</sup> and the Sittannavasal inscription<sup>2</sup> leading to better understanding. Panneerselvam has also included in his paper a detailed linguistic study of the inscriptions. A comparison of Panneerselvam's inscriptional glossary and linguistic analysis with those by Kamil Zvelebil (1964) provides a measure of the progress achieved in understanding the language of the cave inscriptions.

Panneerselvam has also made a most valuable contribution by his identification of three generations of the Irumporai princes mentioned in the Pugalur inscriptions with the heroes of the Seventh to Ninth decades of *Patirrupattu*, establishing for the first time a definite link between the kings celebrated in Caṅkam literature and those mentioned in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> Panneerselvam's identification has won acclaim.

### 2.13.3 Mayilai Seeni Venkataswamy 1981

This study of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions published posthumously in 1981 is the second book-length treatment of the subject, and the first to appear in Tamil.<sup>4</sup> This volume contains readings and interpretations of 46 cave inscriptions from 17 sites. Most of the texts are illustrated with tracings reproduced from the *Corpus 1966*; a few other illustrations seem to be drawings apparently based on the photographs of estampages published by Mahalingam (1967).

According to Venkataswamy, there was an earlier Tamil script in which the classical works of the Caṅkam Age had been written long before the introduction of the Brāhmī script in the Tamil country by Buddhist or Jaina monks in about the 3rd century B.C. The earlier Tamil script was gradually supplanted by the newly introduced Brāhmī script.<sup>5</sup>

Venkataswamy also believed that the cave inscriptions were full of errors as those who wrote or engraved them did not know Tamil or had only an inadequate knowledge of the language. The most frequent expression in his book is *piḷai* ('error') attributed by him not only to those who wrote or engraved the inscriptions, but also to those who read or interpreted them in a manner not approved by him.<sup>6</sup>

Venkataswamy compares his readings of the inscriptions with what he considers to be the corresponding forms in *centamiḷ* (Literary Tamil) and interprets them accordingly after making appropriate 'corrections'. For example, *nelveḷi*- is considered to be an 'error' (of the engraver or the copyist) for *Nelvēli* as only the latter place is known to Tamil tradition;<sup>7</sup> *ataṇ* and *antai* are 'erroneous'

1. R. Panneerselvam 1972: Nos. 1 to 3 at p. 183.

2. Ibid. No. 22 at p. 185.

3. R. Panneerselvam 1968: pp. 421-425.

4. Mayilai Seeni Venkataswamy 1981(=MSV).

5. Ibid. pp. 7-10; 25-28.

6. Ibid. pp. 12, 26, 28, 130, etc.

7. Ibid. p. 77.

forms of *ātaṇ* and *āntai* respectively as only the latter names are found in literary works;<sup>1</sup> -*caḷiyaṇ* is an 'error' for *ceḷiyaṇ* as only the latter form is grammatically correct;<sup>2</sup> and so on. Given this approach, his readings and interpretations turn out to be highly prescriptive, imposing on the language of the cave inscriptions norms which are not applicable to them.

#### 2.13.4 History of Tamil Nadu: Sangam Age (Political) 1983

Mayilai Seeni Venkataswamy's revised edition of the cave inscriptions appeared later as a chapter in the *History of Tamil Nadu* published by the Government of Tamil Nadu.<sup>3</sup> 70 Tamil-Brāhmī and 2 Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions are included in this collection. A postscript to the chapter has been appended by the Expert Committee(s), adding further comments and suggesting some modifications of the revised interpretations of Venkataswamy. In this edition, tracings from the *Corpus 1966* have been replaced by what appear to be freehand drawings which are more or less in agreement with the new readings, but bear little resemblance to the original inscriptions. Even these drawings are further altered by the addition of dotted lines to bring them more in line with the proposed readings; e.g., *pāmitti* altered as *vāḷutti* and read as *vaḷuti*.<sup>4</sup> Many of the readings are illusory and the interpretations far-fetched; e.g., the Anaimalai cave inscription is read and interpreted as follows:<sup>5</sup>

*iva(ṇ) kuṇṇratu uṇaiyuḷ pātantāṇ ēri(ēṇi) āritāṇ (ār itaṇ)  
attuvāy(il) ariṭṭa (araṭṭa) kāyipaṇ (kāykuvaṇ)*

None shall climb and step into the hermitage of his hill;  
(he) will get angry if anyone makes noise from his boundary.

#### 2.14 Results of recent research on the orthography of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions

I became deeply interested in exploring the orthographic systems in Tamil-Brāhmī and their interrelation with those of the Brāhmī and Bhattiprolu scripts. As mentioned above, I formulated a tentative model in the *Corpus 1966*. After I became aware of the presence of the *puḷḷi* in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, and taking into account constructive criticisms by scholars, I modified the model in the paper presented at the Sixth International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies held at Kuala Lumpur in 1987.<sup>6</sup> The results of these studies on the orthographic systems in the Tamil-Brāhmī script have been further updated in Chapter 6 in this volume.<sup>7</sup>

1. Mayilai Seeni Venkataswamy 198: p. 78.

2. Ibid. p. 86.

3. Mayilai Seeni Venkataswamy 1983a (in) *History of Tamil Nadu: Sangam Age (Political)*: pp. 37-68 and Appendix (by Expert Committee): pp. 69-91 (=HTS).

4. Ibid. p. 52.

5. Ibid. pp. 57, 89.

6. I. Mahadevan 1990: pp. 35-47.

7. See sections 6.5. to 6.11.

### 2.14.1 Revised model of medial vowel notations

In brief, the studies show that the orthographic conventions governing the notation of medial vowels in Tamil-Brāhmī are different from those followed in the Brāhmī script. There were in fact three successive (though partly overlapping) stages (designated TB-I to III) in the evolution of medial vowel notations in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. These may conveniently be illustrated by the Tamil word for 'son', which would assume the apparent forms of *mākāṇa*, *maṇa* and *maṇ* respectively in the three stages. It also appears that there were originally only two parallel systems of medial vowel notations (TB-I and II) in Tamil-Brāhmī, TB-I being earlier judging from palaeographic evidence. TB-I evolved into the Bhattiprolu system with its distinctive -ā medial sign, while TB-II gave rise to TB-III with its equally distinctive *puḷḷi*. The *puḷḷi* alone has survived in the modern Tamil script.

### 2.14.2 Other orthographic 'peculiarities' in the cave inscriptions

The conventions relating to the notation of medial vowels referred to as TB-I to III are not the only 'peculiarities' in the orthography of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. There are other unusual usages which were inadequately explained or treated as 'scribal errors' or not noticed at all by the earlier investigators. The following is a list of the special usages found mostly in the earlier inscriptions.

- (i) Use of *ī* in the place of *i*.
- (ii) Use of *ū* in the place of *u*.<sup>1</sup>
- (iii) Avoidance of doubling of consonants.
- (iv) 'Analytical' writing (i.e., separation of non-initial segments and suffixes commencing with vowels).
- (v) 'Pause' (i.e., break between the consonant and the following vowel in the same syllable).

The special usages are too numerous and too systematic to be dismissed as mere scribal errors. It is significant that many of these special usages have also been discovered in recent years in pottery inscriptions and in legends on coins, seals, etc. The evidence justifies the search for rational explanations for the observed deviations from the Brāhmī norms. Chapter 6 in the present volume includes the results of recent research, much of it previously unpublished.<sup>2</sup>

### 2.15 Second field expedition (1991-96)

Since the publication of the *Corpus 1966*, more cave inscriptions have been discovered and a vast new field has opened up with the discovery of pottery inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī from explorations or excavations of a large number of ancient sites, and of coins, seals and rings inscribed in this script. As mentioned earlier, corrections and modifications suggested by later researchers to the readings and interpretations in the *Corpus 1966* have been accumulating. The *Corpus* itself has long been out of print, and there has been a persistent demand for a revised and enlarged edition

1. I. Mahadevan 1985a: pp. 22-27.

2. See sections 6.14 to 6.19.



Figure 2.1. Copying of the cave inscriptions at Alagarmalai (1965).  
First field expedition (1962-66).



Figure 2.2. Copying of the cave inscriptions at Tiruvadavur (1992).  
Second field expedition (1991-96).

incorporating corrections and additions. However, I felt that merely revising the published material with additions and corrections would not be adequate and that the time had come for a completely new edition based on a fresh study of all the cave inscriptions *in situ* with a new set of tracings, published along with the best available photographs of estampages. Revised readings and interpretations of the inscriptions would be based on a reappraisal of their chronology, and palaeographic and linguistic features in the light of new developments in the field. A second field expedition was led by me with these objectives.

The second expedition lasted six working seasons mostly in the winter months of 1991-96. In all, 39 sites including two in Kerala and one in Karnataka were visited, many of them more than once.<sup>1</sup> The inaccessible inscriptions were studied from very close quarters from scaffolding erected with steel slotted angles (Fig. 2.2).<sup>2</sup>

#### 2.15.1 Aims of the expedition

It was decided at the outset that the primary aim of the expedition would be to ascertain the exact texts as they occur on the stone, leaving aside the question of interpretation, the former being a question of fact and the latter largely a matter of opinion. In particular, special efforts were made by the team

- (i) to mark damaged, partly preserved or otherwise not wholly legible letters as such;
- (ii) to note the loss of single letters or passages without any attempt to restore them; and
- (iii) to make a special study of the letters variously read by previous investigators and determine their true values *in situ*.

Each member of the team was encouraged to make his own transcription direct from the stone. Where a scaffolding had to be erected, members of the team took turns to sit on it to study and copy the inscriptions from close quarters.<sup>3</sup> The transcripts were compared and differences, if any, settled on the spot by looking at the stone once again before leaving the site. It can now be claimed with reasonable certitude that the fidelity of the texts determined in the manner described above is beyond doubt, even though there is room for further improvement in the interpretations proposed in this volume, which are mine.

1. See Tables 1.2 & 1.3 and Map I.
2. Arrangements for transport and erection of the scaffolding were made by N. Mahalingam, Chairman, Sakthi Group. M. K. Thangavelu, civil engineer, rejoined the team and made the tracings. The 'Madurai Group' (C. Bose, S. Rajagopal, C. Santhalingam and V. Vedachalam from the office of the TNSA at Madurai), accompanied me to almost all the sites. A. Seetharaman, Thanjavur, was my Research Assistant during the field trips. M.D. Sampath, Chief Epigraphist, ASI, and Natana Kasinathan, Director of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, accompanied the team to some of the caves.
3. The operation was not without risk. On the first day of our work in the Alagarmalai cave in January 1992, the scaffolding gave way throwing down Thangavelu and Vedachalam who escaped with minor injuries. Both of them reported for work on the second day unmindful of the injuries.

### 2.15.2 *Special studies*

The following problem-oriented studies were also undertaken by our team during this expedition.

#### (a) *Looking for the elusive pulḷi*

The *pulḷi* cannot be easily located on the rough, uneven rock surfaces. It is virtually impossible to detect the *pulḷi* from estampages or photographs. The discovery of the *pulḷi* in the Anaimalai cave inscription by Jebarajan and Gift Siromoney in 1978 called for a response to try and locate its possible occurrence in other cave inscriptions also. The search undertaken by our team confirmed the existence of the *pulḷi* already known at Anaimalai (No. 60 in the present Corpus) and Arachalur (No. 85), and led to the discovery of more occurrences in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions at Pugalur (Nos. 67 & 69), Kunnakkudi (No. 74), Tondur (No. 76) and Kudumiyamalai (No. 77).<sup>1</sup> Most of the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions included in the present Corpus depict the *pulḷi*; but we were surprised to find them in the Tirunatharkunru and Pillaiyarpatti inscriptions published much earlier without noticing the *pulḷi* in them. The *pulḷi* marks at Tirunatharkunru (No. 116) were detected by our team by observing the inscription in oblique lighting at sunrise and again at sunset; those at Pillaiyarpatti (No. 117) were brought to light by scraping off the thick layer of sandal paste over the inscription on the pilaster. A preliminary report on our fieldwork to locate the *pulḷi* in the cave inscriptions was published by me in 1992<sup>2</sup> and has been further updated in this volume.<sup>3</sup>

#### (b) *Direction of writing*

Almost all the cave inscriptions follow the normal direction of writing from left to right. There are, however, exceptions where the inscriptions have been engraved from the right and/or with the letters turned upside down. These exceptional cases occur at Kilavalavu (No. 10), Tirupparankunram (Nos. 53 & 54), Muttupatti (No. 56) and Kunnakkudi (No. 74). A special effort was made by our team to establish the correct texts and to ascertain the reason for the unusual mode of engraving in these cases. The results of our study of the unusual mode of engraving are reported in Chapter 5 in this volume.<sup>4</sup>

### 2.16 Chronology of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions

The chronology of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions has not been free from controversy. The earlier investigators, Venkayya, Krishna Sastri and Subrahmanya Aiyer<sup>5</sup> assigned the cave inscriptions discovered by them to about the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. on the ground that the characters resembled those of the Asokan edicts. This is a matter of direct and verifiable observation, and the criticism that the dating is based "on grounds which are largely theoretical" is hardly justified.<sup>6</sup> Comparison

1. The occurrence of the *pulḷi* at Nekanurpatti (No. 83) was discovered by S. Rajavelu (1995a: pp. 7-8 with eye copy).
2. I. Mahadevan 1992: pp. 141-167.
3. See sections 2.8, 5.14, 6.8 & 6.9.
4. See section 5.8.
5. V. Venkayya, *ARE* 1906-07: paragraph 3. H. Krishna Sastri, *ARE* 1909-10: paragraph 1. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: p. 280.
6. R. E. M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: p. 109.

with the Brāhmī inscriptions of Sri Lanka and the Bhattiprolu casket inscriptions confirms broadly the dating of the earliest Tamil cave inscriptions in the last centuries B.C. The chronology became controversial only when the earlier date was sought to be applied mechanically to inscriptions with late palaeographic features discovered subsequently as at Pugalur (ARE 1927-28) and Mamandur (ARE 1939-40).

### 2.16.1 Chronology of pottery inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī

#### (a) Arikamedu:

A major turning point in the study of Tamil-Brāhmī was reached when for the first time pottery inscriptions in this script were discovered in the excavations at Arikamedu. Wheeler assigned all the pottery inscriptions found at the site to the first two centuries A.D. based more on the evidence of associated imported Roman ware than of strict stratification.<sup>1</sup> Dani relied on the Arikamedu evidence to date the Tamil cave inscriptions to the first century A.D.<sup>2</sup> However, the coexistence of a Hybrid Sanskrit inscription in the Northern Brāhmī script of ca. 1st century A.D. with Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions in apparently earlier forms at Arikamedu is the result of the slower pace of evolution of Tamil-Brāhmī when compared to Brāhmī.<sup>3</sup> This explanation is sufficient to reconcile the apparent discrepancy between the palaeographic and archaeological evidence at Arikamedu. A proper interpretation of the evidence from the pottery inscriptions at this site would be that the earlier palaeographic forms preserved in them must have been borrowed originally when such forms were still current, that is, not later than about the 2nd century B.C. The earliest Tamil cave inscriptions represent this stage.

At Arikamedu itself, evidence has been accumulating that the time-spread for pottery inscriptions is wider than assumed by Wheeler. Vimala Begley has argued persuasively for a longer period from ca. 250 B.C. to 200 A.D.<sup>4</sup> In particular, she has drawn attention to an important piece of evidence overlooked earlier viz., the inscribed sherd found in the excavation by Casal from the megalithic and Iron Age levels predating Roman trade at this site.<sup>5</sup> According to the revised chronology proposed by Vimala Begley, the sherd is assigned to Phase A (mid-third to mid-second century B.C.).<sup>6</sup> More recently, Vimala Begley has further modified the time-spread at Arikamedu to be between 200 B.C. and 300 A.D., with Phase A between 200 and 150 B.C.<sup>7</sup>

1. R.E.M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: p. 109.
2. A. H. Dani 1963 (Indian edition 1986): pp. 73-74.
3. The pottery inscription in the Northern Brāhmī script of ca. 1st century A.D. is illustrated in Wheeler *et al.* 1946: Pl. XLI, No. 3 and discussed by Dani (1986: pp. 73-74) and I. Mahadevan (1973: No. I). The inscription is exotic and its palaeography has no bearing on the local developments at Arikamedu.
4. Vimala Begley 1983: pp. 461-482, see especially Table at p. 466.
5. J. M. Casal 1949: Pl. XIII-D. For a good photograph of the inscription, see Fig. 5.17 in Vimala Begley *et al.* 1996: p. 304. For the most recent reading of the inscription by I. Mahadevan, see *ibid.* p. 305.
6. Vimala Begley 1983: Table at p. 466.
7. Vimala Begley 1997: The Dating of Arikamedu and its Bearing on the Archaeology of Early Historical South India (unpublished).

At the other end of the timescale, some pottery inscriptions from Arikamedu have to be assigned to ca. 3rd century A.D. on the basis of palaeographic evolution.<sup>1</sup> There is also evidence that the site was occupied even in the medieval period. Furthermore, Arikamedu inscriptions are no longer confined to a single orthographic type (TB-II) as assumed by me earlier on the basis of the evidence available at that time. It is now known that all the three orthographic types (TB-I to III) are present at Arikamedu as in the cave inscriptions, though not in the same proportion.<sup>2</sup> For these reasons, Arikamedu can no longer be considered to be the "sheet anchor" for the chronology of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions as I described it earlier (1971).<sup>3</sup>

(b) *Other sites*

More recent excavations at ancient sites in Tamil Nadu have yielded an abundance of pottery inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī (see Table 1.4 and Map 2). Taking into account the other major sites alone, the inscribed pottery at Uraiur has been assigned to ca. 1st century B.C., at Kodumanal from ca. 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. and at Alagankulam from ca. 100 B.C. to 100 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

2.16.2 *Changing trends in the chronology of cave inscriptions*

In the meanwhile, Wheeler's chronology at Arikamedu has had its impact on the dating of the cave inscriptions discovered later by the ASI. Thus the additional inscriptions discovered at Mangulam, Muttupatti and Alagarmalai were assigned to ca. 1st century B.C. and those at Vikkiramangalam and Pugalur to ca. 1st century A.D. (ARE 1963-64) even though these inscriptions occur in the same caves along with inscriptions dated earlier to ca. 3rd or 2nd century B.C. The inscriptions discovered at Arachalur were assigned to ca. 3rd century A.D. (ARE 1961-62) and at Ammankoyilpatti to ca. 4th or 5th century A.D. (ARE 1979-80). The recognition that not all cave inscriptions belong to the same period is a welcome development; but the dates assigned to the recent discoveries in the ARE appear to be *ad hoc* and, except in very few cases, not supported by discussion of the palaeographic evidence. More recently there has been a backlash reflected in earlier dates being proposed again for the most recent discoveries as at Muttupatti assigned to ca. 3rd century B.C. (ARE 1985-86).

2.16.3 *Chronological classification*

Detailed chronological classification of all the cave inscriptions discovered up to the time was proposed almost simultaneously by Mahalingam<sup>5</sup> and Mahadevan.<sup>6</sup> These classifications are based

1. These are illustrated and discussed in I. Mahadevan 1996a: Nos. 5.6, 5.7, 5.28 and 5.30 at pp. 297-315. Some of the pottery inscriptions published earlier (Wheeler *et al.* 1946: Figs. 46 & 47, Nos. 4 & 15) have also to be assigned to ca. 3rd century A.D. on palaeographic grounds.
2. See I. Mahadevan 1996a: p. 295 for a list of the pottery inscriptions from Arikamedu belonging to TB-I and III types; all the remaining ones are in TB-II type.
3. I. Mahadevan 1971: p. 84. See also section 6.12 in this vol. for discussion.
4. For discussion on dates of pottery inscriptions at these sites, see K.V. Raman (ed.) 1988: p. 71; Y. Subbarayalu: Report on Kodumanal Excavations 1988: p. 67 (unpublished); A. Abdul Majeed *et al.* 1992: pp. 12-13 respectively.
5. T. V. Mahalingam 1967: p. 200.
6. *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966* (1968): Appendix I at pp. 69-73.

on palaeographic evolution and orthographic conventions in the inscriptions. The dates assigned range between ca. 3rd century B.C. for Mangulam to ca. 4th century A.D. for Arachalur. The two lists are broadly in agreement with each other within the relatively narrow range of one century either way. Another slightly modified chronological scheme was also published by me in 1992, taking into account the occurrence of the *pulli* in the cave inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

#### 2.16.4 Reappraisal of chronological evidence

As part of the present comprehensive study, it was decided to take a fresh look into the relative and absolute chronology of the Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions included in the Corpus. Relative chronology is based on palaeographic evolution (recorded in the Palaeographic Charts included in Chapter 5) and developments in the orthographic and linguistic features of the inscriptions. Absolute chronology is based on datable external contacts as in the case of the presence of Tamil-Brāhmī characters in Early Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions in Sri Lanka and in Southern Brāhmī inscriptions in the Deccan. Conversely, the discovery of Brāhmī and Early Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions on pottery found in datable contexts in the Tamil sites and the presence of datable Southern Brāhmī features in Late Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions in the border regions also help to determine absolute dates for Tamil-Brāhmī. The discovery of Tamil-Brāhmī pottery inscriptions from the Red Sea ports in Egypt has provided valuable evidence of external trade contacts. While the results of these studies are included in the respective chapters in this volume, a brief summary of the more important evidence forming the basis for the chronology of Early Tamil inscriptions is given below.<sup>2</sup>

#### 2.16.5 Palaeographic evidence

##### (i) Mauryan Brāhmī

The fundamental basis for dating Early Tamil-Brāhmī is its obviously close resemblance to Mauryan Brāhmī. The near-identity in the shapes of the common letters and medial vowel signs between the two leaves no reasonable doubt that Tamil-Brāhmī was formed from Brāhmī before the end of the Mauryan Age. A small but significant detail is the formation of the Tamil-Brāhmī *ḷ* from the rare Asokan *ḍ* not known to have been in use after his time.<sup>3</sup>

##### (ii) Occurrence of Brāhmī letters in Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions

The Brāhmī letters *dh* and *s* occur only in Early Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions, the latter occurring also in the legends on coins, seals and rings. The presence of Brāhmī letters with non-Tamil sounds indicates an early date corroborated by palaeographic evidence.<sup>4</sup>

##### (iii) Sinhala-Brāhmī

Early Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Sinhala-Brāhmī also resemble each other very closely indicating their descent from Mauryan Brāhmī at about the same time. As Early Sinhala-Brāhmī has been

1. I. Mahadevan 1992: Appendix at pp. 166-167.

2. See also Tables 2.1 & 2.2 appended to this chapter.

3. See sections 5.4, 5.6.1 and 5.12.1 (b); Palaeographic Charts 1 to 3.

4. See section 5.5 (n. 2).

dated with the help of a few royal inscriptions from about the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., Early Tamil-Brāhmī can also be placed in the same period. The earliest common structural feature is the absence of conjunct consonants in both the scripts. The two scripts also share the special forms of *ī* (read as *i*), *m* and *l*, all of which get replaced in Late Sinhala-Brāhmī by the corresponding Southern Brāhmī forms. Recent discoveries of the occurrence of the special Tamil-Brāhmī letters of *l*, *r* and *ṇ* (in addition to *l* known earlier) in Early Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions provide confirmation that Early Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Sinhala-Brāhmī are coeval.<sup>1</sup>

(iv) *Southern Brāhmī*

The 'circular top' form of Tamil-Brāhmī *l* occurs in the Ikshvaku inscription of ca. 3rd century A.D. at Gurzala in Andhra. By this time however, the character in Tamil-Brāhmī had evolved into the 'loop' form. The preservation of the archaic form in the Ikshvaku record indicates that the 'circular' form of *l* in the Proto-Telugu-Kannada script originated from Tamil-Brāhmī.<sup>2</sup> The Tamil-Brāhmī form of *l* occurs uniquely in the Prakrit inscription of ca. 1st century A.D. at Malakonda in Andhra.<sup>3</sup> There has been movement in the reverse direction also. Southern Brāhmī forms are seen in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions during the Late Period (ca. 2nd to 4th centuries A.D.) in the border regions of the Tamil country adjoining Andhra and Karnataka. The Southern Brāhmī forms with known dates help in determining the dates of the less well-known Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions in which the forms occur; e.g., *v* at Pugalur and *k* and *m* at Mamandur (ca. 3rd century A.D.); *k* and *t* at Ammankoyilpatti and *k* at Arachalur (ca. 4th century A.D.)<sup>4</sup>

(v) *Legends on Sātavāhana coins*

The legends on the reverse of the famous series of silver portrait coins issued by the Sātavāhanas in ca. 1st-3rd centuries A.D. are in Tamil in the Late Tamil-Brāhmī script. The occurrence of the Late Tamil-Brāhmī forms of *c* and *m* and the distinctive Tamil-Brāhmī characters *l* and *ṇ* and the *pulli* in the coin legends are noteworthy. As the coins are of known dates, the Tamil-Brāhmī characters occurring in them help to date the inscriptions with similar forms.<sup>5</sup>

(vi) *Pottery inscriptions*

The increasing numbers of pottery inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī from Tamil sites and from outside Tamil Nadu provide a powerful new method to determine the chronology and evolution of Tamil-Brāhmī. The presently available dates for pottery inscriptions range from ca. 200 B.C. to 300 A.D.<sup>6</sup>

### 2.16.6 Orthographic evidence

A method of dating uniquely applicable only to Tamil-Brāhmī is the relative chronology of the three successive (though overlapping) stages of orthographic conventions known as TB-I to III.

1. See sections 5.6.4; 5.12.1 (e), 2 (c), 3 (c) & 4 (c); Figs. 5.5, 5.7 & 5.8.
2. See section 5.12.1(g).
3. See section 5.12.2 (d).
4. See sections 5.6.2 and 5.11; Palaeographic Charts 5A, 5B & 6.
5. See section 5.15 and Figs. 5.9 & 5.10.
6. See section 1.13, Tables 1.4 & 1.5 and Map 2.

It is now becoming possible to fix absolute dates also by this method, as all the three orthographic stages have also been found in excavated pottery inscriptions whose dates have been determined by other methods.<sup>1</sup>

The Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions have some orthographic peculiarities like the use of *ī* for *i*, *ū* for *u*, etc., not continued in the Late Period. Their presence indicates an earlier date which is generally corroborated by palaeographic evidence.<sup>2</sup>

#### 2.16.7 Linguistic evidence

Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions have many archaic lexical items (e.g., *antai* as a free word) and rare grammatical usages (e.g., *-a* as the genitive suffix) which are not found in the Late Period. Causative verb forms are more frequent in the Early Period, rare in the Late Period and absent in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions. The causative suffix *-(p)pi-* is much more frequent than *-vi-* in the Early Period. By about the 5th century A.D., that is, from the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Period, Sanskrit supplants Prakrit as the source of loanwords from Indo-Aryan (e.g., *irācar* < *rājan*). The presence of archaic linguistic features indicates an earlier date which is generally corroborated by palaeographic evidence.<sup>3</sup>

#### 2.16.8 Revised chronological scheme

The chronological scheme adopted in this study has been somewhat simplified as follows.

Early Tamil-Brāhmī Period : ca. 2nd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.

Late Tamil-Brāhmī Period : ca 2nd to 4th centuries A.D.

Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Period : ca. 5th and 6th centuries A.D.

The present Corpus is arranged in an approximate chronological order as follows.

Early Tamil-Brāhmī Period : Inscriptions **1-59**

Late Tamil-Brāhmī Period : Inscriptions **60-89**

Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Period : Inscriptions **101-121**

An attempt has also been made to determine the dates of the inscriptions century-wise rather than assign them to periods of two centuries each as in my earlier attempts (1968, 1992). The following two Tables (2.1 & 2.2) arrange the inscriptions in chronological and alphabetical order respectively; Table 2.2 also includes data on the orthographic types (TB-I to III) of the inscriptions.

### 2.17 Documentation

#### 2.17.1 Tracings

Fresh tracings of the inscriptions were made during the second field expedition following the same procedure as on the previous occasion.<sup>4</sup>

1. See section 6.12.

2. See sections 2.14, 6.14 to 6.19.

3. See sections 3.2.2 (v) and 3.2.3 (vi).

4. Tracings of the following inscriptions could not be made: Nos. **78, 81 & 82** are no longer extant; No. **120** is partly submerged in water. The tracing of No. **71** has not been reproduced as the inscription is too fragmentary.

### 2.17.2 Estampages

Our team did not take estampages of the inscriptions as it was decided to utilise the best of those already available with the ASI and the TNSA. I spent several months at Mysore during 1995-96 to examine all the available estampages of cave inscriptions in the office of the Director of Epigraphy, ASI. The best of the estampages were selected and photographed where negatives were not already available. In a few cases, photographs of estampages were supplied by the TNSA. The present Corpus is illustrated with photographs of estampages suitably enlarged to show as much detail as possible.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.17.3 Direct photographs

A few direct photographs of inscriptions where circumstances were favourable for good photography have also been included. As the estampages of the historically important inscriptions at Mangulam (No. 1) and Pugalur (No. 61) are virtually illegible for technically irremediable reasons, special arrangements were made to secure good colour photographs<sup>2</sup> direct from the stone and enhance their clarity by computer processing.<sup>3</sup> By way of control, a photograph of the estampe of another inscription of Neṭuñceliyaṇ at Mangulam (No. 2) has been similarly processed by computer.<sup>4</sup> A unique direct photograph, taken in extreme dry weather of the Early Vaṭṭeluttu inscription (No. 120) at Ezhuttukallu, Kerala, which is submerged in water for most of the year, has also been included after computer processing.<sup>5</sup> If the results of the experiment are received favourably, a way would be open to document the other Early Tamil inscriptions also by colour photography and computer processing to preserve them for posterity.<sup>6</sup>

1. Estampages of five inscriptions have not been included in this volume: No. 71 (Pugalur) is too fragmentary; No. 75 (Kunnakkudi) is partly hidden by a later structure; No. 107 (Sittannavasal-B) has not been copied by the ASI and No. 108 (Tiruchirapalli-B) by the TNSA due to practical difficulties; No. 120 (Ezhuttukallu) is partly submerged in water.
2. Colour photographs of the inscriptions at Mangulam (No. 1) and Pugalur (No. 61) were taken by V. Vedachalam.
3. See Pls. 1 and 27 respectively.
4. See Pl. 2. Photograph of the estampe from the Directorate of Epigraphy, ASI, Mysore.
5. See Pl. 53. The photograph was taken by M.G.S. Narayanan in 1971.
6. Computer processing of the direct photographs mentioned here was undertaken by R. Kalyanakrishnan at the Computer Sciences Department, Indian Institute of Technology, Chennai, as part of the ongoing research in computerisation of Indian scripts.

Table 2.1

Chronological Classification of Early Tamil Inscriptions in the Corpus					
Site No.	Site	Inscr. Nos.	Site No.	Site	Inscr. Nos.
<b>Early Tamil-Brāhmī</b>					
<b>2nd century B.C.</b>			<b>3rd century A.D.</b>		
I	Mangulam	1-6	XX	Pugalur 7-12	67-72
II	Arittapatti	7	XXI	Mamandur	73
III	Tiruvadavur	8-9	XXII	Kunnakkudi	74-75
IV	Kilavalavu	10	XXIII	Tondur	76
V	Kongarpuliyankulam	11-13	XXIV	Kudumiyamalai	77
VI	Marukaltalai	14	XXV	Tiruchirapalli-A	78
VII	Varichiyur	15-17	XXVI	Edakal-A	79-82
VIII	Vikkiramangalam	18-23			
IX	Mettuppatti	24-33		<b>4th century A.D.</b>	
X	Karungalakkudi	34	XXVII	Nekanurpatti	83
XI	Mudalaikulam	35	XXVIII	Ammanakoyilpatti	84
			XXIX	Arachalur	85-87
<b>1st century B.C.</b>				<b>Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu</b>	
XII	Alagarmalai	36-48		<b>5th century A.D.</b>	
XIII	Sittannavasal-A	49	XXXI	Sittannavasal-B	101-107
XIV	Aiyarmalai	50	XXXII	Tiruchirapalli-B	108-110
XV	Tirumalai-1	51	XXXIII	Perumukkal	111
XVI	Tirupparankunram 1-2	53-54	XXXIV	Arasalapuram	112
XVII	Muttuppatti-1	56	XXXVI	Erettimalai	114
			XL	Edakal-B	118-119
<b>1st century A.D.</b>			XLI	Ezhuttukallu	120
XV	Tirumalai-2	52			
XVI	Tirupparankunram-3	55			
XVII	Muttuppatti 2-3	57-58			
XVIII	Jambai	59			
<b>Late Tamil-Brāhmī</b>			<b>6th century A.D.</b>		
<b>2nd century A.D.</b>			XXXV	Indalur	113
XIX	Anaimalai	60	XXXVII	Paraiyanpattu	115
XX	Pugalur 1-6	61-66	XXXVIII	Tirunatharkunru	116
XXX	Mannarkoil	88-89	XXXIX	Pillaiyarpatti	117
			XLII	Tamatakallu	121

Table 2.2

**Chronological and Orthographic Classification of Early Tamil Inscriptions in the Corpus**  
(in alphabetical order of sites)

Site No.	Site	Inscr. Nos.	Date	Ortho. Types
<b>TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ</b>				
XIV	Aiyarmalai	50	1 cent. B.C.	I
XII	Alagarmalai	36-48	1 cent. B.C.	I-II
XXVIII	Ammankoyilpatti	84	4 cent. A.D.	II
XIX	Anaimalai	60	2 cent. A.D.	III
XXIX	Arachalur-1	85	4 cent. A.D.	III
	-2 & 3	86-87	4 cent. A.D.	II
II	Arittapatti	7	2 cent. B.C.	I
XXVI	Edakal-A	79-82	3 cent. A.D.	II
XVIII	Jambai	59	1 cent. A.D.	II
X	Karungalakkudi	34	2 cent. B.C.	I
IV	Kilavalavu	10	2 cent. B.C.	I
V	Kongarpuliyankulam	11-13	2 cent. B.C.	I
XXIV	Kudumiyamalai	77	3 cent. A.D.	III
XXII	Kunnakkudi-1	74	3 cent. A.D.	III
	-2	75	3 cent. A.D.	II
XXI	Mamandur	73	3 cent. A.D.	II
I	Mangulam	1-6	2 cent. B.C.	I
XXX	Mannarkoil	88-89	2 cent. A.D.	II
VI	Marukaltalai	14	2 cent. B.C.	I
IX	Mettupatti	24-33	2 cent. B.C.	I
XI	Mudalaikulam	35	2 cent. B.C.	I
XVII	Muttupatti-1	56	1 cent. B.C.	I-II
	- 2 & 3	57-58	1 cent. A.D.	II
XXVII	Nekanurpatti	83	4 cent. A.D.	III
XX	Pugalur 1-6	61-66	2 cent. A.D.	II
	7-12	67-72	3 cent. A.D.	II-III
XIII	Sittannavalas-A	49	1 cent. B.C.	I
XXV	Tiruchirapalli-A	78	3 cent. A.D.	II
XV	Tirumalai-1	51	1 cent. B.C.	I
	-2	52	1 cent. A.D.	II
XVI	Tirupparankunram-1	53	1 cent. B.C.	I
	- 2	54	1 cent. B.C.	II
	- 3	55	1 cent. A.D.	II
III	Tiruvadavur	8-9	2 cent. B.C.	I
XXIII	Tondur	76	3 cent. A.D.	II
VII	Varichiyur	15-17	2 cent. B.C.	I
VIII	Vikkiramangalam	18-23	2 cent. B.C.	I

Table 2.2 contd.

Site No.	Site	Inscr. Nos.	Date	Ortho. Types
EARLY VAṬṬELUTTU				
XXXIV	Arasalapuram	112	5 cent. A.D.	<i>pulli</i>
XL	Edakal-B	118-119	5 cent. A.D.	<i>pulli</i>
XXXVI	Erettimalai	114	5 cent. A.D.	<i>pulli</i>
XLI	Ezhuttukallu	120	5 cent. A.D.	no <i>pulli</i>
XXXV	Indalur	113	6 cent. A.D.	<i>pulli</i>
XXXVII	Paraiyanpattu	115	6 cent. A.D.	<i>pulli</i>
XXXIII	Perumukkal	111	5 cent. A.D.	no <i>pulli</i>
XXXIX	Pillaiyarpatti	117	6 cent. A.D.	<i>pulli</i>
XXXI	Sittannavasal-B	101-107	5 cent. A.D.	<i>pulli</i>
XLII	Tamatakallu	121	6 cent. A.D.	<i>pulli</i>
XXXII	Tiruchirapalli-B	108-110	5 cent. A.D.	<i>pulli</i>
XXXVIII	Tirunatharkunru	116	6 cent. A.D.	<i>pulli</i>

Notes: Ortho. types: Orthographic types TB-I to III. For discussion, see sections 6.6 to 6.13.

The *pulli* in Early Vaṭṭeluttu is equivalent to the TB-III type in Tamil-Brāhmī. However, cases of no *pulli* may be due to its absence in this period.



### 3

## LANGUAGE

### 3.1 Language of cave inscriptions

#### 3.1.1 *The unsolved problem*

The pioneering studies, especially by Subrahmanya Aiyer on the language of the cave inscriptions, have established that the language is basically Tamil although with an admixture of Prakrit. However, Subrahmanya Aiyer's own readings led to another controversy: How much of Tamil is present in the inscriptions and what kind of Tamil? In the words of Kamil Zvelebil:

How is it possible that there is such a vast difference between this kind of Tamil employed in these records, and the more or less contemporary or/and only slightly later literary Tamil language (*centamiḻ*) of *Tolkāppiyam* and the Sangam classics? This was a problem left unsolved by K.V.S. Ayyar.<sup>1</sup>

#### 3.1.2 *How much Tamil?*

Before we look at the problem of the quality of the language of the cave inscriptions, it will be instructive to examine quantitatively the presence of Tamil and Prakrit in it.

To the meagre number of four or five Tamil words already recognised by Krishna Sastri, Subrahmanya Aiyer could add only a dozen more—surprisingly few, considering the major paradigm shift effected by his own study (Table 3.1).

---

Tamil words in the cave inscriptions as read by -

Krishna Sastri (1919):<sup>2</sup>

-uṭai #, ūr, ēri, kuṭu- / koṭu-, nāṭu	5
---------------------------------------	---

# Incorrectly read.

Subrahmanya Aiyer (1924):<sup>3†</sup>

itā, iva, iḷa- uṛai, kuṇṇa- ceytā(ṇ), tantai, neṭu-, pāḷi, piṛantā(ṇ), makaṇ, vēṇ	12
--	----

† List of additional words only.

Total	17
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Table 3.1. Earliest readings of Tamil words in cave inscriptions (up to 1924).

1. Kamil Zvelebil 1966:pp. 18-19.
2. H. Krishna Sastri 1919:p. 346.
3. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924:pp. 287-299.

Kamil Zvelebil compiled a glossary of simple stems occurring in the inscriptions as read by him and computed the relative frequency of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Language	Stems
Dravidian	43
Indo-Aryan	47
Unknown	33
Total	†123

(† Including 6 Dr. and 6 IA additional stems from the later Sittannavasal II inscriptions, which, however, do not materially alter the picture.)

Zvelebil reached the following conclusion on the basis of the statistical data compiled by him:

The ratio of 47: 43 for IA: Dr. entitles us fully to characterize the language of the records under scrutiny as a hybridized form of language. The grammar of the inscriptions is, however, fully Tamil . . . This, as well as the distribution of lexical items, shows that the language of the records has rightly been characterized as hybrid Tamil.<sup>2</sup>

### 3.1.3 What kind of Tamil?

It is, therefore, hardly surprising that even while scholars hailed Subrahmanya Aiyer's effort, his readings were treated with reserve.<sup>3</sup> The 'defective' orthography, as it was perceived at the time, drew responses in opposite directions as illustrated by the following quotations:

Accepting, in the absence of a more satisfactory explanation, that these Brāhmī documents represent oldest specimens of the Tamil language that we have, we find that the orthography was halting and defective, suggesting that the Tamil language during the 3rd century B.C. was being reduced to writing for the first time.<sup>4</sup>

The legitimate inference seems to be that these votive inscriptions are in a hybrid language containing Tamil as well as Prākṛit words . . . the strange jumble of words belonging to two different languages . . . It is of supreme importance, therefore, to remember that these epigraphs are not of great value to the study of linguistic development.<sup>5</sup>

In a short chapter on the language of the cave inscriptions in his book *A History of Tamil Language*, Meenakshisundaran carried out a brief linguistic analysis of the published readings. According to him:

1. Kamil Zvelebil 1966: p. 41; see also Index Verborum at pp. 36-41.
2. Ibid. p. 42.
3. "They (cave inscriptions) are yet to be satisfactorily read and interpreted." T.N. Subramanian 1957: pp. 1506-1507. The scepticism, even if it is somewhat less at present, still persists; e.g., "They (cave inscriptions) are too short, fragmentary, and not yet quite completely intelligible. . . ." Kamil Zvelebil 1990: p. 51.
4. Sunitikumar Chatterji 1956: pp. 149-150.
5. K.K. Pillay 1956: pp. 178-179.

The language is something like Tamil or the Proto-South Dravidian. But it must be noted that these inscriptions are in a hybrid language containing Tamil as well as Prakrit words because the Buddhists, who were great scholars in Prakrit and not themselves native speakers of Tamil, had these inscriptions cut in the rocks so as to be understood by the people of the region.<sup>1</sup>

Even though Mahalingam made an independent study of the cave inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> his conclusions were not materially different from those of other scholars of the period:

The basically Tamil language used in these inscriptions was different from the Tamil language used in the Sangam literary works and contains good proportion of Prakrit words. Probably the view that the language employed in many of these lithic records "is Tamil in its formative stages" may not be quite easy of acceptance though it betrays much unsteadiness in its grammatical and other features showing that "it was less homogeneous and regular in its characteristics". Its difference from the literary Tamil from the point of style was obviously due to the fact that "those who have been responsible for the records in question were obviously Buddhist and/or Jaina (and Ājīvika? - T.V.M) monks using a hybrid jargon with great admiration for Pāli and/or Prakrit" . . . The language of these inscriptions is that of these religious teachers and their followers in the Tamil country.<sup>3</sup>

### 3.1.4 *The language of the inscription is Old Tamil*

Recent advances in our knowledge of the language of the cave inscriptions summarised in Chapter 2 have rendered the earlier views based on unsatisfactory readings obsolete. The argument of the present study is that starting from accurately copied texts,<sup>4</sup> and applying the orthographic rules which can be empirically formulated for reading the texts,<sup>5</sup> it can be demonstrated that the language of the cave inscriptions, despite the presence of Prakrit loanwords, is Old Tamil, not materially different from the language of later Tamil inscriptions or even literary texts, in its basic phonological, morphological and syntactical features.<sup>6</sup>

### 3.1.5 *Dravidian and Indo-Aryan in the inscriptions: the true proportion*

The extent of change in our understanding of the language of the cave inscriptions may be quantified (Table 3.2) on the basis of the data compiled from the revised and enlarged Corpus included in this volume.

The Corpus comprises 110 inscriptions, 89 in Tamil-Brāhmī and 21 in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu. There are 371 simple stems in the Corpus; 256 stems are Dravidian, 101 stems are Indo-Aryan, and the remaining 14 are of doubtful etymology.<sup>7</sup> Taking the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (Nos. 1-89) alone into account,

1. T.P. Meenakshisundaran 1965: pp. 41-42.

2. T.V. Mahalingam 1967: pp. 201-298.

3. Ibid. p. 157. The first citation "Tamil in its formative stages" is from K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of South India*, 3rd edition 1966: p. 87. The other citations in this quotation are from Kamil Zvelebil 1966: pp. 48-50.

4. See section 2.15 on the procedures followed to procure accurate copies of the cave inscriptions.

5. See Chapter 6 (Orthography).

6. See Chapter 7 (Grammar).

7. See Etymological Indexes (Appendices IV to VI) for complete word lists.

there are 307 stems out of which 213 stems are Dravidian, 81 stems are Indo-Aryan, and the remaining 13 are of doubtful etymology. In brief, the proportion of Dravidian: Indo-Aryan in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions has increased dramatically from less than 1:1 as computed by Zvelebil in 1964 to more than 2.5:1 at present; only about one-fourth (in numbers as well as frequency) of the simple stems in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions in the Corpus are of Indo-Aryan origin. It is significant that the proportion remains about the same even when the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions in the Corpus are included. These findings disprove the earlier view that the language of the cave inscriptions is a 'hybrid jargon' dominated by Indo-Aryan.

Stems in the Corpus	Dravidian		Indo-Aryan		Doubtful Etymology		Total	
	(Appendix IV)		(Appendix V)		(Appendix VI)			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
In Tamil-Brāhmī								
Inscriptions (1-89):								
Stems	213	69.38	81	26.38	13	4.24	307	100.00
Frequency	339	71.67	118	24.95	16	3.38	473	100.00
In Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu								
Inscriptions (101- 121):								
Stems	43	67.19	20	31.25	1	1.56	64	100.00
Frequency	61	71.16	22	25.88	2	2.36	85	100.00
Total for the								
Corpus:								
Stems	256	69.00	101	27.23	14	3.77	371	100.00
Frequency	400	71.68	140	25.09	18	3.23	558	100.00

Table 3.2. Relative frequency of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan stems in the Corpus.

Dry statistics do not, however, tell the whole story. To convey the 'feel' of the language of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, a rapid overview of their main lexical and grammatical features, dealing with the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan elements separately, is given below. Detailed documentation has been avoided in this summary as the topics are dealt with more fully in Chapter 7 (Grammar) and in the Commentary on the inscriptions. See also Inscriptional Glossary (Appendix I) and word-lists (Appendices II-VI).

### 3.2 Dravidian element

#### 3.2.1 Phonemic inventory

There is near one-to-one correspondence between the phonemic inventory of Old Tamil and Tamil-Brāhmī; the only exceptions are the absence of the vowel *au* and the *āytam* (*h*) from the inscriptions.

### 3.2.2 Lexical items

#### (i) Verbs

The Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are relatively richer in verbs when compared to similar brief votive inscriptions in Prakrit. 15 verb stems are attested in the inscriptions, all of which are Dravidian in origin.

(e.g.) *aṛu* 'to cut', *āku* 'to become', *ī* 'to give', *ēvu* 'to command', *koṭu* 'to give', *cey* 'to make', *toṭu* 'to excavate', *pīra* 'to be born', *puṇaru* 'to compose' and *vai* 'to endow'.

Verb forms occurring in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions belong mainly to the following categories:

intransitive, transitive and causative forms; past and non-past tenses; participial and verbal nouns; adjectival participles and the infinitive.

#### (ii) Adjectives

Reflecting the Old Tamil tradition of prefixing attributes to personal and place names, the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions possess a rich inventory of adjectives.

(e.g.) *irum* 'great', *iḷa(m)* 'young', *kaṭu(m)* 'ferocious', *kuṟu(m)* 'short', *ciṟu* 'small', *cem* 'good', *nal* 'good', *neṭu(m)* 'great', *peru(m)* 'large, great' and *veḷ* 'white, pure'.

#### (iii) Nouns

(e.g.) *ayam* 'tank', *aṛam* 'charity', *aṟuvai* 'cloth', *u(p)pu* 'salt', *uṟai* 'abode', *ū(r)ṟu* 'spring', *eṇṇai* (LT *eṇṇey*) 'oil', *eḷuttu* 'letter', *ēri* 'lake', *kaya(m)* 'pond', *karaṇṭai* 'cave', *kal* 'stone', *kala(m)* 'a measure', *koḷu* 'ploughshare', *cuṇai* 'spring', *nel* 'paddy', *paḷli* 'hermitage', *paṇai* 'palm (tree)', *poṇ* 'gold', *yāṟ(u)* 'river' and *vēmp(u)* 'neem (tree)'.

#### (iv) Toponyms

Toponyms commonly occurring with place names in Old Tamil are well represented in the inscriptions.

(e.g.) *aṟai* 'rock', *il* 'place', *ūr* 'village' (frequent), *kāṭu* 'jungle', *kuṇṟu* 'hill', *talai* 'place', *tuṟai* 'waterfront', *teṇku* 'southern', *nāṭu* 'country', *pa(ḷ)ḷi* 'hamlet', *malai* 'mountain', and *veḷi* 'field'.

#### (v) Rare lexical items

The Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions are the earliest lithic records in Dravidian. It is, therefore, not surprising that there are words and usages in the inscriptions which are not found even in the earliest layer of Old Tamil. It is, in my view, a mistake to dismiss these features as 'scribal errors'. Some of the rare usages are attested in later Tamil inscriptions indicating their presence all along in the spoken language though not represented in the earlier literary records. Some of the more interesting items not attested in Old Tamil are mentioned below.<sup>1</sup>

1. Listed in Etymological Index: Dravidian (Appendix IV). See Commentary on the relevant entries for discussion.

**-aṇṇi**: honorific suffix (fem.). The dictionaries describe the word as 'local'. However, the word is undoubtedly ancient as it has been borrowed (along with the corresponding masculine honorific suffix **-aṇṇa**) in the early Prakrit inscriptions of South India.

**antai**: a frequent honorific affix (masc.). It occurs also as an independent word in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions and once in a later Tamil inscription, but only as a bound suffix in Literary Tamil. *antai* is arguably the most significant of the 'lost' words in Old Tamil recovered through the decipherment of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. This has led to two important results in linguistic and historical studies:

- (a) *antai* as an independent word appears to be the primary kinship term from which cognates like *entai*, *tantai*, etc., are derived systematically by the addition of pronominal prefixes.
- (b) *-antai* as a bound suffix is seen to be merely honorific (like *-ayyaṇ* or *-appaṇ*) and does not literally mean 'father of' as interpreted in Tamil grammatical tradition.<sup>1</sup>

**-a(p)pa-**: honorific suffix (masc.). The word is attested in later works from the time of *Tēvāram*.

**karaṇṭai**: 'cave'. The word is listed in later *nikaṇṭus* as *karaṇṭai* or *kāṇṭai*. The occurrence of *karaṇṭai* in Tamil-Brāhmī indicates that it is the correct form and that *kāṇṭai* is incorrect reading caused by the near-identical shapes of *ra* and *-ā* in the medieval Tamil script.

**karu-iyā**: 'which was carved'; adjectival past participle from *\*karu(v)u* 'to carve'. The verb is clearly related to the nouns *karu* 'mould' (Ta.), 'embossed work, bas-relief' (Ka.) and *karukku* (inscr.) 'bas-relief'.

**kolvaṇ** occurs in *poṇ-kolvaṇ* 'goldsmith'. The word appears to be a variant of the literary form *kollaṇ* as indicated by analogous pairs like *kaḷḷaṇ* / *kaḷvaṇ*, *cellam* / *celvam*, etc.

**cē-**: 'to make' (LT *cey*). The verb occurs in the forms *cē-iyā*, *cēy-a*, *cētavar* and *cēvit-ōṇ*. The *cē-* forms occur fairly commonly in Tamil inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> In my view, it is not necessary to 'correct' the inscriptional forms like *cēta* as *ce(y)ta* and *cēvittāṇ* as *ce(y)vittāṇ*.

**muḷa-ukai** and **muḷākai**: 'cave'. The context and the obvious resemblance to *muḷai* 'cave' makes the meaning of the two words clear. It is significant that when the nominal suffix *-kai* is removed, we get the forms *muḷa(v)u* / *muḷā*,<sup>3</sup> following the known pattern of pairs like *nilavu* / *nilā*, *palavu* / *palā*, etc.

**munru**: 'front yard'. The word is clearly related to the literary form *munril* with the same meaning. The recovery of the basic form *munru* makes it possible to analyse *munril* as *munr(u)* + *il*, rather than as *il-mun* in the traditional, but rather *ad hoc*, derivation.

1. See in particular the parallel passages in inscriptions Nos. 65 & 66 and the discussion on 66.2 in the Commentary for clinching evidence in support of the proposed reinterpretation.
2. A. Velu Pillai 1976: pp. 5, 143 (examples from inscriptions of 6-9 centuries A.D.)
3. These words meaning 'cave' are cognate with *muḷai* (D. 4994), but are to be distinguished from *muḷā* / *muḷavu* 'drum' (D. 4989).

### 3.2.3 Grammatical elements

#### (i) Pronouns

(e.g.) Personal pronouns: *em* 'our' (exclusive).

Demonstrative pronominal bases: *a-* 'that'; *i-* 'this'.

Numeral pronouns: *iruvar* 'two persons'.

#### (ii) Numerals

(e.g.) *iru-* 'two'; *patiṇ-* 'ten' (oblique); *nūru* 'hundred'.

#### (iii) Interjections

(e.g.) *īṭā* 'lo, behold!'

#### (iv) Particles

(e.g.) *-um* 'also, too'; *-ē* 'emphatic particle'

#### (v) Grammatical morphemes

There are about 38 types of grammatical morphemes in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions including pronominal (PNG) suffixes, suffix of the oblique case, case-endings, causative suffixes, tense markers, suffixes of the participial and verbal nouns, suffixes of the adjectival participles and suffix of the infinitive.<sup>1</sup>

#### (vi) Rare grammatical usages

##### (a) Absence of finite verbs:

A remarkable feature of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions is the absence of finite verbs, their place being taken by participial nouns or adjectival participles.

(e.g.) *antuvaṇ koṭupitavaṇ* 'Antuvaṇ caused to be given'.

(i) *laṅkō ceypita paḷi-i* 'hermitage caused to be made by (I) *laṅkō*'.

##### (b) Absence of present tense:

The Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions have only two tenses, the past and the non-past, and no present tense, agreeing in this respect with Old Tamil. The present tense in Tamil is a later development.

##### (c) Rare grammatical morphemes:

- a occurs as the accusative case suffix in *itta* 'this' (LT *ittai*).
- a is the most common genitive suffix in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. (e.g., *ciḷivaṇ-a*, *tiṭi-il-a*, etc.). This suffix occurs only rarely in Old Tamil.
- ā occurs as a genitive case suffix. (e.g.) *nalliy-ūr-ā* 'of Nalliyūr'.

1. See section 7.38 and Appendix VII (Index to Grammatical Morphemes) for details.

This morpheme is not attested elsewhere in Tamil. However, it occurs as a genitive suffix in Old Kannada inscriptions.

- ā occurs as an adjectival suffix in *mutā / mūtā (mutu / mūtu + ā)* 'senior, elder'. This morpheme is also not attested in Tamil.

### 3.2.4 Influence of Old Kannada

The present study has brought to light the hitherto unsuspected influence of Old Kannada on the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions from a period (ca. 2nd century B.C.-4th century A.D.) anterior to the earliest known Kannada inscriptions and literature. See especially No. 49 from Sittannavasal-A (ca. 1st century B.C.), No. 55 from Tirupparankunram (ca. 1st century A.D.), No. 79 from Edakal-A (ca. 3rd century A.D.) and No. 83 from Nekanurpatti (ca. 4th century A.D.). Some of the more interesting lexical items and grammatical usages showing the influence of Old Kannada are listed below.<sup>1</sup>

#### (i) Lexical items

*eruminātu* is almost certainly the same as LT *erumainātu*, the Mysore region (*mahisha-maṇḍala*) of Karnataka. The word *erumi* (Ta. *erumai*, Ka., Tu. *erme*, Go. *ermi*) 'buffalo' appears to preserve an ancient dialectal form.

*kavuti* is the personal name of the nun who is described in the inscription as born in a village in *eruminātu*. cf. Ka. *gavuḍi*, *gaḍi* 'feminine of *gaḍa*, wife of a *gāvumḍa*, wife of a village officer'.

*pocil* 'entrance'. The expression occurs as part of the place name *teṅku-ciru-pocil* which appears to be the same as *teṅ-ciru-vāyil*, mentioned in the later Tamil inscriptions of the region as the name of the *nātu* (territorial division) immediately to the east of the hill at Sittannavasal. *pocil* is not attested in Tamil and appears to be related to Ka. *hosilu* (< \**posil*) 'entrance'. cf. also To. *pōṣ* 'entrance'.

*tāyiyaru* 'mother' (honorific). This is clearly a loanword from Kannada. The word occurs in New Kannada but is not attested in Old Kannada. However, as this inscription from Nekanurpatti is assigned to ca. 4th century A.D. on palaeographic evidence, we have to regard *tāyiyaru* as an Old Kannada word which existed in the spoken language but was not attested in contemporary records.

#### (ii) Personal names and honorifics

Personal names like *āy(c)ca* and *polāl(a)*, and the suffixed honorifics *aṇṇi*, *a(p)pa-* and *a(y)yaṇ / aiyaṇ* appear to be more at home in Old Kannada onomastics.

#### (iii) Grammatical usages

-ā, occurring as the genitive suffix in some inscriptions is not attested in Tamil, but occurs in Old Kannada inscriptions where it is regarded as more ancient than -a.<sup>2</sup>

-u, the euphonic suffix to stems ending in liquid consonants (e.g., *ūru* 'village') occurring mostly in the later inscriptions, is not attested in Old Tamil and appears to be due to the influence of Old

1 See also Commentary on the inscriptions cited in this paragraph.

2. See section 7.27.4 for details.

Kannada, even though the suffix is attested in Kannada inscriptions only from the middle period (ca. 8th century A.D.).

(iv) *Spread of Jainism from Karnataka*

The presence of Old Kannada elements in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions corroborates the traditional account of the spread of Jainism from Karnataka into the Tamil country.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.3 Indo-Aryan element

#### 3.3.1 Phonology: presence of non-Tamil sounds

Only two non-Tamil sounds (*dh* and *s*) occur marginally in loanwords in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> It is significant that these are confined only to the Early Tamil-Brāhmī Period (ca. 2nd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.). Actually, the number and relative frequency of non-Tamil characters in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are far less than those of Grantha letters in the later Tamil inscriptions.

#### 3.3.2 Orthography

##### (i) *Adaptation to Tamil phonetic pattern*

The proportion of non-Tamil sounds is relatively much less than what one would expect from the Indo-Aryan element present in the Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions as most of the loanwords are adapted to the Tamil phonetic pattern.<sup>3</sup>

##### (ii) *Use of single consonants for geminates*

The employment of single consonants in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions to represent the doubled consonants in the language is due to the influence of Prakrit inscriptional orthography. This orthographic feature is seen not only in loanwords but also in native Tamil words. However, unlike in Prakrit inscriptions, the use of single for doubled consonants was optional in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions even from the earliest times both in loanwords and native words.<sup>4</sup>

#### 3.3.3 Vocabulary

The IA loanwords in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are all nouns.<sup>5</sup> Apart from personal names, the vocabulary comprises mostly religious or cultural terms. Some of the more interesting items are briefly noticed below.

##### (i) *Religious terms*

Religious terms especially associated with the Jaina religion are discussed in the sections on Jainism.<sup>6</sup> The following are some of the other religious terms common to Indian religious tradition.

1. See sections 4.8 to 4.13.
2. See section 5.5 for details. The rarity of non-Tamil sounds in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions is by itself a sufficient ground to call into question the earlier theory of a predominant Indo-Aryan element in them.
3. See section 6.21 for details.
4. See section 6.17 for details.
5. See the Indexes in Appendices V and VI for word lists and the Commentary on the entries for discussion.
6. See sections 4.8 to 4.13.

*atiṭṭāṇam* (Pkt. *adhiṭṭhāna*): lit., 'permanent fixed abode' of the itinerant monk who stayed in the cave during the rainy season. The term occurs in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions in the special sense of 'stone beds' carved on the floor of the cave for the use of the monks.

*tāṇa* (Pkt. *dāna(m)* 'religious gift').

*dhammam / dhamam* (Pkt. *dhamma*) 'charity, religious endowment'.

## (ii) Cultural terms

These comprise mostly titles and names of some professions:

*kaṇṭikaṇ* 'chief of scribes'; cf. Sinh. Pkt. *kaṇa* 'scribe', Pkt. *adhika* 'superintendent'.

*kaṇaka* (Pkt. *gaṇaka*) 'accountant'.

*kāṇṭi* 'an ancient title bestowed on Vaiśyas and court officials'. cf. Sinh. Pkt. *gapati / gapiti* < Pkt. *gahapati* < Skt. *gṛihapati*, lit., 'householder', a title of merchant classes and landed gentry.

*kuṭumpikaṇ* (Pkt. *kuṭumbika*) 'householder, husbandman'.

*ta(c)caṇ* (Pkt. *taccha*) 'carpenter'. The term occurs in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions with the meanings 'carpenter, stonemason'.<sup>1</sup>

*māraya-* (read *mārāya*) 'an ancient title', probably from Pkt. *mahārāya*.

*vaṇikaṇ / vānikaṇ* (Pkt. *vaṇija / vāṇija* < Skt. *vaṇik*) 'trader'.

*siri* (Pkt. *siri* < Skt *śrī*) 'an auspicious affix to personal names'.

## (iii) Miscellaneous loanwords from Prakrit

Selected examples are listed below.

*āci* (Pkt. *āsi*) 'support, prop'. cf. Ta. *ācu* 'support'. The inscriptional context indicates the meaning of a wooden 'support' for a canopy in front of the cave.

*kaṭikai* (cf. Skt. *ghaṭikā*) 'an assembly of learned persons or institution of higher learning or the place of such assembly or institution'.

*nikama-* (Pkt. *nigama*) 'merchant guild'.

*pāṇita-* (Pkt. *phāṇita*) 'juice of sugar cane, candy, molasses'.

*sālakaṇ* (Pkt. *sālaka*) 'brother-in-law', but occurs in the Tamil- Brāhmī inscription with the meaning 'sister-in-law's husband' as indicated by the context (cf. Ta. *cālakaṇ*).<sup>2</sup>

### 3.3.4 Prakrit grammatical usages

While the grammar of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions is almost wholly Tamil, there are a couple of Prakrit grammatical forms occurring in them.

-ō: Nominative case-ending of masculine singular noun in *-putō* 'son' in *satiyaputō*.

-sa: Genitive case-ending of masculine singular noun in *utayaṇasa* 'of Utayaṇaṇ'.<sup>2</sup>

1. However, see Commentary (73.8) for possible alternative Dravidian etymology.

2. See No.1, Table 1.6 for the occurrence of the Pkt. genitive ending *-sa* in a coin-legend.

The relatively higher frequency of causative verb forms in these inscriptions when compared with Literary Tamil appears to be due to the influence of inscriptional Prakrit.<sup>1</sup>

(e.g.) *koṭupitōṇ* 'he who caused to be given'.

### 3.3.5 Prakrit of the cave inscriptions

Prakrit, in the widest sense of the term, comprises all Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) languages including those recorded in the inscriptions of Asoka and the post-Mauryan period, the canonical languages of the Buddhist and Jaina religions, and the Literary Prakrits found in the Sanskrit plays. An attempt has been made in the present study to determine the type of Prakrit from which the loanwords in the cave inscriptions are derived.<sup>2</sup>

#### (i) Loanwords not derived from Asokan dialects

Most of the inscriptions of Asoka are in the Eastern Dialect which was the Mauryan court language. However, such distinctive features of the Eastern Dialect as the substitution of *r* with *l* and the use of the nominative singular ending *-ē* are not found in the loanwords. It is now generally accepted that the Tamil caves were occupied by the Jaina monks and have no Buddhist vestiges.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the available evidence indicates that the loanwords in the cave inscriptions are not derived from the language of the Asokan inscriptions, though they share some features common to most dialects.

#### (ii) Loanwords mostly from standard epigraphic Prakrit

The data compiled in the Etymological Indexes (Appendices V-VI) indicate clearly that most of the loanwords in the Corpus are derived from standard epigraphic Prakrit based on the dialect of the central and western regions. The circumstances in which this dialect rose to become the common epigraphical language for almost the whole of India in the post-Mauryan period are well brought out by Richard Salomon in his recent book *Indian Epigraphy*:

The causes of the abrupt dialectal shift from east to west undoubtedly lie in political and historical developments, that is, the decline of Magadha as the center of power in northern India after the collapse of the Mauryan empire and the movement of the center of political power in the following centuries toward the west and northwest. Like the eastern dialect under Aśoka, the central-western dialect of the post-Mauryan era was used far beyond what must have been its original homeland. Thus we find inscriptions in this standard epigraphic Prakrit as far afield as Orissa in the east, for instance, in the Hāthīgumphā inscription, while in the south it is abundantly attested in inscriptions from such sites as Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvati. This central-western MIA dialect was, in fact, virtually the sole language in epigraphic use in the period in question, and therefore seems, like Pāli, to have developed into something like a northern Indian lingua franca, at least for epigraphic purposes, in the last two centuries B.C.<sup>4</sup>

1. See sections 7.28.3 to 7.28.5 for discussion.
2. The study is based on the material compiled in the Etymological Indexes (Appendices V and VI) and further discussion on the relevant entries in the Commentary.
3. See section 4.7.1.
4. Richard Salomon 1998: pp. 76-77.

The distinguishing features of standard epigraphic Prakrit as reflected in the loanwords in the Corpus are as follows.

- i) Nominative masculine singular -ō (as in *satīyaputō*).
- ii) Retention of the distinction between *r* and *l* (as in *āritan*, *sālakan*, etc.).
- iii) The exclusive use of the sibilant *s*.

However, the loanwords are radically transformed by the local language, namely Tamil, and adapted to its phonetic pattern as discussed earlier. Further, there are also minimal influences on the loanwords from two other dialects of Prakrit as noticed below.

(iii) *Loanwords from Jaina Prakrit (Ardhamāgadhi)*

Considering the exclusive association of Jaina monks with the Tamil caves, it is somewhat surprising that the influence of Ardhamāgadhi (AMg.), the language of the earliest Jaina canonical literature, is minimal on the loanwords occurring in the inscriptions. From among more than a hundred IA stems, only five may be regarded as derived from AMg. based on the special characteristics of that dialect (Table 3.3). The first four loanwords occur in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, and the last in an Early Vatteluttu inscription.

(iv) *Loanwords from Sinhala-Prakrit*

While most of the loanwords in the Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions are naturally from Indian Prakrits, there are a couple of items for which Sinhala inscriptional Prakrit seems to be the proximate source.

*kaṇa*- 'scribe'.<sup>1</sup> In the Early Brāhmī cave inscriptions of Sri Lanka, *kaṇa* occurs with the meaning 'scribe'. It is derived from Skt. *kaṇa*.<sup>2</sup> The form *kaṇa* does not occur in Indian Prakrits in this sense. In later Tamil inscriptions, the corresponding expressions *kaṇa* (> *kaṇam*) are directly borrowed from Sanskrit.

*kāviti* 'title of a senior merchant and court official'. This expression is ultimately derived from Skt. *gṛīhapati* most probably through Sinh. Pkt. \* *kāpiti* (> *kapiti*).<sup>3</sup>

### 3.3.6 *Lexical items of doubtful etymology*

There are a few lexical items in the Corpus, whose derivation from Dravidian or Indo-Aryan is in doubt.<sup>4</sup> Some representative types are noticed below.

- (i) There are a few lexical items where either derivation is equally plausible:

(e.g.) *aiyaṇ* 'lord, master'; cf. Dr. *ai* (D. 196a); IA *ayya* < *ārya*.

*cantaṇ* 'a personal name'; cf. Dr. *cantam* (D. 2328); IA *caṇḍa* < *candra*.

1. See Commentary (40.1.a) for discussion.

2. S. Paranavitana 1970: p. xcv.

3. See Commentary (3.5) for discussion.

4. These are listed separately in the Etymological Index: Doubtful Items (Appendix VI) indicating alternative derivations from both sources. Each lexical item is also discussed in detail in the relevant entry in the Commentary.

Sanskrit	Ardhamāgadhi forms	Loanwords in the Corpus	Remarks
<i>Elision of the intervocalic consonant:</i>			
1. <i>āditya</i>	<i>āicca</i>	<i>āy(c)ca-</i>	lit., 'sun'; in <i>āy(c)ca(y)yaṇ</i> 'a personal name'.
2. <i>vācin / vādin</i>	<i>vāyi</i>	<i>-vāyi</i>	in <i>attu-vāyi</i> (read <i>atta-vāyi</i> ) 'one who expounds the meaning (of scriptures)'; cf. <i>attha-vāya</i> (AMg.).
<i>Change of the aspirate bh &gt; h:</i>			
3. <i>ibha</i>	<i>iha</i>	<i>iva-</i>	in <i>iva-kunṇa(m)</i> 'Elephant Hill', a place name. (cf. <i>āṇaimalai</i> , the present name of the hill.)
<i>Change of the nasal n &gt; ṇ:</i>			
4. <i>nāga</i>	<i>ṇāga</i>	<i>ṇākaṇ</i>	a personal name
5. <i>nandi</i>	<i>ṇamdi</i>	<i>-ṇanti</i>	in <i>vaccananti</i> , N. of a Jaina monk

Table 3.3. Ardhamāgadhi loanwords in the Corpus.

Sanskrit	Loanwords in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Inscriptions	Meaning
<i>anaśana</i>	<i>aṇacaṇa(m)</i>	'abstinence from food'
<i>ācārya</i>	<i>ācāriyar</i>	'preceptor'
<i>ārādhana</i>	<i>ārātaṇi</i>	lit., 'worship', a Jaina term for 'fast unto death'
<i>kuśala</i>	<i>kucalaṇ</i>	N. of a donor
<i>rāja-</i>	<i>irācar</i>	'kings'
<i>namōstu</i>	<i>namōttu</i>	'let there be salutation'
<i>nishīdikā</i>	<i>nicītikai</i>	'seat of penance' (Jaina)

Table 3.4. Sanskrit loanwords in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions in the Corpus.

- (ii) There are some items which are generally regarded as derived from IA, but for which plausible Dr. etymologies can be suggested:

(e.g.) *akaram* 'Brāhman village'; cf. Dr. *nakar* (D. 3568); IA *aggahāra* < *agrahāra*.  
*ta(c)caṇ* 'carpenter, mason'; cf. Dr. *tai* / *tacc-* (D. 3473); IA *taccha* < *takshan*.

- (iii) Borrowing and re-borrowing:

(e.g.) Dr. \**catiya* > IA *satiya* > Ta. *atiyaṇ* 'a clan name'.

- (iv) Borrowed into both:

(e.g.) Dr. *nāka* (IA *nāga*) appears to be the name of an ancient autochthonous race of South Asia borrowed into both Dr. and IA.

### 3.3.7 Changeover from Prakrit to Sanskrit

Sanskrit supplanted Prakrit in South Indian inscriptions from about the beginning of the 5th century A.D.<sup>1</sup> This changeover is also reflected in the language of the cave inscriptions in the Tamil country. Thus the loanwords in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (ca. 2nd century B.C.-4th century A.D.) are invariably from Prakrit, while those in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions (ca. 5-6 century A.D.) are from Sanskrit or survival of borrowings from Prakrit in the earlier age. The transitional character of the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions is best illustrated by the personal names of two monks, *vaccaṇanti* (< Pkt.) and *cantirananti* (< Skt.) appearing in the Jaina inscriptions of about the same period (ca. 6th century A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

To illustrate, loanwords occurring in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions in the Corpus (Table 3.4) appear to be borrowed directly from Sanskrit. The same situation obtains in later Tamil inscriptions and in Literary Tamil, with the earlier layer of borrowings from Prakrit and the later layers increasingly from Sanskrit.

1. The earliest stone inscription in Sanskrit from ancient Tamil country (Tamil Nadu and Kerala) is that of Vishnuvarman, probably a Kadamba prince, at Edakal in Kerala, assigned on palaeographic evidence to ca. 5th century A.D. E. Hultzsch in F. Fawcett 1901 (Estampage No. 1). See I. Mahadevan 1999 for revised interpretation.
2. Nos. 115 and 116 in the Corpus.

### 4.1 Introduction

Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions portray life in early Tamil society at the commencement of a period of great political, religious and social changes.<sup>1</sup> The earlier tribal chieftaincies had become small but well-organised kingdoms ruled by the Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇṭiya dynasties; smaller territories were held by local chieftains of long-established lineage. The Buddhist and Jaina faiths had entered the Tamil country and acquired sizeable following creating social and religious ferment in the society. The simple and easy-to-learn Tamil-Brāhmī script took roots and spread fast all over the Tamil country creating a literate society which would produce before long literary works of the highest quality. The influx of Prakrit along with the Buddhist and Jaina faiths had its impact on Tamil, which would also usher in significant changes in the language in due course. Trade flourished with Rome in the west, gem-rich Sri Lanka in the south and the powerful kingdoms in the Deccan and further to the north creating new affluence.

This chapter presents brief gleanings from Tamil-Brāhmī stone and pottery inscriptions and legends on coins, seals, rings, etc., under the heads state, religion and society. For more information, the texts of the inscriptions in the Corpus and the Commentary thereon, both included in Part III of this volume, may be referred to.

### A. STATE

### 4.2 The Pāṇṭiyas

#### 4.2.1 Neṭuñceliyaṇ

The existence of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. is attested by the edicts of Asoka.<sup>2</sup> The next earliest epigraphic reference to a king of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty, not too long after Asoka, is contained in two of the earliest Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions (Nos. 1 & 2) at Mangulam near Madurai, assigned to early 2nd century B.C. on palaeographic and linguistic evidence.

The Mangulam inscriptions record the grant of a monastery to Nanta-siri (Nanda-śrī), a senior Jaina monk. The donor in the first inscription (No. 1) is Kaṭalaṇ Vaḷutti-y (Vaḷuti) described as the 'servant' of Neṭuñcaliyaṇ (Neṭuñceliyaṇ). The donor in the second inscription (No. 2) is Caṭikaṇ who is described, in a curiously roundabout manner, as 'the father of Iḷaṇcaṭikaṇ, the husband of the sister-in-law of Neṭiñcaliyaṇ (Neṭuñceliyaṇ)'.

The dynastic name 'Pāṇṭiya' is not mentioned in the inscriptions. But there can be no reasonable doubt on this score, considering that the name Neṭuñceliyaṇ occurs only in the Pāṇṭiya dynasty and that one of the donors, probably a vassal or kinsman, is named Vaḷuti, another characteristic dynastic

1. See K.V. Raman 1974: pp. 104-118 for a historical assessment of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions.

2. CII. I: second rock edict at Girnar and other sites (p. 185).

name of the Pāṇṭiyas. The unusual manner of invoking a rather distant relationship to Neṭuñceliyaṇ by the donor of the second inscription clearly implies that the former was a very important personage, most probably the reigning Pāṇṭiya king, judging from his name. The close proximity of Mangulam, the site of the inscriptions, to Madurai, the capital city of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom, makes it all but certain that these are indeed records of the Pāṇṭiya king of the time.

Two Pāṇṭiya kings named Neṭuñceliyaṇ are known to us from Caṅkam literature.

I. Neṭuñceliyaṇ 'who overcame the Aryan armies'.<sup>1</sup>

II. Neṭuñceliyaṇ 'the victor at Talaiyāṇāṅkāṇam'.<sup>2</sup>

It has been suggested that Neṭuñ-/Neṭiñ-caliyaṇ of the Mangulam inscriptions may be identified with either of them.<sup>3</sup> However, we know from the well-established 'Gajabāhu synchronism' that Neṭuñceliyaṇ I was a contemporary of Cēraṇ Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ and Gajabāhu I of Sri Lanka and hence must be assigned to the 2nd century A.D.<sup>4</sup> Neṭuñceliyaṇ II was a contemporary of Māntarañ-cēral Irumporai and lived still later.<sup>5</sup> The early palaeography and archaic orthographic and linguistic features of the Mangulam inscriptions indicate a much earlier date (ca. 2nd century B.C.). The proposed identification is thus unlikely. It seems more likely that Neṭuñ-/Neṭiñ-caliyaṇ of the Mangulam grants lived much earlier than his namesakes and descendants celebrated in Caṅkam literature.

#### 4.2.2 Peruvaḷuti

Copper coins with the legend *pe ru vā lu ti* (Peruvaḷuti) discovered by Krishnamurthy confirm the historicity of another Early Pāṇṭiya king.<sup>6</sup> The 'circular top' form of *l* and the presence of the TB-I notation provide evidence to date this coin in the Early Period (ca. 2nd century B.C.).

#### 4.2.3 Kaḷumāra Natan

One of the donors mentioned in an inscription from Alagarmalai (No. 44, ca. 1st century B.C.) has the name Kaḷu (Kaṭu) māra Natan. He was probably a Pāṇṭiya prince or vassal judging from the first part of his name, which may be compared with Kaṭumāṇ Māraṇ.<sup>7</sup>

1. *Puṛa*. 183 colophon; *Cilap*. 23: *Kaṭṭurai* 17-18.

2. *Puṛa*. 18 & 19 colophon. Hero of *Maturai-k-kāñci* (see colophon).

3. K.V. Raman 1977: p. 37.

4. The 'Gajabahu synchronism' is based on the statement in *Cilappatikāram* (30: 160-166) that Gajabahu, king of Sri Lanka, attended the worship of Kaṇṇaki instituted by Cēraṇ Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ. The date of Gajabahu I is known from Sri Lankan sources to be in the 2nd century A.D. (C.W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana 1961: pp. 79-80).

5. Neṭuñceliyaṇ, the victor of Talaiyāṇāṅkāṇam, also defeated Māntarañ Cēral Irumporai in battle (*Puṛa*. 17). As the latter is not among those celebrated in the decades of *Paṭiṟruppattu*, he belonged presumably to a later generation.

6. See Nos. 1 & 2, Table 1.6 and Fig. 1.22 A.

7. *Puṛa*. 198: 27.

### 4.3 The Cēras

#### 4.3.1 *Irumporais of the Pugalur inscriptions*

Two near-identical inscriptions (Nos. 61 and 62, ca. 2nd century A.D.) at Pugalur are grants of the Irumporai line of the Cēra dynasty ruling from Karur. The inscriptions record the construction of a rock shelter for Ceṅkāyapaṇ, a senior Jaina monk, on the occasion of the investiture of Iḷaṅkaṭuṅkō (Kaṭuṅkōṇ Iḷaṅkaṭuṅkō in No. 62), the son of Peruṅkaṭuṅkōṇ, the son of King Ātaṇ Cel Irumporai (-Irumpuṇai in No. 62) as the heir apparent (*iḷaṅkō*).

The genealogy of three generations of the Irumporai line recorded in the inscriptions can be compared with the historical data found in the *Patikams* of *Patirruppattu* resulting in the following identifications:<sup>1</sup>

Inscriptions	<i>Patirruppattu</i>
I. Kō Ātaṇ Cel Irumporai	Celva-k-kaṭuṅkō Vāḷi-y Ātaṇ (7th decade)
II. Peruṅkaṭuṅkōṇ	Peruñ-cēral Irumporai (8th decade)
III. Kaṭuṅkōṇ Iḷaṅkaṭuṅkō	Iḷaṇ-cēral Irumporai (9th decade)

Though Ātaṇ is a recurring name in the Cēra dynasty, this name is borne by only one ruler in the Irumporai line. Further, the prefixed attributes *peru-* and *iḷa-* in the names of the next two generations of princes in the inscriptions are also found likewise in *Patirruppattu*. The evidence can be interpreted as indicating that Peruṅkaṭuṅkōṇ assumed the royal title Peruñcēral Irumporai when he ascended the throne, and that when Iḷaṅkaṭuṅkō ascended the throne in his turn, he assumed the royal title Iḷaṅcēral Irumporai. According to tradition, the Caṅkam poets, Pālai Pāṭiya Peruṅkaṭuṅkō and Marutam Pāṭiya Iḷaṅkaṭuṅkō, are identified with these two princes.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, the evidence is cogent that the Irumporai princes mentioned in the Pugalur inscriptions are the same as those celebrated respectively in the 7th to 9th decades of *Patirruppattu*.

Peruñcēral Irumporai, the hero of the 8th decade, is famous for his victory over Atiyamāṇ Neṭumāṇ Añci of Takaṭūr<sup>3</sup> (whose inscription at Jambai is also included as No. 59 in the present Corpus). Peruñcēral Irumporai held the learned in high esteem. In a famous poem, the poet Mōci Kīraṇār records the incident that once when he climbed unwittingly on the vacant platform of the royal drum and fell asleep, the king, instead of putting him to death for his unpardonable crime, fanned him gently so as not to disturb him in his sleep.<sup>4</sup> The identification of the Irumporai princes of the Pugalur inscriptions with those celebrated in *Patirruppattu* yields one of the most important synchronisms found so far to determine the dates of the contemporary princes and poets of the Caṅkam Age from about the middle of the 1st century to the middle of the 3rd century A.D.

1. R. Panneerselvam 1968. I. Mahadevan 1971.
2. M.S. Venkataswamy 1983b: pp. 230-232 & 248.
3. *Patir. Patikam* 8.
4. *Pura*.50.

#### 4.3.2 Coins of the Irumporais

Copper coins with the insignia of bow and arrow, and bearing the Tamil-Brāhmī legends *kol-i-p-purāi* or *kol-irumpurāi-y* ('Porai/Irumporai of Kolli') have been found in the Amaravathi river bed at Karur.<sup>1</sup> The coins may be assigned to ca. 1st century A.D. on palaeographic evidence. While these are obviously the issues of the Irumporais of Karur, it is not possible, in the absence of more specific evidence, to attribute the coins to particular rulers of the dynasty.

#### 4.3.3 Cēra inscriptions from Kerala

The Edakal inscriptions (Nos. 80 & 82, ca. 3rd century A.D.) in Kerala are the only records of the Cēras of the Caṅkam Age found so far in the western region of ancient Tamil country. Unlike the Irumporai inscriptions at Pugalur, those at Edakal are very brief and mention only the names of the Cēra kings. Inscriptional and literary evidence points to the existence of two branches of the Cēra dynasty, one on the west coast and the other ruling from Karur. The mention of the name *cēra* and the absence of the name *irumporai* in the Edakal records would appear to indicate that they refer to the Cēra line ruling from the west coast.

One of the inscriptions (No. 80) reads *kaṭummiputa cēra* (Kaṭumiputta Cēra). The hybrid expression in the first part of the name seems to be a title comprising *kaṭumi*- 'the ferocious one' and *-puta* = *-makaṇ* > *-māṇ* 'man'. The expression may thus be equated with *kaṭumāṇ*, a title borne by the Cēra kings, Kuṭṭuvaṇ Kōtai<sup>2</sup> and Māntarañcēral Irumporai.<sup>3</sup> The title *kaṭummiputa* resembles *satīyaputō* borne by the Atiyamāṇs of Takaṭūr (No. 59).

The other inscription (No. 82) reads *kō-v-ātāṇ* (kō Ātaṇ) 'King Ātaṇ'. The name Ātaṇ is especially associated with the Cēra dynasty; but the Cēra king mentioned in this record cannot be identified in the absence of details.

#### 4.3.4 Silver portrait coins of the Cēras

Silver portrait coins with the names Kuṭṭuvaṇ Kōtai and Mākkōtai have been published by Krishnamurthy.<sup>4</sup> The coins may be assigned to ca. 3rd century A.D. on palaeographic evidence. Perhaps Kaṭumiputta Cēra mentioned at Edakal is the same as Kuṭṭuvaṇ Kōtai who had the title Kaṭumāṇ; but the data is insufficient to make a positive identification.

### 4.4 The Cōlas

No stone inscriptions of the Cōla dynasty of the Caṅkam Age have been found; nor are there any early Cōla coins with legends inscribed on them. Circumstantial evidence relating to the Cōlas from other types of Tamil-Brāhmī records is summarised below.

1. See Nos. 7 & 8, Table 1.6 and Figs. 1.22 B & C.
2. *Pura*. 54.
3. *Pura*. 53.
4. See Nos. 11 & 12, Table 1.6 and Figs. 1.22 D & E.

#### 4.4.1 Tittaṇ

A silver ring found in the Amaravathi riverbed at Karur has the legend *tittaṇ* in Tamil-Brāhmī characters of ca. 1st century A.D.<sup>1</sup>

We hear of Early Cōḷa princes named Tittaṇ<sup>2</sup> of Uṇṭai (Uṇṭaiyūr) and his son Tittaṇ Vēḷiyaṇ.<sup>3</sup> They also figure as poets in Caṅkam literature. Tittaṇ is also known as Vīrai Vēṇmāṇ Vēḷiyaṇ Tittaṇ.<sup>4</sup> Vīrai has been identified as Vīrāmpaṭṭiṇam (Arikamedu) on the east coast.<sup>5</sup> There is, however, no direct evidence to link the name Tittaṇ found on the silver ring with Tittaṇ of Vīrai and Uṇṭai (Uṇṭaiyūr).

#### 4.4.2 Neṭuṅkiḷḷi

A potsherd found during recent excavations at Teriruvēli (Mudukulathur Taluk, Ramanathapuram District) is incised in Tamil-Brāhmī with the name *neṭuṅkiḷ [li\*]* in characters of ca. 1st century A.D.<sup>6</sup> The name is that of a Cōḷa prince, as *kiḷḷi* occurs only in Early Cōḷa names.

Neṭuṅkiḷḷi was known mainly for his internecine fighting with another Cōḷa prince called Nalaṅkiḷḷi. Once Neṭuṅkiḷḷi withstood a prolonged siege of his fort at Āvūr by Nalaṅkiḷḷi, causing much distress to the people and livestock within the fort. The poet Kōvūr Kiḷār chastised Neṭuṅkiḷḷi for refusing to go out to fight or surrender the fort acknowledging defeat.<sup>7</sup> On another occasion, Neṭuṅkiḷḷi was besieged at Uraiṇur by Nalaṅkiḷḷi, when Kōvūr Kiḷār again intervened advising both the Cōḷa princes to desist from fighting among themselves.<sup>8</sup> While at Uraiṇur, Neṭuṅkiḷḷi mistook the poet Iḷantattaṇ to be a spy and ordered his execution, when Kōvūr Kiḷār interceded on behalf of the poet and saved his life.<sup>9</sup> Neṭuṅkiḷḷi died at Kāriyāru.<sup>10</sup> However, as the fragmentary pottery inscription has been found in the Pāṇṭiya country and consists only of a name, it cannot, with certainty, be attributed to the Cōḷa prince of the same name.

### 4.5 Chieftains

#### 4.5.1 Atiyaṇ Neṭumāṇ Añci

The donor of the cave shelter at Jambai is referred to as *satiyaputō atiyaṇ neṭumāṇ añci* in the inscription (No. 59, ca. 1st century A.D.). He may be identified as the famous chieftain Atiyamāṇ Neṭumāṇ Añci of Takatūr (modern Dharmapuri) celebrated in Caṅkam literature.

1. See No. 12, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.24 D.
2. *Aka.* 6.
3. *Aka.* 226.
4. *Nag.* 58.
5. I. Mahadevan 1970b.
6. Unpublished. I have seen the potsherd in the collections of TNSA at Chennai.
7. *Pura.* 44.
8. *Pura.* 45.
9. *Pura.* 47.
10. *Pura.* 47, colophon.

Añci was a great warrior and a liberal patron.<sup>1</sup> Once, the poetess Auvaiyār went as his ambassador to the court of Toṇṭaimāṇ.<sup>2</sup> The most famous legend connected with Añci is that when he was presented with a miraculous *nelli* (gooseberry) fruit which would confer immortality, he chose to give it away to Auvaiyār on the ground that her longevity would be more beneficial to the public good.<sup>3</sup> Añci was defeated by Peruñcēral Irumporai, the Cēra king, who took Takaṭūr in a famous battle.<sup>4</sup>

It is significant that Jambai, the site of the present inscription, is near Kōvalūr (modern Tirukkoyilur in Viluppuram District), the seat of the Malaiyamāṇ chieftains. The sack of Kōvalūr by Añci was a famous event celebrated in song by Paraṇar as mentioned by Auvaiyār.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the grant was made by Añci to celebrate this victory.

The title *satiyaputō* occurs in Asoka's second rock edict at Girnar<sup>6</sup> (and with slight variations at other sites). As the discovery of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscription at Jambai has finally settled the question who the Satiyaputras were,<sup>7</sup> it is not necessary to go into the details of this long debate here, except to mention the remarkably accurate identification made on purely linguistic grounds by Sessa Iyer and improved upon by Burrow.<sup>8</sup> According to Burrow, the linguistic developments are *atiya* < *satiya* (\**catiya*) with the loss of the initial palatal, and *māṇ* < *makaṇ*, shortened as in *cēramāṇ* corresponding to *kēralaputō*. The Jambai inscription which has, side by side, both the Prakrit and Tamil forms *satiyaputō* and *atiyan*, furnishes conclusive evidence for the correctness of this identification. Cf. *kaṭummiputa cēra* for an interesting parallel from the Edakal inscription (No. 80).

#### 4.5.2 Piṭṭaṇ and Korṇantai

Two of the Pugalur inscriptions (Nos. 65 & 66, late 2nd century A.D.) record the gift of the daughter of Piṭ(t)ṭaṇ alias Pi(t)ṭantai. In another inscription (No. 67, early 3rd century A.D.) at this site, Korṇantai (I)ḷavaṇ (that is, Iḷavaṇ, son of Korṇantai) figures as the donor. The names Piṭṭaṇ and Korṇantai occurring in such close proximity to the Irumporai inscriptions (Nos. 61 & 62) on the same hill, remind one of Piṭṭaṇ, the famous chieftain of Kutiraimalai and commander of the Cēra army and his equally famous son Piṭṭaṇkorṇaṇ or Korṇaṇ. Though the evidence is circumstantial, it is not improbable that Piṭṭaṇ and Korṇantai mentioned in the Pugalur inscriptions are the same as Piṭṭaṇ and Korṇaṇ celebrated in Caṅkam literature.<sup>9</sup> It is interesting that, as in the Irumporai records (Nos. 61 & 62), three generations of Piṭṭaṇ's family also figure in these inscriptions (Nos. 65-67).

1. *Puṇa*. 99 & 103.
2. *Puṇa*. 95.
3. *Puṇa*. 91.
4. *Patir. Patikam* 8.
5. *Puṇa*. 99.
6. *CII. I. Gir. II. 2.*
7. R. Nagaswamy 1981a & b.
8. K.G.Sessa Iyer 1937: p. 18. T. Burrow 1968b: pp. 158-159.
9. Piṭṭaṇ (*Puṇa*. 170 & 172; *Aka*. 77 & 143). Piṭṭaṇkorṇaṇ (*Puṇa*. 168, 169 & 171).

#### 4.5.3 Kaṇimāṇ

The Mamandur inscription (No. 73, ca. 3rd century A.D.) near Kanchipuram refers to Kaṇimāṇ, 'the chieftain (*kōṇ*) who took Tēṇūr'. He was probably a local chieftain in this region before the Pallava occupation of Kanchipuram around the middle of the 3rd century A.D.

Kaṇimāṇ was probably of Cēra lineage, like the Atiyamāṇs of Takaṭūr and the Malaiyamāṇs of Kōvalūr, as indicated by the *-māṇ* suffix in his name. As the site of the inscription is in Toṇṭainātu, he was also probably connected with the Toṇṭaimāṇs who ruled over this region before the Pallava occupation. But beyond what is suggested by the names, there is no other evidence for these connections.

#### 4.5.4 Atiṇṇaṇ Etirāṇ Cēntaṇ

The name occurs as that of a chieftain in the Tamil-Brāhmī coin-legend in a large hoard of identical lead coins found by chance at Andippatti near Chengam in North Arcot District.<sup>1</sup> The coin may be assigned to ca. 3rd century A.D. on palaeographic evidence.

The coin-legend has been read as *atiṇṇaṇ etir=āṇa cēntaṇ* and translated as 'Cēntaṇ, the successor of Atiṇṇaṇ'.<sup>2</sup> The phrase *etir āṇa* does not occur in this sense elsewhere, but the interpretation is plausible, as it is based on a comparison with a similar usage *etirāṇa* 'succeeding' (year) occurring in the Pāṇṭiya inscriptions. However, as it is unlikely that a successor would issue a coin in his name when the predecessor was still alive, the expression may be read as *etirāṇ* and given the wider meaning 'descendant' (< *etir* 'to come to pass in future'; *TL*). It is perhaps in this sense that *etiraṇ* occurs as part of a personal name in *vēṭkōvaṇ etiraṇ cāttaṇ* (alias) *nānūṟruva-p-peruṇkō vēḷāṇ*.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Atiṇṇaṇ was an illustrious forbear from whom Cēntaṇ wished to trace his lineage. The name Atiṇṇaṇ is not attested in literary works, but may be compared with Atiṇaṇ occurring as a personal name in the Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscription at Arittapatti (No. 7, ca. 2nd century B.C.).

#### 4.5.5 Patumaṇ Kōtai

A pottery inscription, deeply incised in bold, stylised characters of ca. 1st century A.D., was found in the recent excavations at Alagankulam.<sup>4</sup> The inscription reads *pa tu mā ṛ kō tai* (Patumaṇ Kōtai). The name is clearly that of a Cēra prince or chieftain as judged from *kōtai*, the second part of the name. The first part of the name *patumaṇ* reminds one of Vēḷ Āvi-k-kōmāṇ Patumaṇ, the high-ranking chieftain whose two daughters were married to the two Cēra rulers, Cēral Ātaṇ (of the main line) and Celva-k-kaṭuṇkō (of the Irumporai line) respectively.<sup>5</sup> He lived in a large palace in

1. See No. 13, Table 1.6.

2. K.G. Krishnan 1973-74c: pp. 139-140.

3. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1933-34, The Larger Leiden Plates of Rājārāja I, *El. XXII*: p. 264, lines 230-232.

4. See No. 5, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.20 B.

5. *Patij. Patikams* 4 & 8.

Karuvūr.<sup>1</sup> However, as the pottery inscription is fragmentary consisting only of the personal name and has been found in the Pāṇṭiya territory, the name in it cannot be positively identified as that of the famous chieftain of the Cēra country mentioned in the *Patirrupattu*.

#### 4.6 Administration

##### 4.6.1 King

The king is addressed as *kō* in the inscriptions at Pugalur (Nos. 61 & 62, ca. 2nd century A.D.) and Edakal-A (No. 82, ca. 3rd century A.D.).

The term *aracaṇ* (< Skt. *rājan*) first occurs in the Tamil-Brāhmī coin-legends on the reverse of the silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas.<sup>2</sup> A fragmentary potsherd from Uraiur has the legend *araica* - which could be a variant of *araca*- 'king' or *araiya*- 'chieftain'.<sup>3</sup>

##### 4.6.2 Heir apparent

The Pugalur inscriptions cited above refer to the investiture of the heir apparent, (*i*)*laṅkō*.

##### 4.6.3 Princes

Princes of the royal family have the suffixes *-kō* (as in *kaṭuṅkō* and (*i*)*laṅkaṭuṅkō*) or *-kōṇ* (as in *kaṭuṅkōṇ* and *peruṅkaṭuṅkōṇ*) in the Pugalur inscriptions cited above.

##### 4.6.4 Chieftains

Chieftains are referred to as *kō* at Edakal-A (No. 81, ca. 3rd century A.D.) and as *kōṇ* at Mamandur (No. 73, ca. 3rd century A.D.).

##### 4.6.5 Servant (of the king)

Kaṭalaṇ Vaḷuti is the donor of a *paḷḷi* at Mangulam (No. 1, ca. 2nd century B.C.). He is described as the *paṇa-aṇ* (*paṇavaṇ*) of *neṭuṇṇaḷiyaṇ* (Neṭuṇṇeḷiyaṇ). The expression *paṇavaṇ* is derived from *paṇ* 'service' and means literally a 'servant' (TL). The expression may, however, be interpreted in the present context as a 'royal servant' or high functionary under Neṭuṇṇeḷiyaṇ, the reigning Pāṇṭiya king. He was most probably a Pāṇṭiya prince or vassal, judging from his name Vaḷuti.

##### 4.6.6 Superintendent, chief

The expression *-(a)tikaṇ* (< Pkt. *adhika*) occurs twice in these inscriptions, once at Mangulam (No. 3, ca. 2nd century B.C.) in *kāḷitika*- (read *kāl-atika*-) 'superintendent of pearls' and again at Alagarmalai (No. 40, ca. 1st century B.C.) in *kaṇatikaṇ* (*kaṇa-atikaṇ*) 'chief of scribes'. Before looking into the specific duties of these officials, the expression *atikaṇ* may be considered.

1. *Puṛa*. 13, colophon; *Cilap.* 28: 198.
2. For discussion on these coin-legends, see section 5.15.
3. K.V. Raman (ed.) 1988: p. 74, No. 12, Fig. 24.12, Pl. 19.10.

In the Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions, a number of officials are mentioned with the designation *adika* who were placed in charge of various departments of the state.<sup>1</sup> The Pallava kingdom in the Tamil country had also officials known as *adhika* in charge of different departments of the state or of the provinces.<sup>2</sup> The Pallava administration has been compared in this respect with the Mauryan, "rather than (that) prevalent in the Tamil country".<sup>3</sup> It now appears that the Pāṇṭiya kingdom also possessed an administrative organisation resembling at least in some respects those of the Mauryan in the north and Sri Lanka in the south during this period.

#### 4.6.7 Superintendent of pearls

In an inscription at Mangulam (No. 3, ca. 2nd century B.C.), the *kāviti* of the merchant guild of *veḷ-araḷ* (Veḷḷarai) is described as *kāḷitika*- (read *kāḷatika*-). The expression is interpreted as 'superintendent of pearls' from *kāl* 'pearl' and (*a*)*tikaṇ* 'superintendent'. He was presumably a minister or high official (as indicated by his title *kāviti*) entrusted with the responsibility of superintending pearl fisheries.

Pearls from the Pāṇṭiya kingdom were famous from ancient times and are mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,<sup>4</sup> *Arthaśāstra*<sup>5</sup> and also in the *Periplus*.<sup>6</sup> The Mangulam inscription provides evidence of state control over pearl-fishery and trade even from this early date. An inscription from Kilavalavu (No. 10, ca. 2nd century B.C.) refers to *Toṇṭi*, the Pāṇṭiya port on the east coast, which was involved in pearl fishery and trade from early times.

#### 4.6.8 Chief of scribes

An inscription at Alagarmalai (No. 40, ca. 1st century B.C.) refers to 'Ataṇ Ataṇ, son of Ataṇ, the accountant (*kaṇaka*-), the chief of scribes (*kaṇatikaṇ*)'. He figures as one of the many donors from *Matirai* (Madurai) who collectively made endowments to the cave shelter at Alagarmalai. He was by vocation an accountant and, judging from his title, served as the chief of scribes probably in the royal court at Madurai.

The term *kaṇaka* (<Pkt. *gaṇaka*) means an 'accountant'. The term *gaṇaka* occurs in this sense in the Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> In later Tamil inscriptions, *kaṇakkaṇ* meant the 'accountant who maintained the accounts of the village or temple'.

The expression *kaṇatikaṇ* is construed as *kaṇa* 'scribe' + *atikaṇ* 'chief' and interpreted as the 'chief of scribes'. In Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions, the term *kaṇa* (<Skt. *karaṇa*) 'scribe' occurs in the same

1. The term *adika* (<Skt. *adhyaksha*) occurs also as *adaka* or *adeka*. Cf. *ati-adika* 'superintendent of elephants', *paṇ-adaka* 'superintendent of trade', etc. S. Paranavitana 1970: p. xciv.
2. Cf. *Pallava Inscrs.* No. 3: *arakhādhika* 'superintendent of guards', *dēsādhika* 'prefect of a county' (4th century A.D.).
3. C. Minakshi 1977 (revised edn.): p. 140.
4. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kish. Kāṇḍa, 41: 19 (MLJ edition, Madras 1958).
5. *Arthaśāstra*, ii: 11. See summary in K.A. Nilakanta Sastri 1955 (4th edn. 1975): p. 84.
6. The *Periplus*: paragraph 56 (in K.A. Nilakanta Sastri 1939, revised edn. 2001: pp. 57-58).
7. S. Paranavitana 1970: p. xcv.

sense as *gaṇaka* 'accountant', and the duties of both functionaries appear to be more or less similar.<sup>1</sup> This was also the case in the Tamil country where the terms *karaṇam/karṇam* and *kaṇakkaṇ* were synonymous and meant 'village or temple accountant'.

#### 4.6.9 Title of ministers, palace officials or merchants

The title *kāviti* is borne by a member of the merchant guild (*nikama*) of *veḷ-araḷai* (Veḷḷaraḷai), who, as mentioned above, served as *kāl(a)tika*- 'superintendent of pearls' (Mangulam, No. 3, ca. 2nd century B.C.). The title *kāviti kōṇ* 'chief *kāviti*' is borne by a donor in an inscription at Tirumalai (No. 52, ca. 1st century A.D.).

The title *kāviti* was bestowed by kings on the *Vēḷāḷar*, *Vaiśyas* (men and women), ministers or palace officials, as recorded in early Tamil works.<sup>2</sup>

The expression *kāviti* seems to be derived ultimately from Skt. *gṛihapati* 'householder' through Pkt. *gahapati*. Cf. Sinh. Pkt. *gapati/gapiti*<sup>3</sup> and the variants *kaviti/kāvati* in later Tamil inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

It is significant that Tamil merchants with the title *gahapati* are mentioned in Early Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> The title *kapāti* (cf. Sinh. Pkt. *kapati*) occurs as part of the name of a Tamil merchant in the Tamil-Brāhmī legend on a recently discovered lead coin from Tissamaharama in Sri Lanka.<sup>6</sup>

The original import of the term *gahapati* can be gathered from Prakrit inscriptions where it is specifically associated with merchant classes and prosperous landowning gentry who were supporters of Buddhist and Jaina religions. It is likely that *kāviti* had a somewhat similar significance in early times in the Tamil country also, later becoming a title bestowed by the king on merchants and officials as recorded in early literary works. Still later, the term *kāviti* came to mean an 'accountant' in medieval Tamil inscriptions.

#### 4.6.10 An honour or title bestowed by the king

A short inscription at Tirupparankunram (No. 54, ca. 1st century B.C.) reads *mārayatu kaya[m\*]* 'the pool (is the gift) of the *mārāyam*'. The expression *mārayatu* (read *mārāyattu*) is the oblique form of *mārāyam* which occurs in early Tamil works with the meaning 'an honour or a title (Ta. *paṭṭam*) bestowed by the king'. In later Tamil inscriptions, the title occurs with the personal names of several types of functionaries and others, and does not appear to indicate, by itself, any specific function or duty. The term is probably derived from Pkt. *mahārāya* (<Skt. *mahārāja*).

#### 4.6.11 Titles of other important personages

The title *kō* is given to the head of the institution known as *kaṭikai*, an assembly of learned persons, in an inscription at Mannarkoil (No. 88, ca. 2nd century A.D.). The title *kōṇ* is accorded, probably

1. S. Paranavitana 1970: p. xcv.
2. *Tol. Poruḷ*, 30, comm. Nacc.
3. S. Paranavitana 1970: pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix.
4. See Commentary (3.5) for the suggested derivation.
5. S. Paranavitana 1970: Nos. 94, 356 and 357.
6. See No. 4, Table 1.6.

as an honorific, to a *kāviti* at Tirumalai (No. 52, ca. 1st century A.D.) and to a chief of a village in the Pillaiyarpatti inscription (No. 117, ca. 6th century A.D.). A member of a particular class of Vaiśya community is given the honorific (*i*)*ḷaṅkō* in an inscription at Mannarkoil (No. 89 ca. 2nd century A.D.). A chief of the village or its leading landowner or an eminent person of the place is referred to as *kilār* in the inscription at Ammankoyilpatti (No. 84, ca. 4th century A.D.).

#### 4.6.12 The village assembly

As short inscription at Mudalaikulam (No. 35, ca. 2nd century B.C.) reads:

*vēmpir-ūr pēr-ay-am cētavar*

'Vēmpirūr constructed (*cētavar*) the large tank (*pēr-ayam*)'.

What is remarkable about the inscription is that the predicate *cētavar* (LT *ceytavar*) 'they who made' is in the plural indicating that the subject of the sentence (*ūr*) refers not to the village as such, but to assembly of the village, also known as *ūr* in later Tamil inscriptions. The text has thus to be understood as follows:

'the assembly (*ūr*) of Vēmpil (Vēmpirūr) constructed the large tank'.

If this interpretation is accepted, we have in this inscription the earliest lithic record of a village assembly in the Tamil country. *vēmpirūr* (*vēmpil-tt-ūr*) may be identified with Vēmparrūr of later Tamil inscriptions and modern Vempattur in Ramanathapuram District (see Table 4.3).

#### 4.6.13 Assembly of learned persons

An inscription at Mannarkoil (No. 88, ca. 2nd century A.D.), mentions *kaṭikai* 'an assembly of learned persons or institution of higher learning; the place of such an assembly or institution'. The expression is derived from Skt. *ghaṭikā* 'assembly'.

The most famous *ghaṭikā* in the Tamil country was the one at Kanchipuram, which flourished during the Pallava rule.<sup>1</sup> It seems to have come into existence even prior to the conquest of Kanchipuram by the Pallavas in the middle of the 3rd century A.D.<sup>2</sup> Similar *ghaṭikās*, though probably on a smaller scale, functioned in many other places in the Tamil country as indicated by literary and epigraphic evidence; for example, at Vēmparrūr (modern Veppattur in Thanjavur District)<sup>3</sup> and Kavanur (in Chengalpattu District).<sup>4</sup>

The Mannarkoil inscription dated on palaeographic evidence to the 2nd century A.D. is the earliest reference known so far to a *kaṭikai* functioning in the Tamil country and that too in the far south.<sup>5</sup> The mention of *kaṭikai* in the inscription in a Jaina hermitage, and the donor of the *paḷḷi* being referred to as the son of the chief of the *kaṭikai*, would appear to indicate that the *kaṭikai* was associated with the local

1. C. Minakshi 1977 (revised edn.): pp. 223-232.
2. *Pallava Inscrs.* pp. xxx-xxxi.
3. ARE293/1908, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.
4. ARE51/1933, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 13th cent. A.D.
5. See Commentary (88.3) for identification of the place name.

Jaina community and its composition and functions were probably different from those of the *ghaṭikās* of the Pallava period.

#### 4.6.14 Warfare

There is only one reference to warfare. The inscription at Mamandur (No. 73, ca. 3rd century A.D.) describes Kaṇimāṇ as 'the chieftain who took Tēṇūr (in battle)'. It can be surmised that the battle referred to in this inscription must have taken place before the Pallava occupation of Kanchipuram.

### B. RELIGION

#### 4.7 Earlier views on the authors of cave inscriptions

##### 4.7.1 Buddhist occupation of the caves

To the earlier investigators of the Tamil caves, the Brāhmī inscriptions in characters resembling those of the Asokan edicts suggested Buddhist association even before the inscriptions could be properly understood. Venkayya traced the use of natural caves for religious purposes to the Buddhists "whose creed makes it binding on the monks to resort to out-of-the-way places". He compared the Tamil caves having stone beds and inscriptions with the rock-cut Buddhist caves of Western India. He also suggested that Asoka's Buddhist missionaries to Sri Lanka must have passed through the Tamil country and propagated their faith here too.<sup>1</sup>

Krishna Sastri compared the Tamil caves with very similar ones in Sri Lanka and proposed that the caves were successively occupied by aboriginal tribes in prehistoric times and then by the Buddhist monks, and in much later times, by the Jains who carved the stone sculptures and Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

Subrahmanya Aiyer drew attention to the parallelism in place names between Pañcapāṇḍava malai and Kaḷukumalai in the Tamil country and Pāṇḍava Pabbata and Ḡṛidhrakūṭa respectively, the latter two associated with incidents in the Buddha's life.<sup>3</sup>

However, the texts of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions which have now been fully deciphered, do not reveal any internal evidence for associating the Buddhist faith with the Tamil caves. Some of the earlier readings and interpretations which seemingly provided evidence for the presence of Buddhism in the cave inscriptions have now been shown to be incorrect:

- (a) The expression *ū pā cā a ṇa* (*upaca-aṇ*) occurring at Kilavalavu and Kongarpuliyankulam was regarded by Subrahmanya Aiyer as the Tamil form of Skt. *upāsaka* from Prakrit, and interpreted to mean a 'lay devotee' as in Buddhist terminology.<sup>4</sup> However, the same

1. ARE 1906-07: paragraphs 1-5.

2. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: pp. 330-332; also in ARE 1908-09: paragraph 7.

3. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: pp. 278-281.

4. Ibid. p. 294.

expression was earlier derived by Krishna Sastri from Skt. *upādhyāya* 'teacher'.<sup>1</sup> Though he did not interpret it, the expression means a 'preceptor' or 'spiritual teacher' in Jaina terminology. The latter interpretation has been adopted in this study.<sup>2</sup>

- (b) I had earlier read the words *mātavirai* 'great nun' and *tavira* 'monk' in the Alagarmalai cave inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> As these terms can have Buddhist association, they have been considered as evidence for the presence of Buddhism in the Tamil caves. However, later field work has shown these to be incorrect readings respectively for *mattirai* ('Matirai') and *av[v]ir[u]*- ('those two') (Nos. 38 and 45).

#### 4.7.2 *Ājīvika presence in the caves*

Mahalingam suggested that, in addition to the Buddhist and Jaina monks, Ājīvika ascetics were also present in the caves.<sup>4</sup> While the Ājīvika sect was known in the Tamil country from ancient times as attested by literary evidence and inscriptions, there is no evidence that it ever had a large following. Mahalingam's view that "considerable sections of the population seem to have been attracted to this faith which had taken a deep root in the country and had attained good progress apparently with large patronage"<sup>5</sup> is overstated and has not been generally accepted. The decipherment of the Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions has not produced any evidence of Ājīvika association with the Tamil caves.<sup>6</sup>

### 4.8 Early phase of Jainism in the Tamil country

#### 4.8.1 *Bhadrabahu-Chandragupta legend*

The advent of Jainism in South India is traditionally traced to the migration of Chandragupta Maurya and his preceptor Bhadrabahu to Sravanabelagola in Karnataka. According to the legend, when foretold of a terrible famine in Magadha which would last twelve years, the Jaina Saṃgha led by Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta migrated to South India and settled down at Sravanabelagola.<sup>7</sup> Viśākha Muni, the disciple of Bhadrabahu, went further south to the Tamil country and preached in the Cōla and Pāṇṭiya kingdoms.

As the Bhadrabahu-Chandragupta legend is found only in relatively late sources, scholars have been hesitant to accept it as a historical event. The Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions, now known to be the earliest Jaina records in South India, provide indirect corroboration of two key elements of the legend. The palaeography of the cave inscriptions is consistent with borrowing from Magadha in ca. 3rd century B.C. during the Mauryan Age. The decipherment of the inscriptions has also

1. H. Krishna Sastri 1919: pp. 339-340.

2. See section 4.9.3(iii).

3. I. Mahadevan, *Corpus of Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966* (1968): Nos. 33 and 41.

4. T.V. Mahalingam 1967: pp. 188-192.

5. Ibid. p. 188.

6. For a succinct account of the Ājīvikas in Tamil country, See R. Vijayalakshmy 1988.

7. S.B. Deo 1956: pp. 86-88.

revealed early links with Karnataka and Old Kannada indicative of the proximate source of Jainism in the Tamil country.<sup>1</sup> The views of some scholars that Jainism reached the Tamil country from Bengal and Orissa and not from Karnataka can no longer be accepted.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4.8.2 *Samprati and Jainism in the Tamil country*

Dasaratha and Samprati, grandsons of Asoka, succeeded him and ruled simultaneously from Pataliputra and Ujjain respectively. While Dasaratha seems to have supported the Ājīvika faith, Samprati became an ardent supporter of Jainism under the guidance of his preceptor Suhastin. Samprati despatched Jaina missionaries to various regions in South India including the Damila (Tamil) country.<sup>3</sup> Jaina literary evidence credits the spread of Jainism from Ujjain to the Deccan and other southern countries.<sup>4</sup>

### 4.9 Evidence of Jainism in Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions

#### 4.9.1 *Jaina character of the inscriptions: a statistical study*

The earlier speculations about the nature of the religion associated with the Tamil caves have now been set at rest with the complete decipherment of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. There is no longer any doubt that the Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions are mostly associated with the Jaina faith (see Table 4.1). Out of 30 sites with 89 Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions included in the present Corpus, 28 sites with 84 inscriptions are Jaina and the remaining 2 sites with 5 inscriptions are secular, that is, having no apparent religious significance. The position is somewhat different in the case of the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions included in the Corpus. Out of 12 sites with 21 inscriptions, only 4 sites with 12 inscriptions are Jaina; the Pillaiyarpatti rock-cut shrine with one inscription is affiliated to Vedic (Brahmanical) Hinduism; and the remaining are secular records.

	Tamil-Brāhmī (ca. 2nd cent. B.C.- 4th cent A.D.)		Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (ca. 5th & 6th cent. A.D.)		Total	
	Sites	Inscrs.	Sites	Inscrs.	Sites	Inscrs.
Jaina	28	84	4	12	32	96
Hindu	--	--	1	1	1	1
Secular	2	5	7	8	9	13
Total	30	89	12	21	42	110

Table 4.1. Religious association of Early Tamil inscriptions in the Corpus.

1. See section 3.2.4 for discussion on the influence of Old Kannada on Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions.
2. E.g., A. K. Chatterjee 1978: p. 119.
3. S.B. Deo 1956: pp.91-92.
4. Ibid. p. 115. Prakrit loanwords in the Tamil cave inscriptions lend support to this tradition. See section 3.3.5 (ii).

#### 4.9.2 Jaina terminology

Some of the key words in the inscriptions which help us to have a glimpse of the early phase of Jainism in the Tamil country are discussed below.

#### 4.9.3 Titles of monks

##### (i) *kaṇi*

The expression *kaṇi* (Pkt. *gaṇi* < Skt. *gaṇin*) 'a senior Jaina monk, the head of a *gaṇa*' occurs four times at Mangulam (Nos. 1-4, ca. 2nd century B.C.) and twice at Alagarmalai (No. 48, ca. 1st century B.C.). While many terms like *ācārya*, etc., are common to the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina religions, the expression *gaṇin* is peculiar to Jaina hierarchy.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the occurrence of this term in Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions is conclusive evidence of the occupation of the caves by monks of the Jaina faith.

We learn from the Mangulam inscriptions (Nos. 1-3) that Kaṇi Nanta-siri (Gaṇi Nanda-śrī) was the senior Jaina monk who received the endowments of three hermitages from the kinsmen, vassals or officers of Neṭuñceliyaṇ, the reigning Pāṇṭiya king. The inscriptions bear testimony to the support that the Jaina faith received from the Pāṇṭiya king, his court and the local merchant guild (*nikama* < *nigama*) at this early period.

The given name or clan name of the senior Jaina monk was Kuvāṇ, revealing his Tamil origin. This is a significant fact. For, if a native Tamil ascetic could have risen in the Jaina monastic hierarchy to occupy the position of a *gaṇi* ('head of a *gaṇa*') at this time, then Jainism must have taken root in the Tamil country much earlier, that is, not later than the earlier half of the 3rd century B.C.

##### (ii) *amaṇaṇ*

The expression is derived from Ta. *camana* < Pkt. *samaṇa* < Skt. *śramaṇa* 'an ascetic or monk of non-Vedic religions (Ājīvika, Buddhist or Jaina)'. However, in the Tamil tradition, the term is exclusively applied to the Jaina monks indicating that the Jaina *samaṇa* monks reached the Tamil country earlier and that the Buddhist monks who came later had to be given other appellations like *cākkīyar*, *tērar*, *puttar*, etc., to distinguish them from the Jaina ascetics.

The term *amaṇaṇ* occurs first at Mettuppatti (No. 24, ca. 2nd century B.C.). This inscription records the gift of Uṭayaṇaṇ (Udayana) to Attiraṇ, the Jaina monk from Matirai (Madurai). The occurrence of the word in a Tamil-Brāhmī inscription of the 2nd century B.C. proves that Jainism had spread to the Tamil country before that date. The linguistic testimony furnished by this word goes further. The use of the evolved form *amaṇaṇ* (formed by the loss of the initial *c* in *camanaṇ*) shows that the word must have been borrowed into Tamil much earlier

1. S.B. Deo 1956: pp. 149-150.

to allow sufficient time for the linguistic assimilation and evolution *samaṇa* > *camaṇa* > *amaṇa*. On the basis of this evidence, we may date the spread of Jainism to the Tamil country at least to the 3rd century B.C., if not earlier.

The variant form *amaṇṇaṇ* occurs in two later inscriptions from Pugalur (Nos. 61 & 62, ca. 2nd century A.D.). The inscriptions record the construction of a rock shelter for Ceṅkāyapaṇ, a senior Jaina monk, by King Ātaṇ Cel Irumporai to mark the occasion of the investiture of his grandson as the heir apparent (*iḷaṅkō*). The Pugalur inscriptions (Nos. 61-72, ca., 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.) attest to the support of Jainism by the Cēra king, his court and by the merchant community.

(iii) *upacaṇ*

The expressions *upacaṇ* at Tiruvadavur (No. 9) and its variant form *upaca-aṇ* at Kilavalavu and Kongarpuliyankulam (Nos. 10 & 11) dated to ca. 2nd century B.C. are derived from Skt. *upādhyāya* 'spiritual teacher' through Pkt. *upajhaya*, *uvajha*, etc.; cf. Ka. *uvajjar* and Ta. *uvaccaṇ* 'teacher'.<sup>1</sup>

The *upādhyāya* is venerated as one of the Pañca-paramēśṭhin (along with Arhat, Siddha, Ācārya and Muni) by the Jains. In the Tamil Jaina tradition, the *upādhyāya* is a lay teacher of scriptures. He functions as the priest in the local Jaina temple and also conducts religious ceremonies in Jaina households. In course of time, with the waning of Jaina influence in the Tamil country, the Uvaccar became priests in the shrines of *piṭāri* (< *bhaṭāri*, originally Jaina) and other village goddesses. Still later, they figure as temple-drummers, dance-masters and musicians in medieval inscriptions.

(iv) *patantaṇ*

The expression *patantaṇ* occurs as the title of a Jaina monk at Anaimalai (No. 60, ca. 2nd century A.D.). It corresponds to Pkt. *bhadanta* 'venerable, reverend'. A variant form *bhadata* occurs as the title of a Jaina monk in an early Prakrit inscription from Mathura.<sup>2</sup> The variant forms *bhadanīta* and *bhayamīta* are attested in Jaina Prakrit works.

(v) *att(a)vāyi*

The expression *attuvāyi* in the Anaimalai inscription (No. 60, ca. 2nd century A.D.) is obscure, with most of the authorities choosing to regard it as a personal name. However, it appears to be a title as it is prefixed to a personal name, most probably that of a Jaina monk. The word is probably to be read as *attavāyi*; the scribal error appears to be due to stress on the first syllable in the original Prakrit. The first part of the name is from Pkt. *attha* < Skt. *artha* 'meaning', and the second part from Pkt. *vāyi* < Skt. *vācin* / *vādin* 'one who reads / expounds'. The whole expression *attavāyi* may be interpreted as 'one who expounds the meaning (of

1. See discussion on *uvaccaṇ* in the Commentary (9.1).

2. E.g., G.Bühler 1894a, *El.* II: p. 199, No. IV.

scriptures'); cf. AMg. *atthavāya* 'disputation of meaning' (PSM); *vācaka* / *vāyaka* 'preacher' occurring in Prakrit inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

(vi) *ācāriyar*

The expression *ācāriyar* and the variant form *ācirikaru* < Skt. *ācārya* 'preceptor' occur as the titles of senior Jaina monks in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions at Paraiyanpattu and Tirunatharkunru respectively (Nos. 115 & 116, ca. 6th century A.D.).

In the Jaina monastic tradition, especially the Digambara, *ācārya* is a title accorded to very senior monks who are considered to be superior to the *upādhyāya* in the list of the Five Dignitaries (*pañca-paramēśhṭhin*) worshipped daily by the Jainas.

(vii) *māṇākkar*

The term literally means 'student' (honorific singular), but occurs at Paraiyanpattu (No. 115, ca. 6th century A.D.) as a Jaina technical term with the specialised meaning of 'acolyte or disciple' of a senior Jaina monk. In later Jaina inscriptions as at Kalugumalai (Tirunelveli District), the expressions *māṇākkar* (masc.) and *māṇākkiyar* (fem.) occur in this sense.

#### 4.9.4 Titles of nuns

(i) *pa(m)mitti*

The expression *pa(m)mitti* occurs at Alagarmalai (No. 41, ca. 1st century B.C.) as the title of a Jaina nun named Sapamitā (from Pkt. *sappamittā* < Skt. *sarpamitrā*). The term *pammi-tti* appears to be the feminine gender form of *pammaṇ* (masc.) 'Jaina novice'.<sup>2</sup> The expressions are ultimately derived from Pkt. *bamma* < Skt. *brahma* / *brāhmī*.

(ii) *kanti*

Cē-k-kant(i)-aṇṇi and Cē-k-kanti, mother and daughter, figure in the inscription at Nekanurpatti (No. 83, ca. 4th century A.D.). Both are Jaina nuns as may be seen from the suffixed title *kanti*. The term *kanti* is attested as a personal name or title of Jaina nuns in Tamil literary works. The variant form *kavunti* occurs as the personal name of a senior Jaina nun.<sup>3</sup>

The term *kanti* (variants *khanti*, *ganti*) occurs in Kannada inscriptions as an affix to the personal names of Jaina nuns. The expression is probably derived from *gamithi* (AMg.) 'one who composes a literary work' (PSM) < *grantha* (Skt.) 'book'.

#### 4.9.5 Names of Jaina monks and nuns

The following are the names of Jaina monks and nuns occurring in the inscriptions included in the Corpus. Their titles are added after the names within brackets (*vide* Inscriptional Glossary for references).

1. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Pūjya Śrī Ārjivasāgar Muni, the distinguished Digambara Jaina monk, for the interpretation. Also see Commentary (60.6).
2. *Aruṇikala*. 168. See Commentary (41.3) for further references.
3. *Cilap*. 10: 165, 211, etc. See Commentary (83.2.b) for discussion.

**Monks**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Attiraṇ ( <i>amaṇaṇ</i> )            | 8. Ceṇkāyapaṇ ( <i>mutā amaṇṇaṇ</i> )  |
| 2. Araṭṭa Kāyipaṇ [ <i>att(a)vāyi</i> ] | 9. Natti ( <i>kaṇi</i> )               |
| 3. Āritaṇ ( <i>patantaṇ</i> )           | 10. Nataṇ ( <i>kaṇi</i> )              |
| 4. I(l)lavōṇ ( <i>upaca-aṇ</i> )        | 11. Nanta-siri Ku(v)aṇ ( <i>kaṇi</i> ) |
| 5. Iḷaṇkāyipaṇ                          | 12. Nākaṇ ( <i>kaṇi</i> )              |
| 6. U(p)paṛuva[ṇ*] ( <i>upaca-aṇ</i> )   | 13. Paracu ( <i>upacaṇ</i> )           |
| 7. Cantirananti ( <i>ācirikaru</i> )†   | 14. Vaccaṇanti ( <i>ācāriyar</i> )†    |

(† These two names are from Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions.)

**Nuns**

1. Kavuti
2. Cē-k-(kanti) / (*kanti*)
3. Cē-k-(kant(i) -aṇṇi) / (*kanti*)
4. Sa(p)pami(t)tā [*pa(m)mitti*]

**4.9.6 Common religious terms in Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions**

Some of the expressions in the Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions included in the Corpus are common to Vedic (Brahmanical) Hinduism and non-Vedic faiths (Ājīvika, Buddhist and Jaina). They have been treated in the present study as relating to Jainism taking the overall context into account (*vide* Inscriptional Glossary for references and Commentary for discussion).

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| (i) <i>atiṭṭāṇam</i>         | : 'seat, permanent fixed abode'; refers to stone beds in the cave shelters. |
| (ii) <i>aṛam</i>             | : 'charity, religious life'.  |
| (iii) <i>uṛai, uṛaiyuḷ</i>   | : 'abode of ascetics'.  |
| (iv) <i>tāṇa</i>             | : 'religious gift'.   |
| (v) <i>namōttu</i>           | : 'Let there be salutation!'; an invocation.                                |
| (vi) <i>paḷli</i>            | : 'hermitage'; refers to the cave-shelter.                                  |
| (vii) <i>dhammam, dhamam</i> | : 'religious gift, charity or endowment'.                                   |

**4.9.7 Jaina religious terms in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions**

Religious terms specific to Jainism or with specialised meanings in the Jaina context occur in the *nicīṭikai* inscriptions in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu at Paraiyanpattu and Tirunatharkunru (Nos. 115 & 116, ca. 6th century A.D.). The expressions are listed below in alphabetical order with meanings. (*vide* Inscriptional Glossary for references and Commentary for discussion).

- (i) *aṇacaṇam* : 'abstinence from food'; the Jaina religious penance of fasting unto death.
- (ii) *ārātāṇi* : 'worship'; a Jaina technical term for the religious penance of fasting unto death.
- (iii) *nicīṭikai* : 'seat of penance' (for fasting unto death).
- (iv) *nōṛra, nōṛru* : 'who observed / having observed penance'. In Jaina terminology, *nōṛra* or *nōṇpu* refer to religious fasting.
- (v) *muṭṭita* : 'who completed'; a Jaina technical term for ending one's life through the penance of fasting unto death.

#### 4.9.8 Cave shelters : the earliest Jaina hermitages

A brief description of the physical features of the cave shelters with Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions has been given in Chapter 1.<sup>1</sup> Here we shall look at the shelters as the earliest Jaina hermitages in the Tamil country (*vide* Inscriptional Glossary in Appendix I for references).

##### (i) *paḷḷi*

The most frequent term used in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions for the hermitage is *paḷḷi*. In Early Tamil-Brāhmī, the word was spelt *pā ḷi* but read as *paḷḷi* according to the orthographic conventions of the period. In Late Tamil-Brāhmī, the word was spelt as *paḷḷi*. The original, literal meaning of *paḷḷi* 'sleeping place' applied to the cave shelters with stone beds and was later extended to hermitages or temples built of brick and mortar. The term *paḷḷi* came to mean 'school' as the hermitage was also a centre of learning from the earliest times. In literary works and later inscriptions, the term *paḷḷi* came to denote a non-Vedic (Ājīvika, Buddhist, Jaina) place of worship.

##### (ii) *atiṭṭāṇam*

The *paḷḷi* comprised one or more stone beds with pillow lofts at the head side carved on the rock floor of the caves.<sup>2</sup> The beds are referred to as *atiṭṭāṇam* in the inscriptions (with variant spellings). The term is derived from Pkt. *adhiṭṭhāna* 'fixed, permanent abode' (*PED*) < Skt. *adhishṭhāna* 'abode, seat' (MW). The stone beds were known as *atiṭṭāṇam* as they were the permanent fixed abodes of the itinerant Jaina monks who stayed in the caves during the rainy season and went out preaching at other times of the year.

##### (iii) *Drip ledge*

The cave shelter was protected from rain by cutting a drip ledge across the brow of the overhanging boulder above the entrance to the cave.<sup>3</sup> This feature is referred to by the following expressions.

1. See section 1.7.

2. See Fig. 1.14.

3. See Fig. 1.13.

- (a) *kuṛa* (LT *kuṛai*): 'a cut, cutting';
- (b) *kuṛu* (LT *kūṛu*): 'section, division';
- (c) *tāra-aṇi*: An obscure expression tentatively interpreted as drip line (?) from *tāra* (LT *tārai*) 'line or stream'; *aṇi*: 'which is joined'.

(iv) *Canopy*

The cave shelter was protected from sun and rain by a canopy of thatched roof in front of the entrance as indicated by the post holes on the brow of the overhanging boulder and on the rock floor below. The wooden beams or posts made by a carpenter to support the canopy are referred to in the inscription at Mamandur (No. 73, ca. 3rd century A.D.) as *āci*: 'prop, support'. Cf. Ta. *ācu*: id.; and AMg. *āsi* 'to support'.

(v) *Front yard*

The spacious front yard outside the entrance to the cave at Pugalur is referred to as *muṇṇu* 'forecourt' (cf. Ta. *muṇṇ-il*).

(vi) *Water sources*

The caves for siting the shelters were carefully selected to ensure regular supply of water from sources like rock springs on the hill or larger reservoirs on the plains nearby. The inscriptions refer to these water sources as follows (*vide* Inscriptional Glossary).

- (a) *kaya[m\*]*: 'tank, pool'.
- (b) *cuṇai*: 'mountain pool, spring'.
- (c) *pēr-ay-am* (*pērayam*): 'large tank'.
- (d) *poykai*: natural spring, pond, tank.

#### 4.10 Evolution of Early Jainism in the Tamil country

Based on the distribution, frequency and contents of the Jaina inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu included in the present Corpus, it is possible to discern three distinct stages in the evolution of early Jainism in the Tamil country (see Table 4.2).

Region	No. of Early Jaina inscriptions in the Corpus			Total
	Early (ca. 2-1 cent. B.C.)	Middle (ca. 1-3 cent. A.D.)	Late (ca. 4-6 cent. A.D.)	
Pāṇṭiya	53	10	7	70
Cēra	1	13	3	17
Toṇṭai	--	2	3	5
Cōḷa	--	1	3	4
Total	54	26	16	96

Table 4.2. Regional and temporal distribution of Early Jaina inscriptions in the Tamil country.

#### 4.10.1 Early period (ca. 3-1 centuries B.C.)

The earliest Jaina inscriptions in the Tamil country are found in the Pāṇṭiya region with most of them clustered around Madurai. The palaeographic evidence indicates that Jainism must have arrived in the Pāṇṭiya country not later than the 3rd century B.C. The new faith received active support from the Pāṇṭiya dynasty and the local merchant communities as indicated by the inscriptions at Mangulam (Nos. 1-6, ca. 2nd century B.C.) and Alagarmalai (Nos. 36-48, ca. 1st century B.C.). The presence of Old Kannada expressions and personal names in the cave inscriptions, especially at Sittannavasal-A (No. 49, ca. 1st century B.C.), points to Karnataka as the route through which Jainism reached the Tamil country. It is also likely that the Tamil-Brāhmī script was adapted from the Mauryan Brāhmī in the Jaina monasteries (*paḷḷi*) of the Madurai region some time before the end of the 3rd century B.C. as the earliest cave inscriptions are dated to about the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. It appears from the absence of reference to sects that the early lithic records in the Tamil caves belong to the period before the schism between the Digambara and Śvētāmbara sects. It is arguable from palaeographic evidence that the Early Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions are the earliest lithic records of the Jaina faith in India, as the Mangulam inscriptions of the time of Neṭuñceḷiyaṇ appear to be earlier than the Jaina Prakrit inscriptions at Mathura and those of Kharavela of Kalinga.

#### 4.10.2 Middle period (ca. 1-3 centuries A.D.)

There is a sharp fall in the total number of cave inscriptions in this period. The centre of Jainism in the Tamil country appears to have shifted from the Pāṇṭiya to the Cēra region in the early centuries A.D., as indicated by the sharp fall in the number of inscriptions in the Pāṇṭiya country and the equally sharp rise in their number in the Cēra country during this period. As in the Pāṇṭiya country in the earlier period, Jainism was patronised by kings, and local merchant communities in the Cēra country also, as seen from the Pugalur inscriptions (Nos. 61-72, ca. 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.). Contacts with the Jaina community in Karnataka continued in this period also, as indicated by what appear to be Kannada personal names in the inscription at Tirupparankunram (No. 55, ca. 1st century A.D.). The earliest literary evidence of Jainism in the Tamil country belongs to this period; e.g., *uṇṇāmaiyaṇ uyaṅkiya maruṅkiṇ āṭā-p-paṭivattu āṇṇōr pōla* 'like the (Jaina) monks whose bodies are emaciated by fasting and not bathed' (*Aka.* 123). There is also literary evidence from the Caṅkam poems that Jaina monasteries (*paḷḷi*) existed in cities like Kāviri-p-pūm-paṭṭiṇam and Madurai even during the early centuries A.D.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.10.3 Late period (ca. 4th-6th centuries A.D.)

The era of natural cave shelters came to an end during this period. The Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions at Sittannavasal-B and Tiruchirapalli-B (Nos. 101-107 & 108-110, ca. 5th century A.D.) are the last of the Jaina cave shelters in the earlier tradition. A new type of Jaina monuments appears in the Tamil country in the 6th century A.D. in the form of the *nicīṭikai* inscriptions at Paraiyanpattu and

1. *Paṭṭiṇa.* 53; *Matu.* 475-488.

Tirunatharkunru (Nos. 115 & 116). These are epitaphs engraved on the bare summit of boulders commemorating the places where Jaina ascetics fasted unto death. Even though these Early Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions are earlier in date, they clearly belong to the *sallekhana* ('religious fasting unto death') tradition of Karnataka which has more numerous examples than the Tamil country. The *nicītikai* inscriptions represent a fresh wave of influence from Karnataka, though contacts between the Tamil and Kannada Jaina communities existed even earlier in this period as indicated by the inscription at Nekanurpatti (No. 83, ca. 4th century A.D.).

During most of this period, the Tamil country was under the rule of the Kalabhras, said to be tribal invaders from Karnataka following the Jaina faith. They displaced the traditional Tamil monarchies and held sway over the Tamil country for nearly three centuries until they were expelled in the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. by Kaṭuṅkōṇ, the Pāṇṭiya, from the south and Simhavishnu Pallava from the north. It is, however, significant that there is no inscriptional evidence for increased support to Tamil Jainism during the Kalabhra rule; on the contrary, the number of Jaina inscriptions decreased further during this period reflecting the unsettled conditions following the invasion.

The earliest epigraphic evidence for the construction of temples and monasteries in brick and mortar is found in the Pulankurichi inscription of King Cēntaṇ Kūrṇaṇ (ca. 500 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> There is now a general consensus that he was a Kalabhra ruler as the name Kūrṇaṇ does not occur in the Pāṇṭiya dynasty, and as there is clear Kannada influence on the language of the inscription (e.g. *avaru*, *ūru*, *aruḷittār*, etc). The inscription relates to the administrative arrangements made for three places of worship, two of them Hindu (*dēvakulam*) and the other Jaina (*tāpata-p-paḷḷi* which was located in Madurai). The inscription provides evidence that the Kalabhras, acting in the tradition of the rulers of the land, did not discriminate between the Hindu and Jaina places of worship.

#### 4.11 Early Jaina records with dates

The following early Jaina records of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. can be more or less precisely dated.

##### (i) *Lōyavibhāga*

The Digambara Jaina work in Sanskrit, *Lōkavibhāga* written by Simhasūri, states that the original work in Prakrit (*Lōyavibhāga*) was completed by Muni Sarvanandi in Śaka 380 (458 A.D.) at Pāṭalikā in Pāṇarāshṭra during the reign of Pallava Simhavarman.<sup>2</sup>

##### (ii) *Darśanasāra*

Dēvasēna, the author of *Darśanasāra*, a Prakrit work written in 853 A.D., states that Vajranandi, the pupil of Pūjyapāda, founded the Drāviḍa Saṁgha in Mathurā in the south (Madurai) in Vikrama Era 525 (468-69 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> This Jaina saṁgha was so famous that it is referred to in

1. Y. Subbarayalu and M.R. Raghava Varier 1991: pp. 57-69.

2. A. Chakravarti 1941 (revised edn. by K.V. Ramesh 1974): pp. viii and 16. See also section 4.20.3(ii) in this vol.

3. Ibid. pp. 16-17.

Kannada inscriptions from Karnataka.<sup>1</sup> The legends relating to the three successive Tamil Caṅkams (literary academies) at Madurai are probably based on later recollection of the name Drāviḍa Saṁgha. It is likely that the Saṁgha, though a Jaina monastic institution, acted also as an assembly for the cultivation of Tamil language and literature. It is no coincidence that this was the period of notable literary output by Jaina authors, mostly monks.

(iii) *Paḷḷaṅkōvil Plates*

The Plates record the grant of land to Vajranandi, a senior Jaina monk at Amaṇḍērkai in Parutti-k-kuṇṇil (modern Tirupparuttikkunram known in the past as Jina Kāñci near Kanchipuram).<sup>2</sup> The grant was issued in the sixth regnal year (ca. 546 A.D.) of Simhavarman. Vajranandi is described in the Sanskrit portion of the Plates as a *gaṇī* (cf. *kaṇi* in the Mangulam and Alagarmalai cave inscriptions) translated as *kuravar* (< Skt. *guravaḥ*) in the Tamil portion. The inscription contains the earliest reference to *paḷḷiccantam*, grant of tax-free land to Jaina monasteries (*paḷḷi*). However, the Paḷḷaṅkōvil Plates are palaeographically late and appear to be a copy made towards the end of the 7th century A.D. of the earlier original.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4.12 Re-occupation of the cave shelters by later Jinas

It is beyond the scope of the present study to trace the history of Tamil Jainism after the 6th century A.D. except to point out the re-occupation of the earlier cave shelters by the Jinas between 8th and 10th centuries A.D. (Figs. 4.1 and 4.2).

Jainism declined steeply in the Tamil country from about the end of the 6th century A.D. when there was a tremendous upsurge of the Saiva and Vaishnava sects revitalised by the Bhakti movement led by the Nāyaṇmār and Āḷvārs. The Tamil Jinas were persecuted during this period. However, the persecution, uncharacteristic of Indian polity, did not last too long and the rulers resumed grants to the Jaina monasteries (*paḷḷi*) from about the end of the 8th century A.D. as attested by epigraphical evidence from the Pallava and Pāṇṭiya regions.<sup>4</sup> It was during this period of revival that many of the earlier cave shelters with stone beds and Tamil-Brāhmī and/or Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions were re-occupied by the Jinas who marked their renewed presence with relief sculptures and inscriptions in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script of the period.<sup>5</sup> The following is a list of the sites reoccupied during 8th-10th centuries A.D.

- (i) Alagarmalai, (ii) Anaimalai, (iii) Arittapatti, (iv) Karungalakkudi, (v) Kilavalavu, (vi) Kongarpuliyankulam, (vii) Muttuppatti (Fig. 4.1), (viii) Sittannavasal, (ix) Tirunatharkunru (Fig. 4.2), (x) Tirupparankunram and (xi) Tondur.

1. E.g., *Epi. Car.* XI, Davanagere: 90.

2. T.N. Subramanian 1959: pp. 41-83. *Pallavar Ceppēṭuka*/1966 (1999 reprint): pp. 1-32.

3. See section 5.20.2(a) for discussion on the date of the Paḷḷaṅkōvil Plates.

4. E.g., grants in the 8th century A.D. by Nandivarman II (*Pallava Inscr.* Nos. 74, 85 & 88) and by Māraṇ Caṭaiyaṇ (*SIL* XIV: Nos. 32, 39 & 41).

5. C. Santhalingam 1999b: pp. 105-115.



Figure 4.1. Sculpture of two Jaina Tirthankaras. Muttuppatti. ca. 9th century A.D.  
Note the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription below the figures.



Figure 4.2. Sculpture of twentyfour Jaina Tirthankaras. Tirunatharkunru. ca. 9th century A.D.

The list given above does not include early sites without Tamil-Brāhmī or Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions as at Virasikhamani (Tirunelveli District), Kuppal Nattam, Puttur and Uttamapalaiyam (Madurai region). More new sites with Jaina sculptures and Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions came up in the Pāṇṭiya country, especially in the Madurai region, during 8th-10th centuries A.D., when there was a marked revival of Jainism led by illustrious monks like Accaṇanti. Among these later sites, the most famous was at Kuṟaṇṭi Kāṭṭāmpaḷḷi of which no trace remains at present.<sup>1</sup> Other important Jaina centres which came up in this period include those at Samanamalai, Settipodavu and Peccipallam in the Madurai region, Kalugumalai (Tirunelveli District), Tirumalai (North Arcot District) and Vedal. Samanamalai in the Pāṇṭiya region in the south and Jina Kāñci (near Kanchipuram) in the Pallava region in the north flourished as great centres of Jaina learning till about the end of the 12th century A.D. after which Jainism went into a steady decline in the Tamil country.

#### 4.13 Jaina contribution to Tamil

No survey of Jainism in the Tamil country, however brief, can be complete without mentioning the enormous contribution made by the Jainas to the growth of Tamil literature from the earliest times up to about the 16th century A.D. While justice cannot be done to this vast subject within the scope of the present study, mention must be made at least of such outstanding works by Jaina authors like *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṇṇūl* among the grammatical works, *Cilappatikāram*, *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* and *Peruṅkatai* among the epics, the immortal *Kuraḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār* among the ethical works and *Tivākaram*, *Piṅkalantai* and *Cūṭāmaṇi* among the lexicons. To this already formidable record may be added what is surely the most basic and fundamental contribution by the Jainas to Tamil viz., the development of a script for the language leading to literacy and the later efflorescence of Caṅkam literature in the early centuries A.D.<sup>2</sup>

1. R. Champakalakshmi 1975: pp. 84-90.
  2. On Jainism in South India, the following works, listed here in chronological order, may be consulted:
    - (i) M.S. Ramaswamy Aiyangar and B. Seshagiri Rao 1922.
    - (ii) A. Chakravarti 1941 (revised edn. by K.V. Ramesh 1974).
    - (iii) P.B. Desai 1957.
    - (iv) A. Ghosh (ed.) 1974: 3 vols.
    - (v) A.K. Chatterjee 1978.
    - (vi) *Jaina Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu: A Topographical List*, A. Ekambaranathan and C.K. Sivaprakasam (eds.) 1987.
    - (vii) *Jainism in South India* (ed.) P.M. Joseph 1997.
- The following Tamil works may also be consulted:
- (a) Mayilai Seeni Venkataswamy 1954 (1980 reprint).
  - (b) A. Ekambaranathan 1998.
  - (c) V. Vedachalam 2000.

While (a) deals with Jaina contribution to Tamil, the other two are regional studies dealing with Jainism in the Cōḷa and Pāṇṭiya countries respectively.

## C. SOCIETY

### 4.14 Introduction

The early Tamil inscriptions included in the Corpus are primarily votive records and are very brief, containing mostly only the personal names and titles of donors and recipients of cave shelters. Inscriptions on objects like pottery, coins, seals and rings are even more brief. Nevertheless, they do provide incidental but valuable information on the state of the early Tamil society. A brief summary of the available information is given below under different heads. For further discussion, the relevant entries in the Commentary may be referred to with the help of the Inscriptional Glossary.

### 4.15 Agriculture

#### 4.15.1 Paddy

An inscription at Varichiyur (No. 16, ca. 2nd century B.C.) refers to the endowment of *nūru kala nel* 'hundred kalams of paddy'. Unfortunately, the inscription is badly damaged and virtually no other information is available. It appears, however, that the endowment of paddy was for the maintenance of the large monastic establishment in this cave shelter having numerous stone beds. The phrase *nūru kala nel* occurring in such an early inscription is interesting. The standard rate of land tax was one hundred kalams of paddy per *vēli* (about 2.67 hectares) of wet land in the delta region of the Cōḷa country during the reign of Rajaraja I.<sup>1</sup> The endowment of one hundred kalams of paddy in the present inscription meant in effect that the tax on one *vēli* of land was made over to the *paḷḷi*. However, we have no data on the extent of land or the rate of taxation in this case; we cannot even be sure whether at such an early date a *kalam* (29 kg. in Cōḷa times) measured the same amount of paddy.

#### 4.15.2 Ploughshare

An inscription at Alagarmalai (No. 43, ca. 1st century B.C.) mentions a *koḷuvaṇikan* 'trader in ploughshares'. The term *koḷu* refers to the hard iron tip fixed to the wooden plough, which has survived with little change up to the present day.

#### 4.15.3 Irrigation

A short Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription from Erettimalai (No. 114, ca. 5th century A.D.) is engraved on a smooth shoe-shaped granite stone. The inscription describes the function of the device as a 'stone (stopper) fitted in the vent of a sluice'. While inscriptions on stone outlets (*tūmpu*) to regulate water supply from irrigation sources are common, the present inscription occurs uniquely on the stone stopper used to regulate the flow of water.

1. *SII*. II: Introduction, p. 17.

## 4.16 Trade

### 4.16.1 The merchant guild

Two inscriptions at Mangulam (Nos. 3 & 6, ca. 2nd century B.C.) refer to the merchant guild *nikama* (< Pkt. *nigama*) at *veḷ-araḷai* (Veḷḷaraḷai) identified with the modern village of Vellarippatti near Mangulam. The members of the guild, *nikama(t)tōr*, acting collectively, carved the numerous stone beds found in one of the caves at this site.

A pottery inscription from Kodumanal,<sup>1</sup> known as a place of manufacture of gems and weapons, reads *ni kā ma* (*nikama*) indicating that merchant guilds were established at several industrial and trade centres in ancient Tamil country.

### 4.16.2 Merchants and traders

Merchants trading in various commodities figure as donors in the inscriptions at Alagarmalai (Nos. 39, 42, 43 & 46, ca. 1st century B.C.) and Pugalur (Nos. 69 & 70, ca. 3rd century A.D.). The variants *vaṇikaṇ* / *vāṇikaṇ* 'merchant, trader' found in these inscriptions are also attested in early Tamil works and in later Tamil inscriptions. The merchants who made the endowments at Alagarmalai are stated to be from *mattirai* (read *matirai*), the Pāṇṭiya capital (Madurai). One of the merchants referred to in the Pugalur inscriptions hailed from *karu-ūr* (Karur), the Cēra capital. As mentioned earlier, the merchant classes in the Tamil country were supporters of the Buddhist and Jaina religions.

### 4.16.3 Commodities of trade

The commodities traded by the merchants mentioned in the inscriptions at Alagarmalai and Pugalur are as follows:

- (i) *aṟuvai* : 'cloth'
- (ii) *u(p)pu* : 'salt'
- (iii) *eṇṇai*  
(LT *eṇṇey*) : 'oil'
- (iv) *koḷu* : 'ploughshare'
- (v) *pāṇita(m)* : 'gur' (unrefined sugar, molasses)
- (vi) *poṇ* : 'gold'

## 4.17 Professions

### 4.17.1 Mason and master mason

The expression *u(p)paṟuva[ṇ\*]* which appears to be an occupational or family name occurs in an inscription at Kongarpuliyankulam (No. 11, ca. 2nd century B.C.). The name is borne by an *upaca-aṇ* (*upaccaṇ*), a Jaina *upādhyāya*. The name seems to indicate that he belonged to a family of masons. Cf. Ta. *upparavar* 'tank and well-diggers', *uppāṛakkāraṇ* 'one who plasters a well'; Ka. *uppāṛa* 'brick-layer, plasterer, stone mason'. It is remarkable that a person who belonged to a family of masons became a Jaina *upādhyāya*.

1. Y. Subbarayalu, Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumanal 1996 (unpublished): No. 88.

The expression *perunta(c)caṇ* 'master mason' occurs in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Pillaiyarpatti (No. 117, ca. 6th century A.D.).

#### 4.17.2 Producer or seller of salt

The expression *umaṇ(a)*- 'producer or seller of salt' occurs in a fragmentary pottery inscription (ca. 1st century B.C.) from Uraiyr.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.17.3 Carpenter

The wooden posts or beams for the canopy in front of the cave shelter at Mamandur (No. 73, ca. 3rd century A.D.) were made by a *ta(c)caṇ* 'carpenter'. The term *taccaṇ* can also mean a 'stone mason' as shown by the expression *perunta(c)caṇ* 'master mason' mentioned above.

#### 4.17.4 Mahout or charioteer

The place name *pākaṇ-ūr* (*pākaṇūr*) occurring in an inscription at Kongarpuliyankulam (No. 13, ca. 2nd century B.C.) is probably derived from *pākaṇ* 'an elephant mahout or a charioteer'.

#### 4.17.5 Goldsmith

One of the donors in an inscription from Alagarmalai (No. 36, ca. 1st century B.C.) is described as *poṇ-kolvaṇ* (LT *pon-kollaṇ*) 'goldsmith'.<sup>2</sup>

### 4.18 Social organisation

#### 4.18.1 Clans

##### (i) Iḷayar

An inscription from Sittannavasal (No. 49, ca. 1st century B.C.) refers to the gift of a stone bed made collectively by the *iḷayar* (*iḷaiyar*), an ancient martial clan of the Tamil country. In another inscription from Muttupatti (No. 56, ca. 1st century B.C.), a member of the clan described as an *eḷamakaṇ* (*iḷamakaṇ*; pl. *iḷamakkaḷ*) figures as a donor jointly with another person who was probably his master (to whom he rendered military service). This arrangement is frequently referred to in later herostone inscriptions where the *iḷamakaṇ* is described as the *cēvakaṇ* 'warrior- attendant'.<sup>3</sup>

##### (ii) Īḷa-

An inscription at Tirupparankunram (No. 55, ca. 1st century A.D.) refers to an *iḷa-kuṭumpikaṇ* (read *īḷa-*) 'a member of a family (*kuṭumpikaṇ*) of toddy-drawers (*īḷa-*)'. The name of the clan (*Īḷavar*) is derived from *īḷam* 'toddy'.

1. K.V. Raman (ed.) 1988: p. 73, No. 3, Fig. 24.3, Pl. 16. Also see Fig. 1.19C in this vol.
2. See section 3.2.2(v) for the interpretation.
3. *Chengam Naṭukaṇkaḷ*: Nos. 30, 33, 62, 86, 87 of 1971, all from ca. 6th century A.D.

## (iii) Kuṛavaṇ

A silver seal from Karur has the Tamil-Brāhmī legend *ku ṛā vā ṇā* (*kuṛavaṇ*) 'a member of the hill tribe of Kuṛavar'.<sup>1</sup> A poetess belonging to this tribe, Kuṛamakaḷ Iḷaveyiṇi composed one of the Caṅkam poems in which she praises Ēṛai, chieftain of the Kuṛavar tribe.<sup>2</sup>

## (iv) Nākaṇ

The Nākar were an ancient autochthonous race inhabiting South Asian countries. In popular mythology, the name is connected with *nāga* (Skt.) 'serpent (deity)'; the Nāgas are regarded as semi-divine beings. The personal name *nākaṇ* (No. 48, with variant spellings in Nos. 37 and 72) may be based on the ancient clan name or derived from Pkt. *nāga*.

## (v) Parataṇ

A terracotta seal in the State Archaeological Museum at Dharmapuri<sup>3</sup> has the legend *pā ṛā ta ṇa* (*parataṇ*), 'a member of the clan of Paratar or Paratavar', an ancient community of fishermen and traders principally in pearls, chank and salt, inhabiting the coastal villages especially in the southern region of the Tamil country.<sup>4</sup>

An exceptionally interesting gold ring from Karur depicts the motif of a young prince battling a rearing lion.<sup>5</sup> The prince can be identified as Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā, who was famous for his prowess in subduing lions and other wild animals from a very young age. The ring has also an inscription in Tamil-Brāhmī characters of ca. 1st century B.C. consisting of the name *ti yā ṇa* (*tiyaṇ*), a personal name derived from the asterism *tishya*. Apparently a pictorial pun is depicted on the ring indicating that Tiyaṇ, the owner of the ring, belonged to the Bharata (Ta. *paratar*) clan. The glossary of inscriptional terms appended to the *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* has the entry 'bhāratavar: probably, *paratavar*, fishermen'.

It is significant that in the Early Sinhala-Brāhmī cave inscriptions of Sri Lanka, the name *tisa* (< Skt. *tishya*) and the title *barata* (< Skt. *bharata*) often appear together.<sup>6</sup> A local lead coin found near Tissamaharama, Sri Lanka, has the legend *barata tiśaha* (< Skt. *bharata-tishyasya*) 'of Barata Tissa'.<sup>7</sup>

## (vi) Pāṇ

An Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Paraiyanpattu (No. 115, ca. 6th century A.D.) refers to *pāṇāṭu* 'the Pāṇ country'. The name is probably derived from *pāṇ* (pl. *pāṇar*) 'a community famous for its bards and minstrels; cf. *pāṇ* 'song'.

1. See No. 2, Table 1.7 and Fig. 1.23 A.
2. *Pura*. 157.
3. See No. 3, Table 1.7 and Fig. 1.23 B.
4. C. Maloney 1969: pp. 224-240.
5. See No. 1, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.23 C.
6. Parānavitana 1970: pp. cxi-cxvi.
7. O. Bopearachchi, H. Falk and R. Wickremesinha 2000: No. 12.

## (vii) Malai Vaṇṇakkaṇ

Tēvaṇ Cāttan, who composed the musical inscriptions at Arachalur, is described as a *malai vaṇṇakkaṇ*, a member of the Vaṇṇakkar clan of the hills (Arachalur, No. 85, ca. 4th century A.D.). The Vaṇṇakkar clan still survives as a *gōtra* within the larger caste group of Koṇku Vellālar.

## (viii) Vēl

In an inscription at Mettuppatti (No. 32, ca. 2nd century B.C.), the donor is described as a *vēl*, 'a member of a class of ancient chiefs in the Tamil country' (pl. *vēlir*). The clan name *vēl* also occurs in pottery inscriptions from Arikamedu<sup>1</sup> and Kodumanal.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that *vēl* occurs as a title in the Early Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions, where it is a loanword from Tamil.<sup>3</sup>

## 4.18.2 Kinship

The following kinship terms are attested in the inscriptions (*vide* Inscriptional Glossary for references):

- (i) *tantai* : 'father'
- (ii) *tāyiyaru* : 'mother' (honorific singular)
- (iii) *makaṇ* : 'son'
- (iv) *makaḷ, kuṟummakaḷ* : 'daughter'
- (v) *piṇ-aṇ (piṇṇaṇ)* : 'younger brother'
- (vi) *sālakaṇ* : 'sister-in-law's husband'

The term *tāyiyaru* does not occur in Tamil and seems to be an early loanword from Kannada; *piṇṇaṇ* occurs not in the literal sense of the term, but as a personal name. The word *sālakaṇ* is derived from Prakrit where, however, it has a different sense; cf. Pkt. *sālaka* < Skt. *syālaka* 'wife's brother'. The term has the same meaning in the inscription as Ta. *cakalaṇ* 'sister-in-law's husband'.

## 4.18.3 Honorifics

Members of social groups (like family or clan) are referred to with the addition of various honorifics to personal names to indicate their status or seniority within the group.

(i) *antai*

A frequent honorific affix (masc.). It can occur as an independent word either before a personal name as in *antai pikaṇ* (No. 20) or after as in *kuvira-antai* (No. 32) or as a bound suffix as in *koṟṟantai* (No. 67). The honorific signifies the seniority or status of the member

1. I. Mahadevan 1996a: pp. 302-303, Fig. 5.9. The inscription is fragmentary and reads [*vē\**]/ *ātaṇ*.
2. Y. Subbarayalu, Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumanal 1996 (unpublished): No. 115.
3. S. Parnavitana 1970: pp. xxiv-xxv. His reading of *vēl* as *vēlu* is not generally accepted.

of a family or group. It is to be noted especially that *-antai* as a bound suffix also serves as an honorific and does not mean 'father of' as interpreted in Tamil grammatical tradition. The variant *atai* (for *antai* or *attai*) occurs in a couple of inscriptions (Nos. 30 & 56).

(ii) *-a(p)pa*

An honorific suffix (masc.) as in *o(p)paṇ=a(p)pa* (No. 79) for an elder person.

(iii) *-a(y)yaṇ /-aiyaṇ*

Honorific suffixes (masc.), both occurring in the same inscription (No. 55) with the same significance as the honorific noted above.

(iv) *-aṇṇi*

An honorific suffix (fem.). Though the literal meaning of the word is 'elder brother's wife', it occurs in the inscription (No. 83) as a term of respect for an elder woman.

#### 4.18.4 Attributes

Certain attributes are prefixed to personal names to indicate relative seniority within the family, as between father and son or elder and younger brothers having the same name.

- (a) *neṭu-* as in *neṭuñcaḷiyaṇ* (No. 1) and *peru-* (*pēr-* before vowels) as in *peruñkūṛraṇ* (No. 88) indicate elder members of the family;
- (b) *iḷa-* (variant, *eḷa-*) as in *iḷaṇcaṭikaṇ* (No. 2), *kuṛu-* as in *kuṛummaḷ* 'young(er) daughter' (No. 65), and *ciṛu-* (variant, *ceṛ-* before a vowel) as in *ciṛuceṇṇaṇ* (No. 106) indicate younger members of the family.

Elsewhere, that is, outside the social groups like the family, these prefixed attributes have more generalised meanings like 'great/large' for (a) and 'small/little' for (b) above.

#### 4.19 Personal names

There are over a hundred personal names in the inscriptions included in the Corpus. A complete list of the names is given in the Index to Personal Names (Appendix II). The typology of personal names in early Tamil society makes an interesting study. The types are illustrated below with examples drawn from the Corpus as well as from other inscribed objects like pottery, coins, seals and rings to present a more complete picture of early Tamil onomastics. The inscribed objects with Tamil-Brāhmī legends have been assigned to the period between ca. 2nd century B.C. and 3rd century A.D. mostly on palaeographic evidence. Names of women are marked (fem.). Names of kings, princes and chieftains and of Jaina monks and nuns are excluded as they have been considered separately in earlier sections.

##### 4.19.1 Appellative nouns as personal names

The most frequent category of personal names in the inscriptions included in the Corpus is derived from appellative nouns which form a special category in Tamil to express various qualities or properties. They are derived from noun-, verb- or adjectival stems by the addition of pronominal suffixes.

(I)lavōṇ	'householder' < <i>illam</i> 'house'
(I)lava(ṇ)	'the young one' < <i>iḷa-</i> 'young'
Eḷa-a-	attributive form of <i>eḷa(v)aṇ</i> 'the young one' < <i>eḷa-</i> (LT <i>iḷa-</i> ) 'young'
O(p)paṇ	'the beautiful one' < <i>oppu</i> 'beauty'
Kaṭal-aṇ	'he of the sea' < <i>kaṭal</i> 'sea'
Kuv-aṇ	'the great one' < <i>kuvavu</i> 'greatness'
Kuṛraṇ	'the short / little one' < <i>kuṛu-</i> 'short, little'
Kūṛraṇ	'chieftain' < <i>kūṛu</i> 'division'; cf. <i>kūṛram</i>
Koṛra(ṇ)	'the victorious one' < <i>koṛram</i> 'victory, success'
Koṛri (fem.)	'the victorious one' < <i>koṛram</i> 'victory, success'
Kōṭaṇ	'he of the mountains' < <i>kōṭu</i> 'mountain, peak'
Cantaṇ	'the beautiful one' < <i>cantam</i> 'beauty'
Cenṇaṇ	'the beautiful one' < <i>cenṇam</i> 'beauty'
Taṇṭaṇ	'the (tax) collector' < <i>taṇṭu</i> 'to collect, levy'; (or) 'a member of an army' < <i>taṇṭu</i> 'army, troops'
Tāvaṇ	'the strong one' < <i>tāvu</i> 'strength'
Tōṭaṇ	'he who wears an ear-ornament ( <i>tōṭu</i> )'; (or) 'the well-dressed one' < <i>toṭu</i> 'to wear clothes'
Piṇ-aṇ	'younger brother' < <i>piṇ</i> 'after'
Ma(l)laṇ	'wrestler' < <i>mal</i> 'wrestling'
Veḷiyaṇ	'the bright or pure one' < <i>veḷ-</i> , <i>veḷi</i> 'bright, purity'

#### 4.19.2 Names based on religion

It is an interesting fact that there are very few names in the inscriptions which are based on religion. Most personal names are secular or nondenominational. Of over a hundred names in the Corpus, only the following five can be described as based on religion.

##### (i) Āycayaṇ (No. 55)

The name *āycayaṇ* is construed as *āycca-ayyaṇ*. The first part of the name *āycca* is derived from Pkt. *āicca* < Skt. *āditya*, one of the names of the Sun, considered to be an Āditya.

##### (ii) Kaṇa- (Kaṇṇa-) (No. 84)

The name may be derived either from Pkt. *kaṇha* (<Skt. *kṛishṇa*) or from Pkt. *kaṇṇa* (<Skt. *karma*).

The name *ka(ṇ)ṇaṇ* also occurs in pottery inscriptions from Arikamedu,<sup>1</sup> Kodumanal<sup>2</sup> and Quseir al-Qadim (Egypt).<sup>3</sup>

(iii) *Kuviraṇ* (Nos. 21-23, 31 & 32)

The name is derived from Pkt. *kuvēra* (<Skt. *kubēra*) 'god of riches and Regent of Northern Quarter'. *Kubēra* is one of the semi-divine Yakshas.

The name occurs (with variant spellings) in pottery inscriptions from Alagankulam,<sup>4</sup> Arikamedu,<sup>5</sup> Kodumanal<sup>6</sup> and probably Uraiyur.<sup>7</sup>

(iv) *Korri* (fem.) Nos. 65 & 66

The name is probably after the village goddess *korri* or *korravai* later identified with Durgā. Alternatively, the name may be the feminine gender form of *korraṇ* which is derived from *korram* 'victory, sovereignty'.

(v) *Tēvaṇ* (Nos. 84 & 85)

The name is derived from Skt. *dēva* 'god', but understood as 'lord, chief' when occurring as part of personal names.

The name *tevvai-tattai* (fem.) (<Skt. *dēva-dattā*) occurs in a pottery inscription from Arikamedu.<sup>8</sup>

#### 4.19.3 Vedic and Brahmanical deities in personal names on inscribed objects

As may be expected, pottery inscriptions and other inscribed objects like coins, seals and rings, representing a wider or more heterogeneous segment of the early Tamil society, present examples of personal names based on Vedic and Brahmanical deities also.

(i) *Mittiraṇ*

A gold ring from Karur<sup>9</sup> has the legend *mi ti rā ṇa* (*mittiraṇ*), a personal name based on the Vedic deity Mitra.

1. I. Mahadevan 1996a: Figs. 5.22 & 5.25.

2. See No. 4, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.20 A.

3. D. Whitcomb and J.H. Johnson 1979: Pl. 27 j.

4. Natana Kasinathan 1997: p. 72, No. 12, Pl. VI.14.

5. R.E.M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: Pl. XLI, No. 15. (-*kuyir-aṇ*, variant of *kuviraṇ* misread as -*kujuraṇ* here). I. Mahadevan 1996a: No. 5.24 (*kuyiraṇ*).

6. Y. Subbarayalu, Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumanal 1996 (unpublished): No. 31. (Also in ) K. Rajan 1994: Fig. 23.

7. K.V. Raman (ed.) 1988: Fig. 24.14, Pl. 19.8 (*kuvi[ra\*]*. . .).

8. See No. 1, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.19 A.

9. See No. 3, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.23 E.

## (ii) Vāruṇi

A pottery inscription from Kodumanal<sup>1</sup> includes the name *vāruṇi-i-y* (*vāruṇi*) derived from Vedic Varuṇa. The Vedic ṛishi Bhṛigu was a *vāruṇi* ('son of Varuṇa').

## (iii) Ariyamaṇ

A gold ring from Karur<sup>2</sup> has the legend *a ri a mā ṇ a* (*ariamaṇ*), a personal name derived from Vedic *aryaman*, one of the Ādityas. The Cōḷa dynasty claimed Ariyaman to be among its mythical ancestors.<sup>3</sup> One of the dignitaries attesting the Tiruvalangadu Plates bore the name *araiyamāṇ*, apparently derived from Vedic *aryaman*.<sup>4</sup>

## (iv) Cātavēta

A large but crudely incised pottery inscription from Alagankulam<sup>5</sup> reads *cātavēta* < Skt. *jātavēdas*, a name of the god Agni.

## (v) Indra-dhvaja

An uninscribed bronze seal from Karur<sup>6</sup> depicts the *indra-dhvaja* 'banner of Indra' before a galloping horse. The *indra-dhvaja* symbol on the seal is the largest depiction known in glyptic art. Perhaps the seal was used in ceremonies connected with *intira-viḷā* 'festival of Indra' celebrated by ancient Tamils as they believed that worshipping Indra would bring timely rains.

## (vi) Baladēva

A unique gold ring from Karur<sup>7</sup> (with a Tamil name written in Prakrit in Southern Brāhmī characters) has the legend *nal-veḷḷai-sa* ('of auspicious *veḷḷai*'); *nal-veḷḷai*, one of the Tamil names of Baladēva (Balarāma), is also attested in early Tamil literature.<sup>8</sup>

A silver seal from Karur<sup>9</sup> has the legend *veḷ-i* (*veḷḷi*) *cāmpāṇ*, a personal name in which the first part, *veḷḷi* (literally, 'the white one') is one of the Tamil names of Baladēva.

1. Y. Subbarayalu, Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumanal 1996 (unpublished): No. 114.

2. See No. 5, Table 1.8.

3. *SII. III*: Tiruvalangadu Plates of Rajendra Cōḷa I, 1018 A.D., pp. 383 ff., line 23 'his son was *aryyamā*, the lord of the earth'.

4. *Ibid.* line 508.

5. Natana Kasinathan 1997: p. 72, No. 13, Pl. V.13 (with a different reading).

6. See No. 4, Table 1.7.

7. K.V. Raman 1994, *Dinamalar*, May 30. See also No. 13, Table 1.8 in this vol.

8. E.g., Two of the Caṅkam poets (authors of *Naṅṅ*. 250 and 272) had *nalveḷḷai* as part of their names.

9. See No. 7, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.24 B.

#### 4.19.4 Personal names based on asterisms

In ancient India and Sri Lanka, it was a common practice to name the children after the asterisms under which they were born or which were considered to bring good luck.<sup>1</sup> The following personal names based on asterisms occur in the inscriptions included in the Corpus as well as in inscriptions on pottery and other objects.

##### (i) Tiyaṇ (No. 47)

The name is derived from the asterism (Pkt.) *tissa* < Skt. *tishya* (which is also known as *pushya*). Cf. Ta. *tai* and *pūcam* respectively.

The following variants of the name occur on inscribed objects and in pottery inscriptions:

Tiyaṇ

The name occurs as *ti yā ṇa* in the legends on two gold rings from Karur.<sup>2</sup> One of the rings has also an interesting motif showing a young prince battling a rearing lion. The significance of the motif has been discussed earlier in section 4.18.1(v).

Tissa-

The name occurs as *t(i)sa-* in the Tamil-Brāhmī legend on a local lead coin found near Tissamaharama in Sri Lanka.<sup>3</sup>

Ticaṇ

The name occurs as *tica-aṇ* in a pottery inscription from Alagankulam.<sup>4</sup>

##### (ii) Viya(k)kaṇ (Nos. 39 & 84)

The name is derived from the asterism (Pkt.) *visaka* < Skt. *visākha*/*vaiśākha*. Cf. Ta. *vicākam* and Sinh. Pkt. *vihaka*.

Two pottery inscriptions from Kodumanal<sup>5</sup> refer to *visaka* and *visākī* (fem.). Two Sinhala-Brāhmī cave inscriptions from Sri Lanka<sup>6</sup> mentions a Tamil merchant with the name *visaka*.

1. For personal names in Prakrit based on asterisms, See *Bhārhut Inscrs.* p. 4. For personal names in Sinhala-Prakrit based on asterisms, see S. Paranavitana 1970: p. cxxiv.
2. See Nos. 1 & 2, Table 1.8 and Figs. 1.23 C & D.
3. See No. 6, Table 1.6.
4. R. Nagaswamy 1991c: Pl. 25.2, No. 6.
5. (i) An unpublished sherd from Kodumanal with the legend *visakaṇ ātaṇ* in the collections of TNSA, Chennai.  
(ii) Y. Subbarayalu, Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumanal 1996 (unpublished): No. 1. (Also in) K. Rajan 1994: p. 76, Pl. 26. The inscribed pottery was recovered from a megalithic burial at the site.
6. S. Paranavitana 1970: Nos. 356 & 357. The Tamil merchant is referred to as *damēḍa-vaṇijha*.

## (iii) Visuvaṇ (No. 27)

The name is derived from the asterism (Pkt.) *vissa* < Skt. *viśva* (another name for *uttara-āśhāḍha*). Cf. Ta. *vicuva-nāḷ* (*uttirāṭam*). Another alternative derivation of the name is from Pkt. *visuva* < *vishuvat* 'equinox' (cf. Ta. *viccuva-nāḷ*).

## (iv) Vesaṇ (No. 50)

The name is derived from the asterism (Pkt.) *vissa* < Skt. *vaiśva* (another name for *uttara-āśhāḍha*). Alternatively, the name may be derived from Pkt. *vessa* < Skt. *vaiśya* 'a member of the Vaiśya caste; cf. Ta. *vaiciyaṇ*.

## 4.19.5 Personal names (based on asterisms) occurring on inscribed objects

The following personal names based on other asterisms are attested from pottery inscriptions and other inscribed objects.

## (i) Asaṭaṇ

The name which occurs in a pottery inscription from Kodumanal<sup>1</sup> is derived from (Pkt.) *asaḍa* < Skt. *āśhāḍha* 'the asterism *pūrva-āśhāḍha*' (Ta. *pūrāṭam*).

## (ii) Asaḷay (fem.)

The name which occurs in a pottery inscription from Kodumanal<sup>2</sup> is derived from (Pkt.) *āsaḷha* < Skt. *āśhāḍha* 'the asterism *pūrva-āśhāḍha*'.

## (iii) Ātiraiyaṇ

The names *ātiraiyaṇ* and *āttiraya[ṇ]* (*ātirai* + *ayyaṇ*) which occur in two pottery inscriptions from Arikamedu<sup>3</sup> are derived from the asterism (Ta.) *ātirai* < Skt. *ārudrā*.

## (iv) Uttiraṇ

The name *ū ti rā ṇa* (*uttiraṇ*) occurs in a Tamil-Brāhmī legend on a local lead coin found near Tissamaharama, Sri Lanka.<sup>4</sup> The variant *uttiraṇ* occurs in a pottery inscription from Arikamedu.<sup>5</sup> The name is derived from the asterism (Ta.) *uttiram* < Skt. *uttara-phalguni*.

## (v) Mūlaṇ

The variants *mu lā ṇa* and *mulaṇ* (*mūlaṇ*) occur in two pottery inscriptions respectively at Uraiur<sup>6</sup> and Kodumanal.<sup>7</sup> The name is derived from the asterism (Ta.) *mūlam* < Skt. *mūla*.

1. Y. Subbarayalu, Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumanal 1996 (unpublished): No. 38. The inscription reads *a t̃ā ṇa a sa ṭa (ṇa) (ataṇ asaṭaṇ)*.
2. Ibid. No. 56. The inscription reads *(a)nti-y=asāḷay (anti asaḷai)*; cf. *asaṭaṇ* in the note above.
3. (i) See No. 2, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.19 B.  
(ii) I. Mahadevan 1996a: Fig. 5.31. The inscription ends ...*ā ta t̃i rā (ya) 'āttiraya[ṇ\*]*'.
4. See No. 5 Table 1.6.
5. I. Mahadevan 1996a: Fig. 5. 30.
6. See No. 3, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.19 C.
7. Y. Subbarayalu, Catalogue of Unpublished Inscriptions from Kodumanal 1996: No. 12.

#### 4.19.6 Personal names after *ṛishis*, *gōtras*, etc.

Some of the personal names in the inscriptions included in the Corpus are derived from Vedic *ṛishis* or the *gōtras* originating from them.

##### (i) From Kaśyapa / Kāśyapa

*kaśyapa* is the name of a mythical *ṛishi* and *kāśyapa* is the patronym derived from it. Personal names based on them form the most frequent group in this category. The names are spelt variously in the inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> It is significant, given the Jaina context of the inscriptions, that Mahāvīra is said to have belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*.

The name *kaccavanu* (*kaccavaṇ*) (No. 119) may also belong to this group, or may be derived from Skt. *kacchapa* > Ta. *kaccapam* 'tortoise, turtle'.

##### (ii) From Harita / Hariti / Hārīta

The names are ultimately derived from Skt. *harita*. The personal names in the inscriptions are spelt variously in the inscriptions forming the second most frequent group in this category.<sup>2</sup>

##### (iii) From Atri

The personal name *attiraṇ* occurring in one of the inscriptions (No. 24) is probably derived from *atri* (Ta. *attiri*).

##### (iv) From Nakula

The personal name *na ku lā na* (*nakulaṇ*) occurs in a pottery inscription in Tamil-Brāhmī found at Salihundam,<sup>3</sup> Andhra Pradesh. The name is after one of the Pāṇḍava brothers.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4.19.7 A note on personal names derived from Indo-Aryan

The occurrence of personal names derived from Prakrit or Sanskrit in the Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions does not mean that the persons were 'northerners' any more than those with Sanskritic names in later Tamil inscriptions. Internal evidence indicates that most of the donors and donees were natives of the Tamil country with probably a small number from Karnataka.

### 4.20 Place names

#### 4.20.1 Countries

##### Sri Lanka

Two expressions from these inscriptions have been regarded as suggesting links with Sri Lanka, but neither is quite conclusive.

1. See Commentary (14.1).
2. See Commentary (5.1.b and 25.1.b).
3. R. Subrahmanyam 1964: p. 44, No. 3a; p. 83, No. 1; Fig. 13, No. 3a; Pl. XLVII, top left.
4. See section 1.13.8 for discussion.

(i) *iḷa-* (read *īḷa-*)

The expression *iḷa-kuṭumpikaṇ* at Tirupparankunram (No. 55, ca. 1st century A.D.) has been connected with *Īlam*, the Jaffna region of Sri Lanka. However, it is preferable to regard *īḷa-kuṭumpikaṇ* as a 'householder of the family of toddy-drawers (*īḷavar*)', as personal names in this inscription betray influence of Kannada pointing to Karnataka rather than Sri Lanka.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) *Caiyaḷaṇ*

The personal name *caiyaḷaṇ* occurring in an inscription from Muttupatti (No. 57, ca. 1st century A.D.) has been interpreted as one belonging to Sri Lanka; cf. Skt. *saimihaḷaka* 'one from *simhala* (Sri Lanka)'. However, other interpretations are also possible deriving the name from Skt. *simha* 'lion' or *sahya* (Ta. *caiyam*) 'the Sahyādri' (as discussed in the Commentary).

4.20.2 *Regions outside the Tamil country**Erumi-nāṭu*

The expression *erumi-nāṭu* occurring in the inscription at Sittanavasal-A (No. 49, ca. 1st century B.C.) is probably a variant of *erumaināṭu* generally identified with the Mysore region (*mahisha-maṇḍala*) of Karnataka. The occurrence of expressions influenced by Kannada in this inscription corroborates the proposed identification.<sup>2</sup>

4.20.3 *Territorial divisions*(i) *Ten-ciṇuvāyil-nāṭu*

The inscription at Sittanavasal-A referred to above also mentions that the *iḷayar* (LT *iḷaiyar*) who gifted the stone bed in the cave shelter belonged to *tenku-ciṇu-pocil* probably the ancient territorial division called *ten-ciṇuvāyil-nāṭu* which lay immediately to the east of the hill at Sittanavasal.

(ii) *Pāṇāṭu*

The Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Paraiyanpattu (No. 115, ca. 6th century A.D.) mentions an ancient territorial division called *pāṇāṭ(u)* which may be construed as *pāṇ* + *nāṭu* 'the *pāṇ* country'; *pāṇāṭu* is also mentioned in ancient Tamil literature.<sup>3</sup> The territory is referred to as *pāṇa-rāshṭra* in the *Lōkavibhāga*, a Digambara Jaina work in Sanskrit, which also mentions the city of *pāṭalikā* in the territory.<sup>4</sup> The city has been identified with modern Tiru-p-patiri-p-puliyur, a suburb of Cuddalore in South Arcot District; *pāṇāṭu* spread over parts of South and North Arcot Districts. The territory was known in later times as *perum-pāṇa-p-pāṭi* ruled over by the Bāṇa chieftains.

1. For discussion, See section 3.2.4.

2. See Commentary for details.

3. Aka. 155. See Commentary (115.2) for discussion.

4. A. Chakravarti 1941 (revised edn. by K.V. Ramesh 1974): pp. viii and 16.

#### 4.20.4 Cities and ports

##### (i) *Madurai, the capital city of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom*

The earliest epigraphic reference to Matirai, the capital city of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom, is found in the cave inscriptions. The city is mentioned four times, twice at Mettuppatti (Nos. 24 & 27, ca. 2nd century B.C.) and twice at Alagarmalai (Nos. 36 & 38, ca. 1st century B.C.). While the literary form is *maturai*, the preferred inscriptional form is *matirai* even in later inscriptions.

##### (ii) *Tondi, the seaport of the Pāṇṭiyas*

The place name *tonṭi* occurring in the Kilavalavu inscription (No. 10, 2nd century B.C.) may be identified as the ancient seaport of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom on the east coast involved in pearl-fishery and maritime trade from the earliest times. While the Cēra seaport of Tonṭi on the west coast was more famous in the Caṅkam Age, the eastern port is also referred to in early Tamil literature.<sup>1</sup> Presently a small port on the east coast, Tondi is connected by a highway to Melur near Kilavalavu, probably tracing the ancient route (see Map I).

##### (iii) *Karur, the Cēra capital*

Karuvūr, the capital city of the Irumporai kings, is referred to as *karu-ūr* (modern Karur) in one of the stone-bed inscriptions (No. 69, ca. 3rd century A.D.) at Pugalur.

Karur is near Pugalur (ancient Pukaḷiyūr), the site of the Irumporai inscriptions. The city straddled the ancient trade routes from the west coast through the Palghat Gap to the east coast and southward to Madurai. Numerous Roman gold and silver coins found in and around Karur attest to the importance of the place in the trade with the Western world in Classical times. It was known to Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, who refers to it as *Karoura* 'the inland city' and capital of *Kerebothros* (*kēralaputra*).

Karuvūr is mentioned as the capital of Peruñcēral Irumporai. Though the name Karuvūr occurs only once in the body of the Caṅkam poetry,<sup>2</sup> 11 poets of the Caṅkam Age are known to have hailed from this city. The city was known as Vañci in Caṅkam literature. The commentators clearly identify Vañci with Karuvūr. The long debate on the correctness of identifying Karuvūr with Vañci has now become academic after the discovery of the Irumporai inscriptions at Pugalur (Nos. 61 & 62, ca. 2nd century A.D.), and of enormous quantities of Cēra coins from the Amaravathi riverbed at Karur. Hundreds of square copper coins with the Cēra insignia of bow and arrow have been picked up from the riverbed in recent years. The numismatic finds range from the earliest copper coins without inscriptions in ca. 2nd century B.C. to the latest inscribed silver portrait coins in ca. 3rd century A.D.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Kurun.* 210 & 238. See note by U. Ve. Swaminathaiyar (5th edn., 2000: p. lxxxv).

2. *Aka.* 93:21.

3. R. Krishnamurthy 1997a: chapter 3 (Coins of the Cēras): pp. 59-108.



Figure 4.3. A Roman ship calling at Alagankulam. Graffito on pottery. ca. 1st century A.D.



Figure 4.4. A *mithuna* couple engraved on a gold ring. Karur. ca. 2nd century A.D.

(iv) *Muciṛi, the Cēra seaport*

The place name Muciṛi occurring in one of the Muttupatti inscriptions (No. 56, ca. 1st century B.C.) near Madurai may be identified as the famous Cēra seaport on the west coast.<sup>1</sup> Muciṛi has been identified as Cranganore on the west coast in Kerala (not included in Map I). Muciṛi was the prime port of call in India for Western shipping in the Classical Age and was well-known to Pliny and the *Periplus*. Muciṛi's prosperous trade, especially in pepper, with the Classical Western world is attested in the following famous lines:

*yavaṇar tanta viṇai māṇ naṇ kalam*  
*poṇṇoṭu vantu kaṛiyōṭu peyarum*  
*vaḷam keḷu mucīṛi.*

'The Yavaṇar (Romans) bring their well-built ships, arriving with gold and departing with pepper from prosperous Muciṛi' (Aka. 149:9-11).

The recently discovered Vienna Museum Papyrus (ca. 2nd century A.D.) written in Greek is a bill of lading or a shipping contract between a merchant at Muziris (Muciṛi) and his counterpart at Alexandria. Steven Sidebotham gives the following brief description of the document:<sup>2</sup>

A recently published papyrus, purchased in Egypt in 1980, sheds light on the importation into Roman Egypt of Indian products. The incomplete papyrus, dated on palaeographic grounds to the mid-second century A.D., was written on both sides. One side (obverse) records a business loan drawn up in Muziris. The other side (reverse), written in Alexandria, mentions the shipment of crates of Gangetic nard, ivory, and bales of cloth from Muziris. The text recounts the arrival of the merchandise into one of the Egyptian Red Sea ports whose name is lost, its conveyance by camel across the Eastern Desert to Coptos, and its loading onto a Nile ship for transport to Alexandria. The business contract recorded on the papyrus covers the period of shipment from Muziris until the arrival of the cargo at Alexandria and mentions the specific type of merchandise, the quantity, and value as well as the 25 percent tax rate levied by Roman customs officials.

(v) *Pictorial representation of a Roman ship at Alagankulam*

A unique graffito found at Alagankulam<sup>3</sup> during 1996-97 depicts the stern of a sailing ship (Fig. 4.3). Fine details like the steering oars, aftermast and its rigging, the mainmast and a latticed bulwark running above the hull are shown. Lionel Casson, an expert on ancient Greco-Roman ships, has examined a photograph of the graffito and has compared the features depicted in it with those of the Mediterranean ships of the Imperial Roman period (ca. 1-3 centuries A.D.). On the basis of the comparison, he has been able to identify the Alagankulam graffito as depicting a three-master

1. There is a small town with this name in Tiruchirapalli District; but it is not heard of in antiquity. Further, the personal name Muciṛi Kōṭaṇ in this inscription reminds one of Muiyī-k-kōṭu, another name for Muciṛi, the Cēra port.
2. S.E. Sidebotham 1991: p. 30.
3. Natana Kasinathan 1997: p. 72, No. 9; Pl. IV, No. 9. See Fig. 4.3.

Roman sailing ship, the largest type of Greco-Roman merchantmen used on the long and demanding voyage between Egypt and India.<sup>1</sup> We should be thankful to the unknown Tamil artist who has so vividly portrayed the Roman ship calling at the Alagankulam port, no doubt bringing in gold and wine and taking off with pepper and pearls, ivory and textiles.

#### 4.20.5 Other place names

The Index to Place Names (Appendix III) lists the place names numbering about 50 in the inscriptions included in the Corpus. The places which could be identified are included in Map I which shows the modern names in roman and the corresponding inscriptional names in italics. A list of identified inscriptional place names in the Corpus is given in Table 4.3.

Inscr. No.	Inscriptional Place Name	Modern Name	Taluk	District
76	Akaḷ-ūr (Akaḷūr)	Agalur	Gingee	Viluppuram
121	Ēḷur (Ēḷūr)	Elur	Namakkal	Namakkal
88	Kaṭikai	Kadayam	Ambasamudram	Tirunelveli
69	Karu-ūr (Karuvūr)	Karur	Karur	Karur
58	Tiṭi (Tiṭṭi)	Tidiyan	Tirumangalam	Madurai
10	Toṇṭi	Tondi	Sivaganga	Ramanathapuram
13	Pākaṇ-ūr (Pākaṇūr)	Sholavandan	Vadippatti	Madurai
83	Perumpokaḷ	Perumpugai	Gingee	Viluppuram
24	Matirai	Madurai	Madurai South	Madurai
112	Mukaiyuru (Mukaiyūru)	Mukaiyur	Tirukkoyilur	Viluppuram
61	Yārrūr	Attur	Karur	Karur
6	Veḷ-araḷ (Veḷḷaraḷ)	Vellarippatti	Melur	Madurai
35	Vēmpir-ūr (Vēmpirūr)	Vempattur	Sivaganga	Ramanathapuram

Table 4.3. Identification of inscriptional with modern place names.

#### 4.20.6 Common toponyms

The most common suffix to place names is -ūr 'village, town or city'. Other common names of villages include -*paḷḷi*, -*pēṭu*, -*cēri* and -*il*.

A noteworthy feature of the place names is the occurrence of common toponyms based on local geographical features like hill (-*araḷ*, -*kuṇṇu*, -*malai*), jungle (-*kāṭu*), territorial division (-*nāṭu*), river (*yāru*), tanks (*ēri*, *poykai*), waterfront (-*tuṇai*). Village names are also derived from local flora and fauna; these names are given in the following section. Directions like *mēl*- (western), *kīl*- (eastern) and *teṇku*- (southern) are prefixed to place names to distinguish them from other places with the same names.

1. Lionel Casson 1997.

A complete list of common toponyms occurring with place names in the inscriptions is annexed to the Index of Place Names in Appendix III.

#### 4.21 Flora and fauna

There are no direct references to flora or fauna in these inscriptions except for *kōli* 'cock' (Nos. 112 & 113); however, villages have been named after the local flora or fauna.

##### 4.21.1 Flora

###### (i) Comb teak tree

The place name *kumuḷ-ūr* (*kumuḷūr*) occurs in the inscription at Sittannavasal-A (No. 49, ca. 1st century B.C.). Cf. Ta. *kumiḷ*, Ka. *kumuḷe* 'comb teak tree'.

###### (ii) Ironwood tree

The place name *parampaṇ-kōkūr* occurs in the inscription at Ammankoyilpatti (No. 84, 4th century A.D.). *kōkūr* may be construed as *kōku+ūr*, literally 'the village of *kō(n)ku*'. Cf. *kōṅku* 'common caung, ironwood tree of Malabar'.

###### (iii) A flowering tree (*mayil koṇṇai*)

The place name *nāḷaḷ* (read *nāḷal*) occurs in the inscription at Kudumiyamalai (No. 77, ca. 3rd century A.D.). Cf. *ñāḷal* / *nāḷal*, a flowering tree called *pulinaka-k-koṇṇai* or *mayil koṇṇai* in modern Tamil. There are literary and inscriptional references to several places in the Tamil country named after *ñāḷal* in ancient times.

###### (iv) Paddy

An inscription at Varichiyur (No. 16, ca. 2nd century B.C.) refers to *nūru kala nel* 'hundred kalams of paddy'. A place name *nelveḷi*, literally 'paddy field' occurs in another inscription at Arittapatti (No. 7, ca. 2nd century B.C.).

###### (v) Palm tree

The place name *paṇai tuṇai* occurs in the inscription at Aiyarmalai (No. 50, ca. 1st century B.C.). The tree-like symbol engraved at the end of the Cēra inscription at Edakal-A (No. 80, ca. 3rd century A.D.) probably depicts the palm, the insignia of the Cēra dynasty.

##### 4.21.2 Fauna

###### (i) Elephant

In the Anaimalai inscription (No. 60, ca. 2nd century A.D.), the hill on which the cave shelter is situated, is described as *iva-kuṇṇa-*, literally, 'elephant hill'; cf. LT *ipam* 'elephant' (<Skt. *ibha*).

###### (ii) Tiger

The place name *palpuli*, literally '(place of) many tigers' occurs in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Edakal-B (No. 118, ca. 5th century A.D.).

## (iii) Cock

The Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions at Arasalapuram (No. 112, ca. 5th century A.D.) and Indalur (No. 113, ca. 6th century A.D.) are memorial stones for cocks which presumably died while fighting for their villages. The stelae depict the figures of the bird described as *kōḷi* 'fowl in general', but 'cock' in the context of the inscriptions.

## 4.22 Culture

## 4.22.1 Art

A gold ring of truly remarkable artistic merit was discovered in 1990 by chance from the dry bed of the Amaravathi river at Karur.<sup>1</sup> It has been assigned on stylistic grounds to ca. 2nd century A.D. The flat face of the ring has an oval incuse in which a pair of *mithuna* figures (amorous couple) of extraordinary grace and beauty are engraved in *intaglio* (Fig. 4.4). As Nagaswamy describes:<sup>2</sup>

The absolutely perfect proportions of the figure, the concept of symmetry as delineated in the legs, face and body, the flowing limbs, the composition and use of space, the remarkably agreeable contours, mark this as one of the most outstanding pieces of Indian art.

I may add that one could see the influence of Greco-Roman lapidary in the portrayal which is still essentially South Indian in its ethos and idiom. As far as I know, this is the only known example of the 'royal art' (as distinguished from 'folk art') to have survived from the Caṅkam Age.

## 4.22.2 Music and dance

An inscription at Arachalur (No. 85, ca. 4th century A.D.) refers to the composing of musical notations by Tēvaṇ Cāttaṇ. The adjoining inscriptions (Nos. 86 & 87) provide two charts consisting of the syllables *ta*, *tā*, *tē* and *tai* (No. 86) and *kai*, *ta* and *tai* (No. 87) arranged symmetrically in a square format, each with five rows and columns. The charts appear to contain syllables uttered in music accompanying dance.

The Arachalur musical inscriptions are the earliest epigraphic records of the achievements of ancient Tamils in the fine arts of music and dance. These inscriptions are much earlier than their famous counterparts at Kudumiyamalai and nearby sites.<sup>3</sup> The Arachalur inscriptions are also earlier than *Cilappatikāram* (ca. 6th century A.D.) which contains detailed descriptions (amplified in the commentary by Aṭiyārkkunallār) of music and dance in ancient Tamil country.

1. No. 14, Table 1.8. I saw this exquisite gold ring at the South Indian Numismatic Conference at Thanjavur in January 1991, where it was exhibited by a dealer in antiquities. When I went to Karur in March that year in search of the ring, it had disappeared into the 'underground' art market. It is now reportedly in a private collection. See my earlier account of the episode in the Foreword in R. Nagaswamy 1995.
2. R. Nagaswamy 1991a & b; 1995: pp. 66-69, Pl. facing p. 66.
3. *Pallava Inscrs.* Nos. 22, 23, 25, 30 and 31, ca. 7th century A.D. The ascription of these musical inscriptions to Mahendra Pallava has been questioned in recent years.

#### 4.23 Sport: cockfight

Two Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions at Arasalapuram (No. 112, ca. 5th century A.D.) and Indalur (No. 113, ca. 6th century A.D.) refer to the sport of cockfight which has been, next only to bull-baiting, the most popular sport in the Tamil country from ancient times. We learn from literary references that the larger villages having two hamlets, *mērcēri* 'the western quarter' (referred to in No. 112) and *kīl-c-cēri* 'the eastern quarter' (referred to in No. 113) had fighting cocks bred and specially trained to take part in the organised sport of cockfight. The two unique memorial stelae featuring engraved images of the fighting cocks, one of which was given the pet name *por̥kor̥ri* (No. 113), provide remarkable confirmation of the Tamil literary tradition relating to the popular sport of cockfight.

#### 4.24 From orality to literacy : transition in early Tamil society

The Brāhmī script reached Upper South India (Andhra-Karnataka regions) and the Tamil country at about the same time during the 3rd century B.C. in the wake of the southern spread of Jainism and Buddhism. However, the results of introduction of writing in these two regions were markedly different. The most interesting aspects of Tamil literacy, when compared with the situation in contemporary Upper South India, are: (i) its much earlier commencement; (ii) use of the local language for all purposes from the beginning; and (iii) its popular democratic character.<sup>1</sup>

##### 4.24.1 Early literacy in Tamil society

The earliest Tamil inscriptions in the Tamil-Brāhmī script may be dated from about the end of 3rd century or early 2nd century B.C. on palaeographic grounds and stratigraphic evidence of inscribed pottery. The earliest inscriptions in Kannada and Telugu occur more than half a millennium later. The earliest Kannada inscription at Halmidi (Hassan District, Karnataka) is assigned to the middle of the 5th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> The earliest Telugu inscription of the Renati Cōḷas at Kalamalla in Cuddapah District of Andhra Pradesh belongs to the end of 6th century A.D.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest extant Tamil literature, the Caṅkam works, are dated, even according to conservative estimates, from around the commencement of the Christian era. The earliest extant literary works in Kannada and Telugu were composed almost a millennium later. The earliest known literary work in Kannada is the *Kavirājamārga*, written early in the 9th century A.D. and the earliest known literary work in Telugu is the famous *Mahābhārata* of Nannaya composed in the middle of the 11th century A.D. It is also probable that *Kavijanāśraya*, a work in Telugu on prosody, composed by Malliṣa Rechana, is about a century earlier.<sup>4</sup> There were earlier literary works in Kannada and Telugu, as known from references in earlier inscriptions and later literature. But none of them are extant.

1. This section is a summary of my paper 'From orality to literacy' (I. Mahadevan 1995b).

2. ARE B. 412/1954.

3. ARE 380/1904.

4. Salva Krishnamurthy 1994: pp. 163-165.

The earliest inscriptions in the Tamil country written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script are almost exclusively in the Tamil language. The Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions are all in Tamil though with some Prakrit loanwords. There are no Prakrit stone inscriptions in the Tamil country. Coin-legends of the early period are also in Tamil (with the solitary exception of a Pāṇṭiya copper coin carrying bilingual legends both in Tamil and Prakrit).<sup>1</sup>

Seal-texts are also in Tamil (with the exception of a seal impression on clay in Prakrit found at Arikamedu<sup>2</sup> and a few gold rings with Prakrit legends from Karur.<sup>3</sup>) Inscribed pottery found at various ancient Tamil sites is mostly in Tamil, with a few exceptions in Prakrit confined to cities or ports like Kanchipuram and Arikamedu.<sup>4</sup> In contrast, during the same period, all early inscriptions from Upper South India on stone, copper plates, coins, seals and pottery are exclusively in Prakrit and not in Kannada or Telugu which were the spoken languages of this region.<sup>5</sup>

#### 4.24.2 Popular versus elitist literacy

Another noteworthy feature of early Tamil literacy was its popular or democratic character, based as it was on the language of the people. Literacy seems to have been widespread in all the regions of the Tamil country, both in urban and rural areas, and encompassing within its reach all strata of the Tamil society. The primary evidence for this situation comes from inscribed pottery, relatively more numerous in Tamil Nadu than elsewhere in the country. As mentioned earlier, excavations or explorations of several ancient Tamil sites have yielded hundreds of inscribed sherds, almost all in Tamil written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script.<sup>6</sup> The inscribed sherds are found not only in urban and commercial centres like Karur, Kodumanal, Madurai and Uraiyur and ports like Alagankulam, Arikamedu and Koṛkai, but also in obscure hamlets like Alagarai and Poluvampatti, attesting to widespread literacy. The pottery inscriptions are secular in character and the names occurring in them indicate that common people from all strata of Tamil society made these scratchings or scribbles on pottery owned by them. On the other hand, inscribed pottery excavated from Upper South Indian sites are all in Prakrit and mostly associated with religious centres like Amaravati and Salihundam.<sup>7</sup>

Literacy is not merely the acquisition of reading and writing skills. To be meaningful and creative, literacy has to be based on one's mother-tongue. In this sense, the early Tamil society had achieved

1. See No. 1, Table 1.6.

2. P.Z. Pattabiramin 1946: Pl. VII-C.

3. E.g., see Nos. 10 & 11, Table 1.8.

4. Special mention may also be made of a few sherds inscribed in the Sinhala-Brāhmī script found at Arikamedu and other Tamil sites. I. Mahadevan 1996c: pp. 55-68.

5. However, the silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas have Prakrit legends written in Southern Brāhmī on the obverse and Tamil legends written in Tamil-Brāhmī on the reverse. See section 5.15 and Figs. 5.9 & 5.10.

6. See section 1.13, Tables 1.4 & 1.5 and Map II for pottery inscriptions.

7. One of the sherds from Salihundam features a unique Tamil inscription. See section 1.13.8.

true literacy with a popular base rooted in the native language. On the other hand, Upper South India had in this period only elitist literacy based on Prakrit and not the native languages of the region.

What are the reasons for such contrasting developments between the two adjoining regions of South India? It cannot be that Prakrit was the spoken language of Upper South India at any time. If proof were needed to show that Kannada and Telugu were the spoken languages of the region during the early period, one needs only to study the large number of Kannada and Telugu personal names and place names in the early Prakrit inscriptions on stone and copper in Upper South India.<sup>1</sup> The *Gāthā Saptasati*, a Prakrit anthology composed by Hala of the Sātavāhana dynasty in about the 1st century A.D., is said to contain about 30 Telugu words.<sup>2</sup> Nor can it be said that Kannada and Telugu had not developed into separate languages during the Early Historical Period. Dravidian linguistic studies have established that Kannada and Telugu (belonging to different branches of Dravidian) had emerged as distinct languages long before the period we are dealing with.<sup>3</sup> Telugu and Kannada were spoken by relatively large and well-settled populations, living in well-organised states ruled by able dynasties like the Sātavāhanas, with a high degree of civilisation as attested by Prakrit inscriptions and literature of the period, and great architectural monuments like those at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. There is, therefore, no reason to believe that these languages had less rich or less expressive oral traditions than Tamil had towards the end of its pre-literate period.

#### 4.24.3 Literacy and political independence

The main reason for the contrasting developments in the growth of literacy as between the two regions appears to be the political independence of the Tamil country and its absence in Upper South India during the relevant period. Upper South India was incorporated in the Nanda-Maurya domain even before the beginning of the literate period. Asoka specifically lists Andhra among the territories included within his domains in his thirteenth rock edict. The region was, therefore, administered through the medium of Prakrit which was the language of the rulers and also became the language of the local ruling elite, of learning and instruction, and of public discourse, as clearly shown by the presence of Asoka's Prakrit edicts in the region. This situation persisted even when the Mauryas were succeeded by local rulers, the Sātavāhanas, and later by their successors like the Ikshvākus, Kadambas, Śālaṅkāyanas, Vishnukūṇḍins and Pallavas. It would have been in the interest of the ruling elite to protect their privileges by perpetuating the hegemony of Prakrit in order to exclude the common people from sharing power. Persian in the Mughal Empire and English in British India (and even after Independence) offer instructive parallels to this situation.

The situation in the Tamil country during the early period was entirely different. The Tamil country was never a part of the Nanda-Maurya empires. The Tamil states, Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇṭiya, and even their feudatories like the (Satiyaputra) Atiyamāṇs maintained their political independence as

1. A list of Old Telugu words occurring in Prakrit inscriptions is given in Salva Krishnamurthy 1994: pp. 101-111.

2. Ibid. pp. 72-76.

3. K.V. Zvelebil 1990: chapter 3, pp. 46-53.

acknowledged by Asoka himself in his second rock edict in which he refers to them as his 'borderers'. As a direct result of political independence, Tamil remained the language of administration, of learning and instruction, and of public discourse throughout the Tamil country. When writing became known to the Tamils, the Brāhmī script was adapted and modified to suit the Tamil phonetic system. That is, while the Brāhmī script was borrowed, the Prakrit language was not allowed to be imposed along with it from outside. When the Jaina and Buddhist monks entered the Tamil country, they found it expedient to learn Tamil in order to carry on their missionary activities effectively. An apt parallel is the case of the European Christian missionaries in India during the colonial period, who mastered the local languages to preach the gospel to the masses.

#### 4.24.4 *Facilitating factors for spread of literacy in early Tamil society*

Apart from political independence and the use of the mother-tongue, there were also several other factors facilitating the spread of literacy in early Tamil society. Of the factors which will be briefly discussed here, the first three were inherent features of early Tamil society and the next three were new elements from outside which influenced the spread of early literacy in the Tamil country.

##### (i) *The presence of a strong bardic tradition*

Bards were so much respected in early Tamil society that they could move from court to court across the political barriers even when the princes were at war. The oral bardic tradition which must have been rich and expressive even in the pre-literate era, flowered into the written poetry of the Caṅkam Age with the availability of writing under the active patronage of the Tamil princes, chieftains and nobles.

##### (ii) *The absence of a priestly hierarchy*

There was no priestly hierarchy in early Tamil society with vested interest in maintaining the oral tradition or discouraging writing after its advent.<sup>1</sup> Learning does not seem to have been the prerogative of any particular class like the scribes or priests. This is clearly shown by the wide diversity in the social status of the nearly five hundred poets of the Caṅkam Age, among whom were princes, monks, merchants, bards, artisans and common people.<sup>2</sup> Quite a few of them were women. We have earlier noticed the evidence of the inscribed sherds for widespread literacy in the rural areas and among the common people.

1. It was the presence of such a priestly hierarchy in early Brahmanical Hinduism in North India that prevented Sanskrit from being recorded in inscriptions for about four centuries after the introduction of the Brāhmī script. Prakrit inscriptions are available from the time of Asoka in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. The earliest Sanskrit inscription of consequence is the rock inscription of Rudradāman dated in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. (*EI. VIII*: pp. 36-49).
2. For a list of names of the Tamil Caṅkam poets, see *Caṅka kāla pulavarkaḷ* (ed. S. Balasaranathan 1986). Many of the names of 494 poets listed here carry prefixed attributes giving their place names and particulars of professions, e.g., Maturai Aṟuvai Vāṇikaṇ Iḷavēṭṭaṇār, indicating that the poet hailed from Madurai and was a cloth merchant by profession.

(iii) *A strong tradition of local autonomy*

Reference to self-governing village councils like *ampalam*, *potiyil* and *maṇṇam* in Caṅkam literature and to merchant guilds (*nigama*) in the Tamil-Brāhmī records show that there was a long tradition of strong local self-government in the Tamil society. In such an environment, literacy would have received special impetus as it would serve to strengthen local self-government institutions and merchant guilds.

(iv) *The spread of Jainism and Buddhism*

As mentioned earlier, knowledge of writing was brought to the Tamil country, as to the rest of South India, in the wake of the spread of Jainism and Buddhism to these regions. As protestant movements against Vedic Brahmanical Hinduism, these faiths kept away from Sanskrit in the initial phase and conducted their missionary activities in North India in the local Prakrit dialects. The monks followed the same tradition in the Tamil country, learning the local language and, in the process, adapting the Brāhmī script to its needs. They had no vested interest in maintaining the oral traditions nor any bias against writing down their scriptures in the local language. As a result of this attitude, the Jaina scholars (and to a lesser extent, the Buddhist scholars) made rich contribution to the development of Tamil literature during the Caṅkam Age and for centuries thereafter. A similar development did not take place in Upper South India in the early period presumably because Prakrit was already the language of administration and public discourse in the region. The monks who were familiar with Prakrit had perhaps no opportunity or incentive to change over to the local languages in this region.

(v) *Foreign trade*

The Tamil country, with its long coastlines, carried on extensive trade during the Caṅkam Age with Rome and the Mediterranean countries in the west and with Sri Lanka and Southeast Asian countries in the east. Trade with Rome brought in not only wealth (as attested by numerous Roman coin-hoards in the Tamil country) but also early contacts with other literate societies using alphabetic scripts. Recent excavations of Roman settlements on the Red Sea coast of Egypt have brought to light a few inscribed sherds with Tamil names written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script of about the 1st century A.D.<sup>1</sup> An ancient papyrus document written in Greek and datable in the 2nd century A.D. in a museum at Vienna has been identified as a contract for shipment of merchandise from Muciri to Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> While the document itself is not in Tamil, one can infer from it the milieu of advanced literacy in the Tamil society whose merchants could enter into such trading contracts.

1. See section 1.13.9 (ii).

2. See section 4.20.4 (iv).

#### 4.24.5 *A democratic, quasi-alphabetic script*

The Tamil-Brāhmī script is a quasi-alphabetic script with just 26 characters (8 vowels and 18 consonants). The enormous importance of such a simple, easy-to-learn script in the spread and democratisation of literacy can hardly be overestimated. Palm leaf as a writing surface was also a happy choice, as in the semi-arid Tamil countryside it is abundant, perennial and virtually free. Palm leaf and the iron stylus radically altered the ductus of the script from the angular Brāhmī to the round Vaṭṭeḷuttu in the course of a few centuries.

#### 4.24.6 *The consequences of literacy in early Tamil society*

There is little doubt that literacy transformed the early Tamil society in several ways yet to be fully evaluated. A preliminary listing of changes can be as follows.

- (i) Transformation of tribal chieftaincies into states with more centralised administration; levy of taxes and tributes properly accounted for; and external relations based on written communications like treaties and trade contracts.
- (ii) Urbanisation of royal capitals, port towns and commercial centres.
- (iii) Temple administration based on written records including inscriptions.
- (iv) Increased foreign trade as evidenced by the occurrence of Tamil inscriptions in the Tamil-Brāhmī script in Roman settlements in Egypt to the west and Thailand to the east.
- (v) Democratisation of society and strengthening of local rule which came about with widespread literacy based on a simple quasi-alphabetic script and with the mother-tongue as the language of administration, learning and public discourse.
- (vi) An early efflorescence of Tamil language and literature leading to the truly great epoch of the 'Caṅkam Age' almost a thousand years before any other regional language in South India reached that level of development.

**PART TWO**  
**STUDIES IN EARLY TAMIL EPIGRAPHY**

- 5. Palaeography
- 6. Orthography
- 7. Grammar



## PALAEOGRAPHY

## 5.1 Nomenclature

Variants of the Brāhmī script are referred to in this study with the following connotations:

**Brāhmī:** The general term referring to the earliest known stage of the script from which all other native Indian scripts (except the Harappan) are derived. The term Asokan Brāhmī is used when referring specifically to the script of the edicts; the term Mauryan Brāhmī has a somewhat wider significance and includes other inscriptions assigned to the Mauryan Age.<sup>1</sup>

**Northern Brāhmī:** Post-Mauryan Brāhmī of Northern India including north-western, central and north-eastern regions.

**Southern Brāhmī:** Post-Mauryan Brāhmī of the Deccan including Western Deccan. The term 'Southern Brāhmī', as employed in this study, does not include the Bhattiprolu and Tamil-Brāhmī scripts.

**Bhattiprolu script:** The unique variant of Brāhmī found only in the casket inscriptions at this site in Andhra Pradesh.

**Sinhala-Brāhmī:** The variant of Brāhmī adapted to the Sinhala-Prakrit language of the cave inscriptions in Sri Lanka. The Sinhala-Brāhmī script has two rather sharply differentiated phases viz., Early Sinhala-Brāhmī (ca. 2-1 centuries B.C.) and Late Sinhala-Brāhmī (ca. 1-7 centuries A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

**Tamil-Brāhmī:** The script of the earliest known Tamil inscriptions is referred to as Tamil-Brāhmī as it is an adaptation of Brāhmī for writing in Tamil.<sup>3</sup> Unlike all other regional variants of Brāhmī, Tamil-Brāhmī is uniquely adapted for a non-Indo-Aryan, Dravidian language. This fact and the consequential palaeographic and orthographic modifications effected in the script entitle it to the status of a separate script.<sup>4</sup> This has been recognised even in ancient times as attested by the names *dāmilī* or *drāviḍī* found in the Jaina canonical texts *Paṇṇavaṇā-*

1. An enquiry into the origin of the Brāhmī script is not within the scope of the present study. For a good introduction to the subject, see S.P. Gupta and K.S. Ramachandran (eds.) 1979.
2. The dates are based on S. Karunaratne 1984. The recent claims for a much earlier date for pottery inscriptions in Brāhmī found at Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka, are not considered in the present study. See S.U. Deraniyagala 1992: pp. 739-750; F.R. Allchin 1995: pp. 176-179; R.A.E. Coningham *et al.* 1996: pp. 73-97.
3. The term 'Tamil-Brāhmī' has been criticised by some scholars who object to the prefix 'Tamil-' as it offends against the 'imperial' unity of Brāhmī; and by others who object to the suffix '-Brāhmī' as they deny that the Tamil script is derived from Brāhmī.
4. E.g., Greek from Phoenician, and Kharōṣṭhī from Aramaic. Scripts also acquire new names when their appearance is radically transformed in the course of evolution; e.g., Brāhmī evolving into Nāgarī and Tamil-Brāhmī into Vaṭṭeḷuttu. A separate script does not necessarily imply an independent origin.

*sutta* and *Samavāyāṅga-sutta*, and the name *drāviḍa-lipi* in the later Buddhist work *Lalitavistara*, which probably refer to different stages of the script.

Bühler identified Drāviḍī with the variant of Brāhmī found at Bhattiprolu.<sup>1</sup> However, as the Bhattiprolu inscriptions are in Prakrit, it seems inapt to describe this script as 'Drāviḍī' except perhaps in the geographical sense. Attempts have also been made to revive the names Drāviḍī<sup>2</sup> and Dāmili<sup>3</sup> to refer to the script of the earliest Tamil inscriptions. However, the descriptive term Tamil-Brāhmī, which transparently indicates Tamil as the language and Brāhmī as the script, has gained wide acceptance. The evolution of the Tamil-Brāhmī script is divided into two broad periods viz., Early Tamil-Brāhmī (ca. 2nd century B.C.-1st century A.D.) and Late Tamil-Brāhmī (ca. 2nd-4th centuries A.D.).<sup>4</sup>

**Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu:** Late Tamil-Brāhmī script evolved into Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (ca. 5th-6th centuries A.D.). The later evolution of Vaṭṭeḷuttu is outside the scope of the present study.

**Early Tamil inscriptions:** Tamil inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu up to the end of the 6th century A.D. are referred to as Early Tamil inscriptions in this study.

**Tamil script** which begins to appear in the Pallava territory from the 7th century A.D. falls outside the chronological limits of the present study.<sup>5</sup>

## 5.2 Palaeographic Charts

The discussion on palaeography is illustrated by a set of eight palaeographic charts appended to this chapter. Their format is described below:

**Chart 1. The Brāhmī script:** The chart illustrates the earliest known forms of the letters of the Brāhmī script. These are based on the neat monumental forms of the Asokan Pillar Edicts; the few letters not found in the edicts are taken from the earliest available sources.<sup>6</sup>

**Chart 2. The Tamil-Brāhmī script:** The chart presents in a normalised form the earliest known occurrences of the letters of the Tamil-Brāhmī script as found in the cave inscriptions.

1. G. Bühler 1896 (1959 reprint): p. 31.
2. T.V. Mahalingam 1967: pp. 201-298. He introduces each inscription read by him as 'in Drāviḍī'.
3. R. Nagaswamy 1972a: pp. 9-10. He has coined the name Tamilī (from Pkt. *dāmili*).
4. For chronology of Tamil-Brāhmī, see discussion in section 2.16.
5. However, the palaeographic developments in Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Tamil scripts from the 7th century A.D. are briefly surveyed in the concluding sections 5.19 & 5.20 in this chapter.
6. The primary source for Asokan Brāhmī is E. Hultzsch, *CII. I* (1991 reprint). I have also consulted C.S. Upasak 1960. For the post-Asokan palaeography, the following sources have been consulted: G. Bühler 1896 (1959 reprint); G.H. Ojha 1918 (1993 reprint); A.H. Dani 1963 (Indian edition 1986) and C. Sivaramamurti 1952.

**Chart 3. Origin and evolution of additional letters in Tamil-Brāhmī:** The chart <sup>1</sup> illustrates the origin of the four additional letters viz., *ḷ*, *ḻ*, *ṛ* and *ṣ* in Tamil-Brāhmī. The forms are normalised to show the mode of formation from Brāhmī and the main stages in the evolution of the letters.

**Chart 4. Evolution of vowels**

**Charts 5A & B. Evolution of consonants**

**Chart 6. Evolution of medial vowel signs**

Charts 4 to 6 are each divided into three periods viz., Early Tamil-Brāhmī (ca. 2nd century B.C.-1st century A.D.), Late Tamil-Brāhmī (ca. 2nd-4th centuries A.D.) and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (ca. 5th and 6th centuries A.D.). The letters included in Charts 4 to 6 have been assembled by computer from direct tracings of the inscriptions in the Corpus. The numbers in italics printed below the letters refer to the inscriptions where the forms occur. Illustrations of the inscriptions may be referred to in case of forms not included in the charts.

**Chart 7. Tamil-Brāhmī: special forms from pottery inscriptions:** Special forms of the Tamil-Brāhmī letters found in the pottery inscriptions, which occur rarely or not at all in the stone inscriptions, are illustrated in this chart from the following sources:

**Arikamedu:** R.E.M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: Figs. 46 & 47; Pl. XLI. (abbr. AKW).  
Vimala Begley *et al.* 1996: Figs. in chapter 5. (abbr. AKB).

**Kodumanal:** Y. Subbarayalu, Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumanal 1996 (unpublished). (abbr. KDM).

**Other Sites:** Natana Kasinathan, *JESI* 23 (1997): Pl. II-VII.  
(Karur: abbr. KRR; Alagankulam: abbr. ALA).

**Chart 8. Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu script at Pulankurichi:** The chart <sup>2</sup> illustrates forms from the Pulankurichi inscriptions which are not included in the present Corpus. It is, however, necessary to take note of the forms occurring in them to trace the course of evolution from Late Tamil-Brāhmī to Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu.

### 5.3 Origin of writing in Tamil: earlier theories

According to tradition, the Tamil language was received by Agastya from Lord Śiva himself.<sup>3</sup> There are, however, no traditional accounts in Tamil regarding the origin of writing as such.

1. This is a revised and updated version of the chart published by me earlier (I. Mahadevan 1971: p. 102).

2. The chart is based on eye copies of the inscriptions made by S. Rajagopal and charts of the letters published in V. Vedachalam 2001: pp. 19-26. I have also studied the inscriptions *in situ*.

3. Cf. e.g., *kaṭavuḷ tanta tamīl tantāṇ* 'He (Akattiyaṇ) gave Tamil which he received from the Lord (Śiva)' (*Kampa. Akattiya*. 41). According to the Tamil Buddhist tradition, Agastya received the Tamil language from Avalōkitēśvara (*Viracōḷiyam, Pāyiram*, 2).

*Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest extant grammar in Tamil, refers to the alphabet of thirty letters *a* to *ṇa* (*Tol. Eḷu.1*) and the *puḷḷi* (ibid. 15-16), indicating that the inner character of the writing at that time was the same as in the modern Tamil script. *Nannūḷ*, the Tamil grammar (ca. 12th century A.D.) next only to *Tolkāppiyam* in importance, declares that "all letters are of ancient form" (*Nannūḷ* 97). While linguistic changes with the passage of time are noticed in the grammatical treatises and the commentaries,<sup>1</sup> the original shapes of letters or their evolution with time are not referred to.

There are some allusions to different types of letters (*eḷuttu*) in medieval commentaries and *nikaṇṭus*. Subramanian who has compiled the references and commented exhaustively on them, identifies the technical expressions occurring in them with successive stages of the evolution of writing from the pictographic to the syllabic and alphabetic.<sup>2</sup> However, considering the lateness of these literary sources (ca. 8-11 centuries A.D.), they are more likely to refer to symbols of various kinds known to have been employed in the medieval inscriptions and palm-leaf manuscripts.

Some Tamil scholars deny that the Tamil scripts are derived from Brāhmī. According to them, the high antiquity of the Tamil language and culture presupposes the existence of writing from very ancient times. I shall cite only one example of this view from the authoritative and highly influential *History of Tamil Literature* by Varadarajan:<sup>3</sup>

Some regard incorrectly that the Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the present-day Tamil script are evolved from Brāhmī. The Brāhmī script current in South India, which is different from the North Indian Brāhmī, is known as Southern Brāhmī as it has developed under the influence of Vaṭṭeḷuttu. Even before the origin and spread of Brāhmī, the Tamils had developed a script of their own and employed it for commerce, literature and other purposes.

The claim has a curious parallel in similar claims based on the high antiquity of Vedic literature for the existence of writing in Sanskrit from the earliest times.<sup>4</sup> Such claims fail to make a clear distinction between the language and the script. All languages of the world are far older than the scripts devised for recording them.

Subramanian accepts that the Tamil scripts are derived from the Mauryan Brāhmī script, but contends that the latter is, in its turn, derived from a still earlier script devised for a Dravidian language:

The Brāhmī script was originally devised for the Dravidian language and later on adopted for Prākṛit which was evolved as a common language and which was more close to the Dravidian. Later on when Sanskrit elements were introduced into the Prākṛit and it became more Sanskritised,

1. Cf. e.g., *paḷaiyaṇa kaḷitalum putiyaṇa pukutalum ... kāla vakaiyiṇāṇē* 'Old (usages) become obsolete and new ones enter (the language) by efflux of time' (*Nann.* 461).
2. T. N. Subramanian 1957: pp. 1576-1586.
3. Mu. Varadarajan 1972, *Tamiḷ ilakkiya varalāru* (12th edn. 1999): p. 6.
4. Cf. e.g., Raj Bali Pandey 1952: p. 21: "Thus the traditions of the country, the testimony of foreign writers, literary evidences and positive palaeographic survivals all tend to prove a very high antiquity of the art of writing in India, stretching in the past upto the fourth millennium B.C."

additional symbols had to be introduced to suit the needs of the new letters and in the course of this process, some symbols not required for the Sanskritised Prākṛit got eliminated. And finally when it became the official language it spread throughout the length and breadth of the country with royal authority behind, and displaced the then existing varieties of the script. It should be noted side by side here that no inscription in the other coexisting scripts has been found so far. It is from this Brāhmī script that all the existing scripts of the country including the Dēvanāgarī have been obtained by evolution.<sup>1</sup>

As Subramanian himself admits candidly, there is no inscriptional evidence to support his claim. Further, his theory that the Prakrit languages were originally 'Dravidian' and later became 'Sanskritised' is not generally accepted. Modern linguistic research in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian has established that the Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) languages are descended from the Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic), but are influenced by substratum languages including Dravidian.<sup>2</sup>

Krishnan has suggested a different scenario for the origin of the Tamil script. According to him:

The Tamil Script has a long history almost parallel beginning with the Brāhmī script of the times of Asoka. The script is found originally designed to write inscriptions all over India allowing for modifications in respect of Tamil Nadu and for additions in respect of other areas. The modifications in respect of Tamil Nadu are close to the primary letters of the alphabet. The processes involved in the evolution are along known lines such as the desire for change and economy.<sup>3</sup>

He amplifies this idea further in another paper:

In the early times in the history of writing, the Brāhmī script which was current in India had a group of letters consisting of nine vowels (*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ē, ai* and *o*) and fourteen consonants (*k, ṅ, c, ṇ, ṭ, ṇ, t, n, p, m, y, r, l* and *v*) common to all the areas irrespective of the language for which they were used. The additional letters such as the 15 aspirated letters and 4 letters (*s, ś sh* and *h*) in the case of the Northern alphabets, and 4 letters (*ḷ, ḻ, ṛ* and *ṟ*) in the case of the Dravidian alphabets have been specially devised to serve the respective languages that used those alphabets.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the fact that there is no evidence for such a 'primary national script' before the time of Asoka, it seems most unlikely that a script could have been devised without reference to the language it records. There is no such instance in the history of the writing systems of the world before the invention of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) for modern linguistic research.

In recent years there have been many attempts to derive the Brāhmī/Tamil-Brāhmī scripts from megalithic and chalcolithic graffiti, and through them, ultimately from the Indus script.<sup>5</sup> In so far as such research relates to the decipherment of the Indus script on the basis of comparisons with

1. T.N. Subramanian 1957: pp. 1608-1609.

2. For discussion on the substratum influence of Dravidian on Indo-Aryan, see Asko Parpola 1994: pp. 167-169.

3. K.G. Krishnan 1981c: p. 97.

4. K.G. Krishnan 1974: pp. 29-30.

5. A.V. Narasimha Murthy 1992: pp. 57-66. R. Madhivanan 1995: pp. 49-79. S. Gurumurthy 1999: pp. 149-163.

the pottery graffiti, it falls outside the scope of the present study.<sup>1</sup> However, the Tamil-Brāhmī script is unlikely to have been derived from the megalithic graffiti as stratigraphic evidence from the excavations, especially at Uraiyur<sup>2</sup> and Kodumanal,<sup>3</sup> show the coexistence of the two systems (sometimes on the same pottery as at the latter site), though the origin of the graffiti goes back to a much earlier period.

Just as there have been attempts to prove the Brāhmī script to be an artificial creation not derived from any pre-existing source,<sup>4</sup> there have also been similar attempts in respect of the Tamil script. In 1917, Manickam Naicker, an engineer by profession and learned Tamil scholar, published a monograph<sup>5</sup> which attempted to prove with the help of detailed diagrams that the letters of the Tamil script and the mystic symbol *aum* (*ōm*) can be derived by cutting and pasting segments of the first letter *a*. The fact that he employs the modern forms of the Tamil letters and of the symbol for *ōm* does not seem to have bothered him.

Gift Siromoney and Michael Lockwood<sup>6</sup> claim that "the Brāhmī script was invented at one stroke—possibly by one individual"; they reject "both the theory that it was evolved from the Indus script and also the theory that it was borrowed and developed from some non-Indian script". The point of departure for their demonstration is the pair of symbols found at the end of two Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions at Kongarpuliyankulam.<sup>7</sup> They proceed to normalise the symbols into "basic geometric patterns" consisting of a square, a circle, a cross and a vertical line. From segments of these components, they "extract" all the letters of the Brāhmī script.<sup>8</sup> As Gelb points out, signs of the linear scripts are likely to show some resemblance to one another as these are based in practice on a few simple forms of straight lines, triangles, squares and circles which can be easily remembered.<sup>9</sup>

The literary evidence in Tamil with datable links to the outside world includes the presence of the Jaina and Buddhist creeds in the Tamil country, references to the Nandas and the Mauryas and graphic descriptions of the maritime trade with the *yavanas* (Romans). This evidence does not stretch beyond ca. 3rd century B.C. The archaeological data from pottery inscriptions in the Tamil-Brāhmī script also indicate the same date as the upper limit for writing. There is no material evidence for the existence of any indigenous or independent script for Tamil earlier to or contemporaneous

1. For my views on the subject, see I. Mahadevan 1995a: pp. 2-8.

2. P. Shanmugam 1983: pp. 31-36.

3. K. Rajan 1994: pp. 76-83.

4. E.g., A. Cunningham 1877: *CII*. I: pp. 53 ff. He follows the acrophonic principle (e.g., *ka* from *kartari* 'dagger', *dha* from *dhanu* 'bow', *sa* from *sarpa* 'snake', etc.).

5. P.V. Manickam Naicker 1917: pp. 1-17.

6. Gift Siromoney and Michael Lockwood 1992: pp. 219-223.

7. Corpus: Nos. 12 & 13. See also section 5.18 and Fig. 5.11 (A & B).

8. Perhaps the authors of this paper meant it to be a spoof on far out theories.

9. I. J. Gelb 1963: p. 144.

with the Tamil-Brāhmī script.<sup>1</sup> Whatever writing has been discovered on inscribed pottery from the excavated sites in Tamil Nadu, is exclusively in the Tamil-Brāhmī script and occurs only from the megalithic and Early Historical levels dated not earlier than the end of the 3rd century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

#### 5.4 Origin of Tamil-Brāhmī

Tamil-Brāhmī is derived from Brāhmī. Compare Palaeographic Charts 1 and 2 showing the standard forms of Brāhmī and Tamil-Brāhmī scripts respectively. The evidence, which is quite conclusive, may be briefly summarised as follows:

- (a) All but 4 of the 26 letters in Tamil-Brāhmī (i.e., more than four-fifths of the total) are identical or nearly so with the corresponding letters of Brāhmī and have the same phonetic values.
- (b) Even the additional letters in Tamil-Brāhmī viz., *ḷ*, *ḻ*, *ṛ* and *ṇ*, are adapted from letters with the nearest phonetic values in Brāhmī (Palaeographic Chart 3).<sup>3</sup>
- (c) The medial vowel signs of Tamil-Brāhmī are also identical with the respective signs in Brāhmī and have the same phonetic values.
- (d) The alphabetical order of letters common to both the scripts is identical.
- (e) It is revealing that *Tolkāppiyam* places *ṛ*, *ṇ*, *ḷ* and *ḻ* at the end of the series of stops, nasals and liquids (*Tol. Elu.* 19-21). This arrangement deviates from the order based on articulatory phonetics. This small but significant detail indicates that the four special letters were originally regarded as additions to the alphabet taken over from Brāhmī. The additional letter *ṇ* is also described as the last in the Tamil alphabet (*ibid.* 1).

Tamil-Brāhmī is formed by adapting Brāhmī to the requirements of the Tamil phonetic system in the following manner.

#### Palaeographic changes

- (a) Omission of letters for sounds not present in Tamil viz., voiced consonants, aspirates, sibilants, the *anusvāra* (*m̐*) and the *visarga* (*h̐*);
- (b) Addition of letters to represent sounds in Tamil which are not available in Brāhmī viz., *ḷ*, *ḻ*, *ṛ* and *ṇ*;
- (c) Modification of letters by the employment of a special diacritic mark viz., the *pulli*, to:

1. This discussion does not include the Indus script, which has not yet been deciphered, nor the megalithic graffiti. In the present state of our knowledge, it seems best to assume that the megalithic graffiti do not constitute a script with phonetic values, but may be mnemonic or representational devices derived from pictorial art and belonging to the category of forerunners of writing (I.J. Gelb 1963: pp. 24-51). For discussion on the symbols occurring with the inscriptions in the Corpus, see section 5.18.
2. See section 1.13.
3. See section 5.12.



Figure 5.1. Minor Rock Edict of Asoka at Brahmagiri. Karnataka.



Figure 5.2. An inscribed casket from Bhattiprolu. Andhra Pradesh.

- (i) depict basic consonants in final position;
- (ii) avoid ligaturing of consonant clusters; and
- (iii) distinguish the short vowels *e* and *o* from the respective long vowels.

#### Orthographic changes

Along with the above palaeographic changes, several orthographic modifications especially in the notation of medial vowels were also effected in Tamil-Brāhmī. These are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

### 5.5 Graphemic inventory of Tamil-Brāhmī

There are 26 letters comprising 8 vowels and 18 consonants, and 9 medial vowel signs in Tamil-Brāhmī:

Vowels	: a ā i ī u ū e/ē o/ō
Consonants	: k ṅ c ṇ ṭ ṇ t n p m
	y r l v ḷ ḷ ṛ ṇ
Medial vowel signs	: -ā -i -ī -u -ū -e/-ē -ai -o/-ō and the <i>puḷḷi</i> . <sup>1</sup>

In addition to the above, two letters from the Brāhmī script, viz., *dh* and *s* occur marginally in loanwords from Indo-Aryan in the Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

### 5.6 Tamil-Brāhmī and other Brāhmī variants

#### 5.6.1 Mauryan Brāhmī

An overall palaeographic comparison of the earliest known forms of the common letters between Brāhmī and Tamil-Brāhmī (Charts 1 and 2) leads to the broad judgement that the time of borrowing and adaptation from Brāhmī to Tamil-Brāhmī cannot be later than the end of the Mauryan Age. In general, the Early Tamil-Brāhmī letters share the primitive appearance and the tall and angular forms of the Asokan Brāhmī. (Compare, for example, the Brahmagiri Rock Edict of Asoka in Fig. 5.1 with the Mangulam grants of Neṭuñceliyan in Figs. 8.1 & 8.2.) The squarish letters with head-marks ('serifs') of the Northern as well as the Southern Brāhmī scripts of the post-Mauryan era are too evolved to have formed the prototypes for the earliest Tamil-Brāhmī forms.

#### 5.6.2 Southern Brāhmī

There were close cultural, religious and commercial contacts between the Deccan and the Tamil country from the earliest times. However, Southern Brāhmī and Tamil-Brāhmī, both arising from

1. The *puḷḷi* may also be regarded as a 'medial vowel sign' as it functions in effect as a 'minus vowel marker' removing the 'inherent' -a from consonant characters and reducing the length of the vowels ē and ō. See section 5.14 on the palaeographic aspects and sections 6.8 & 6.9 on the orthographic aspects of the *puḷḷi*.
2. The aspirate *dh* occurs only in the loanword *dhammam/dhamam* in two of the earliest inscriptions (Nos. 1 & 2) at Mangulam. The sibilant *s* occurs 12 times, all in the Early Period, out of which 5 occurrences are also from the inscriptions (Nos. 1-3) at Mangulam. No other non-Tamil letter occurs in the inscriptions included in the Corpus. Earlier investigators have occasionally misread *j* as *th* (as in Nos. 34 & 49) or as *ś* (as in No. 7).

the Mauryan Brāhmī script at about the same time, appear to have evolved independently of each other as shown by the characteristically different forms of letters with common sounds. The Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (ca. 2nd century B.C.-1st century A.D.) included in the present Corpus do not have any forms influenced by Southern Brāhmī.

Influence of Southern Brāhmī is seen for the first time in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions of the Late Period (ca. 2nd-4th centuries A.D.) in the northern and western districts adjoining the Andhra-Karnataka regions. This influence is marginal also in the sense that the few Southern Brāhmī forms seen in these inscriptions do not enter the mainstream of evolution of Tamil-Brāhmī into Vaṭṭeḷuttu. The Southern Brāhmī forms occurring in the Late Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are noticed in the following discussion on palaeographic evolution of Tamil-Brāhmī and illustrated in the accompanying charts.

### 5.6.3 The Bhattiprolu script

In 1892 Alexander Rea discovered three relic stone caskets (Fig. 5.2) from a Buddhist stupa at Bhattiprolu, a village in the Krishna District of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>1</sup> Nine Prakrit inscriptions are engraved on the caskets in a unique local variant of the Brāhmī script. Bühler edited the inscriptions in a classic paper elucidating with rare insight their remarkable palaeographic and orthographic 'peculiarities' not known in the Mauryan Brāhmī script.<sup>2</sup>

#### (a) Special palaeographic features

Most of the letters of the casket inscriptions resemble those of Mauryan Brāhmī. There are, however, six exceptional forms (*gh*, *c*, *j*, *m*, *l* and *sh*) and one additional letter (*ḷ*) not found in Mauryan Brāhmī. None of these forms is found in Tamil-Brāhmī with the exception of *c* with the tail,<sup>3</sup> in which case the resemblance may be merely fortuitous.

#### (b) Special orthographic features

While the special palaeographic features of the Bhattiprolu script have hardly any bearing on the study of Tamil-Brāhmī, the position is entirely different when one considers the special orthographic features of the former script in respect of medial vowel notations. The Bhattiprolu script, which remained as an isolated epigraphical curio until the discovery of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, has turned out to be the Rosetta Stone for the eventual decipherment of the Tamil-Brāhmī script. As we shall see in Chapter 6, it is the comparison of the orthographic features that provides the decisive evidence that the Bhattiprolu script must be later than the earliest phase of the Tamil-Brāhmī script.<sup>4</sup>

1. For the discovery of the Bhattiprolu Caskets, see J. Burgess, 1894: *EI*, II, Preface, pp. ix-xiii.
2. G. Bühler 1894b: pp. 323-329.
3. Corpus: Nos. 55, 105.
4. See section 6.10 and Fig. 6.3.

#### 5.6.4 *Sinhala-Brāhmī*

Early Sinhala-Brāhmī has markedly close palaeographic similarities with Mauryan Brāhmī on the one hand, and with Tamil-Brāhmī on the other.<sup>1</sup> Late Sinhala-Brāhmī which is strongly influenced by the contemporary Southern Brāhmī script, most probably due to close contacts with the Buddhist establishments in Andhra, is too divergent from Tamil-Brāhmī of the same period for any useful comparison.<sup>2</sup>

Palaeographic comparison of the earliest forms of the common letters indicates that Sinhala-Brāhmī, like Tamil-Brāhmī, is directly derived from Mauryan Brāhmī before the end of the Mauryan Age.<sup>3</sup> In the case of Sinhala-Brāhmī, the chronology is confirmed by the dating of a few royal inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> Thus the close palaeographic similarities between the common letters of Early Sinhala-Brāhmī and Early Tamil-Brāhmī provide further confirmation for dating the commencement of the latter script also from about the same time (ca. 200 B.C.).

While Tamil-Brāhmī has been adapted to suit the requirements of the Tamil phonetic system, Sinhala-Brāhmī has been adapted to the phonology of Sinhala-Prakrit, which is markedly different from that of the Indian Prakrits. While Tamil-Brāhmī did away with voiced consonants, aspirates, sibilants, the *anusvāra* and the *visarga*, Early Sinhala-Brāhmī dropped long vowels, aspirates, the sibilants *śh* and *s*, the *anusvāra* and the *visarga*, as these sounds did not exist in the language of the early cave inscriptions. While Tamil-Brāhmī added four new letters viz., *ḷ*, *ḻ*, *ṛ* and *ṣ* by modifying the Brāhmī letters with the nearest phonetic values, Early Sinhala-Brāhmī utilised the Brāhmī letter *jh* (an aspirate not present in Early Sinhala-Prakrit) in the place of *j* to represent some allied sound for which no letter was available in Brāhmī.

One of the most interesting aspects of Early Sinhala-Brāhmī is the complete absence of ligaturing of consonants. In this respect, Sinhala-Brāhmī is unique among the Prakrit-based variants of Brāhmī. The avoidance of ligaturing of consonants is facilitated in Early Sinhala-Brāhmī by the phonological processes of assimilation and epenthesis which are more thoroughgoing in this language than in Indian Prakrits, most probably due to the substratum influence of Tamil. This would explain how the two scripts, one for a Middle Indo-Aryan and the other for a Dravidian language, were able to avoid ligatures, a prominent feature in all other regional scripts.

1. A. Velu Pillai 1980: pp. 38-54; 1981: pp. I-111 to I-120.
2. S. Paranavitana (1970: p. xxii) notes the similarities between the script of the later cave inscriptions in Sri Lanka and that of Andhra, but attributes the changes to local development.
3. Cf. palaeographic charts in S. Paranavitana 1970: Pl. facing p. xvi and in S. Karunaratne. 1984: Figs. 1-35.
4. S. Paranavitana (1970: p. xvii) dates the earliest cave inscriptions in Sri Lanka from the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C. S. Karunaratne (1984: pp. 2-5) places the upper limit of the earliest dated inscriptions at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. A.H. Dani (1963) has not, even in the revised Indian edition (1986), noticed these works. Dani's dating of the earliest cave inscriptions of Sri Lanka to 'about the beginning of the first century A.D.' (ibid. p. 219) is hardly justified; his dating does not explain wherefrom Sri Lanka could have obtained the Mauryan Brāhmī forms in the 1st century A.D. when they were no longer current.

Other palaeographic features shared by the two scripts are the common forms of the letters *a*, *ī* (read as *i* in Early Sinhala-Brāhmī) *m* and *l*.<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that all these forms are replaced in Late Sinhala-Brāhmī by the corresponding forms<sup>2</sup> derived from Southern Brāhmī. This development indicates that the earlier forms are more likely to be native to the Tamil-Brāhmī script in which they continued to exist and gradually evolved into the corresponding Vaṭṭeḷuttu forms.

### 5.7 Tamil-Brāhmī: general characteristics of writing

Before we take up a detailed palaeographic study of the Tamil-Brāhmī script, we may note some of the general characteristics of writing especially of the cave inscriptions.

- (1) An important feature of Tamil-Brāhmī is the relatively slower pace of evolution especially in the Early Period when compared with the contemporary Northern and Southern Brāhmī scripts of the post-Mauryan era. This is strikingly illustrated at Arikamedu by the occurrence of a pottery inscription in Hybrid Sanskrit<sup>3</sup> in the Northern Brāhmī characters of ca. 1st century A.D. along with pottery inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī of about the same date but in which the characters look much earlier when judged in terms of Brāhmī palaeography. The slower pace of evolution is also shared by the Early Sinhala-Brāhmī script of the same period (ca. 2-1 centuries B.C.).<sup>4</sup>
- (2) The direction of evolution of Tamil-Brāhmī is markedly different from those of the Northern and Southern Brāhmī scripts. This has resulted in different shapes for the common letters of the same period. This is strikingly illustrated by the bilingual coin-legends on the silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas, with the letters on the obverse in the Southern Brāhmī script looking different from those on the reverse in the Tamil-Brāhmī script.<sup>5</sup>
- (3) Two general trends in the evolution of the letters are:
  - (a) reduction in height and equalisation of the arms of the letters, and
  - (b) conversion of angular and rectilinear letters and medial vowel signs into cursive shapes, which ultimately resulted in the emergence of Vaṭṭeḷuttu (lit., 'the rounded script'). This tendency, a peculiarly southern characteristic, may be traced to the practice of writing on palm leaves with iron stylus.
- (4) The letters of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions of the Early Period, especially those engraved on the brow over the entrance to the caves, are relatively much larger<sup>6</sup> and more crudely cut

1. Compare the forms in Palaeographic Chart 2 with the corresponding forms illustrated in S. Karunaratne 1984: Figs. 1, 2, 26 and 34.
2. S. Karunaratne, *ibid.*
3. R.E. M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: Pl. XLI, No. 3.
4. See the palaeographic charts (chronologically arranged) in Karunaratne 1984: Figs. 1-35.
5. See section 5.15 for discussion on these coin-legends.
6. E.g., the cave inscription at Marukattalai (No. 14) in which some of the letters reach almost 40 cm. in height. The scribe apparently used the cubit (*muḷam*) for measuring, which is 'the length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger' (*TL*).

than in the later inscriptions, reflecting an early stage of literacy and also lack of experience in engraving on extremely hard and rough rock surfaces.

- (5) The inscriptions of the Early Period are written in single lines irrespective of their length.<sup>1</sup> The changeover to compact writing in multiple lines of manageable length took place only in the Late Period.<sup>2</sup>
- (6) Changes in style due to 'pressure of writing' resulting in smaller, well-formed letters in a flowing manuscript 'hand', begin to appear from ca. 1st century A.D. and become more pronounced in the Late Period.<sup>3</sup>

### 5.8 Direction of writing

The general direction of writing in Tamil-Brāhmī and Vaṭṭeḷuttu scripts is from left to right as in the case of Brāhmī and all other scripts derived from it. However, there are exceptional cases of writing from right to left with the characters turned upside down for a remarkable reason which our team discovered by conducting simple experiments *in situ* as described below.<sup>4</sup>

- (a) Two inscriptions, one at Tirupparankunram (No. 53) and the other at Muttuppatti (No. 56) are engraved on the front side of raised stone beds. To an observer standing in front of the beds facing the inscriptions, they appear to be engraved from right to left with the letters turned upside down. However, the observer sitting on the beds and looking down would find the inscriptions running in the normal direction from left to right with the letters in proper orientation and would have no difficulty in reading them. It appears that the scribes engraved the inscriptions in this special manner on the instructions of the donors who wished to be remembered by the resident monks in their prayers.
- (b) An inscription at Tirupparankunram (No. 54) is engraved in two segments on the rock wall abutting the head-side of two stone beds. To an observer facing the inscriptions, the first segment is seen above the right bed and the second segment above the left bed. He would also notice that the first segment is engraved from right to left with the letters turned upside down, but the second is engraved normally from left to right and the letters in proper orientation. It is, however, clear that, as in the two inscriptions discussed in (a) above, the scribe intended to engrave both the segments of this inscription in such a way that the monks lying on the beds resting their heads on the stone pillows and looking up at the inscription would be able to read it normally. The scribe must have been, however, careless and not remembered to engrave the second segment from right to left and turn the letters upside down.

1. E.g., the long single-line inscription at Alagarmalai comprising several segments (Nos. 38-45) measuring more than 850 cm. (excluding spaces between the segments and damaged passages).
2. Compare the long single-line inscriptions (Nos. 1-3) at Mangulam in the Early Period with the four-line inscriptions (Nos. 61 & 62) of about the same length at Pugalur in the Late Period.
3. E.g., the neat and uniform engraving of the inscription at Jambai (No. 59) of ca. 1st century A.D. Some of the inscriptions (e.g., Nos. 67 & 69) of ca. 3rd century A.D. at Pugalur are in a flowing manuscript 'hand'.
4. The idea occurred to me during my first visit to the Kilavalavu cave in 1963 when I was sitting under the brow of the cave and happened to look up at the inscription.

- (c) Two more inscriptions, one at Kilavalavu (No. 10) and the other at Kunnakkudi (No. 74) are engraved on the brow of the caves. It appears that in these cases also the scribes intended to engrave the inscriptions from right to left with the letters turned upside down so that the monks in the cave looking up at the inscriptions could read them normally. However, the scribes bungled the jobs. At Kilavalavu, the inscription is engraved from right to left, but some of the letters are not turned upside down as required. At Kunnakkudi, the letters are all turned upside down, but the inscription is engraved from left to right!

As the experiments performed *in situ* reveal, the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions described above are not real exceptions to the normal direction of writing, and there is no reason to believe that the Tamil-Brāhmī script was at any earlier stage written from right to left. Indeed, these exceptions themselves prove the rule, as in three out of the five instances in question, the scribes could not successfully reverse the direction of writing to which they were normally accustomed.<sup>1</sup>

According to Bühler, the Brāhmī script was written in the earliest period "both from the right to the left and from the left to the right".<sup>2</sup> His theory, based on a reversed coin-legend from Eran, is nowadays not generally accepted especially as coin-legends are notoriously prone to reversal. The Minor Rock Edicts of Asoka at Erragudi,<sup>3</sup> which have irregularly engraved lines running in both directions, are very crudely executed and cannot be relied upon to indicate a supposedly earlier trend of right to left writing of Brāhmī.

Sri Lanka has the largest number of Early Brāhmī cave inscriptions written from right to left and with correspondingly reversed (and rarely inverted) orientation of letters. Paranavitana<sup>4</sup> and Karunaratne<sup>5</sup> who have published these exceptional inscriptions express themselves in favour of an original right to left direction for Brāhmī. However, there is hardly any evidence from Indian inscriptions in support of this theory. One can only presume that the exceptional right to left direction was a local development peculiar to Sri Lanka in the post-Mauryan period.

### 5.9 Palaeography of Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu

As the palaeography of Brāhmī has been studied in several standard publications,<sup>6</sup> the present study will concentrate on the special and less familiar aspects of Tamil-Brāhmī and trace the distinct course of its evolution into Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu. The study is based mostly on the stone inscriptions included in the present Corpus. However, the more recently discovered and still not adequately published pottery inscriptions and the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions at Pulankurichi have also been utilised to present a more complete picture of the palaeographic evolution.

1. In these exceptional cases, the illustrations in the present volume are printed from left to right for normal reading. One of the inscriptions (No. 10) has some letters turned upside down even with respect to the normal orientation.
2. G. Bühler 1896 (1959 reprint): p. 23.
3. D.C. Sircar 1979 (2000 reprint): p. 4 and Pl. II.
4. S. Paranavitana 1970: p. xxii, n. 3.
5. S. Karunaratne 1984: pp. 7-8.
6. See especially G. Bühler 1896, G.H. Ojha 1918, C. Sivaramamurti 1952, C.S. Upasak 1960 and A.H. Dani 1963.

### 5.10 Vowels

**a / ā:** In Early Tamil-Brāhmī, the two arms of the letter are wide apart and often turn away from each other at right angles (Chart 4: *a:1, 2*). This form is attested in the Asokan Edicts at Erragudi<sup>1</sup> and is also characteristic of the Early Sinhala-Brāhmī script.<sup>2</sup> The exceptional form (ibid. 63) looking somewhat like X may be compared with those occurring in the pottery inscriptions at Arikamedu (Chart 7:AKW 6; AKB 7, 20), in which the lower arm of the letter is reversed and placed on the opposite side of the vertical. In Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, the Late Tamil-Brāhmī forms are still retained at Pulankurichi (Chart 8), but later become cursive (Chart 4: *a:108, ā:116*).

**i / ī:** The letter *i* consists of three dots (Chart 4: *i: 89, 76*) or three short, horizontal dashes (ibid. 17, 60) both arranged in a triangular pattern. Even though the three-dot form occurs later than the three-dash form in the Corpus, the former is the original form as it is attested in Asokan Brāhmī.<sup>3</sup> In Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, the three dashes join together in the composite form seen at Pulankurichi (Chart 8). At the next stage, this form is simplified as a single, smooth curve (Chart 4: *i:111*).

The letter *ī* does not occur in Asokan Brāhmī. The Northern Brāhmī form of four dots in a rectangular pattern (Chart 1), derived from the three-dot form of *i*, does not occur in Tamil-Brāhmī. In this script, there is a special form for *ī* consisting of a tall vertical line flanked by a pair of dots (Chart 2). The letter occurs from the earliest times in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (Chart 4: *ī:1*) and its form remains stable. It is possible that Tamil-Brāhmī was formed at a time when Brāhmī still did not have a character for *ī* and one had to be created locally.

It appears that there was also a practical reason why Tamil-Brāhmī did not adopt the four-dot form of *ī*, and seldom employed even the three-dot form of *i* which is in most cases represented by the symbol for *ī* (to be read as *i* from the context).<sup>4</sup> The dots would be virtually invisible on the rough, uneven and undressed rock surfaces on which the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are engraved.

The Early Sinhala-Brāhmī cave inscriptions also adopted the more visible Tamil-Brāhmī letter for *ī* for apparently the same practical reason but to denote the sound *i*.<sup>5</sup> The change in value caused no confusion in Sinhala-Brāhmī as the Sinhala-Prakrit of the early cave inscriptions had no long vowels.<sup>6</sup> In Late Sinhala-Brāhmī, the Tamil-Brāhmī form was replaced by the contemporary Southern Brāhmī form for *i*.<sup>7</sup> There is, however, no doubt that the original value of the letter is *ī* as in the Brāhmī inscriptions of India.<sup>8</sup> Though there are no examples of *ī* in the Late Tamil-Brāhmī or Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions included in the Corpus, the letter must have reverted fully to its

1. C.S. Upasak 1960: Appendix No. 1 (9).

2. S. Paranavitana 1970: chart facing p. xvi.

3. C.S. Upasak 1960: Appendix No. 3.

4. The use of *ī* to denote the sound *i* in the Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions is discussed in section 6.14.

5. S. Paranavitana 1970: p. xviii.

6. Ibid.

7. S. Karunaratne 1984: p. 16; Fig. 2.

8. C. Sivaramamurti 1952: chart for *ī* (Fig. 23, p. 64).

original long value sometime after the Early Tamil-Brāhmī Period, as the Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Grantha forms<sup>1</sup> and even the Sinhalese form<sup>2</sup> of *ī* are all clearly derived from it.

**u / ū:** The letter *ū* does not occur in Asokan Brāhmī presumably on account of its rarity in the language of the edicts. However, the letter is attested in its primitive form in Tamil-Brāhmī<sup>3</sup> from the earliest times (Chart 4: *ū*:9). The forms of *u* and *ū* remain stable in Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu. The employment of the letter *ū* for the sound *u* in the Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions is an orthographic feature which is discussed in Chapter 6.<sup>4</sup>

**e / ē:** The letter *e* in Tamil-Brāhmī is rather unusual for its multiple geometric forms which defy any chronological arrangement. The variants with oblong, triangular, circular, semicircular and other odd shapes are illustrated in Chart 4: *e* / *ē*. The Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu form is arch-shaped (ibid. 121), very similar to the later forms.<sup>5</sup>

**o / ō:** The letter *o*, formed by the addition of a short horizontal stroke at the top left of the vowel *u* occurs in angular (Chart 4: *o* / *ō*: 18) and cursive forms (ibid. 6). An exceptional variant (ibid. 12) is formed by the addition of the double strokes of the medial vowel -*o* at the top of the vertical of the initial vowel *u*.

**The short vowels *e* and *o*:** The length of the short vowels *e* and *o* is not indicated in the Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions and has to be inferred from the context.<sup>6</sup> The initial short vowel *e* with the *puḷḷi* placed inside the letter occurs in a Late Tamil-Brāhmī inscription (Chart 4: *e*:85) and also in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions (ibid. 117 and Chart 8). It is also attested in a Tamil-Brāhmī coin-legend.<sup>7</sup> No actual example of the initial short vowel *o* with the *puḷḷi* has been found so far.

The unusual manner in which the letters of the short vowels *e* and *o* are formed from the respective long vowels deserves special attention. In the Brāhmī script, the letters of the long vowels are derived from those of the respective short vowels as in the pairs *a* > *ā*, *i* > *ī* and *u* > *ū*. The process is reversed in Tamil-Brāhmī only for the pairs *ē* > *e* and *ō* > *o*. In these cases, the Brāhmī script has only the long vowels. These were taken over by Tamil-Brāhmī and were employed, to begin with, to denote both the long and short sounds which could be recognised only from the context. However, as Tamil has also the short vowels *e* and *o*, the need to distinguish the length of the vowels was felt

1. C. Sivaramamurti 1952: chart for *ī* (Fig. 23, p. 64).

2. S. Karunaratne 1984: Fig. 2.

3. The occurrence of *ū* in the Early Tamil cave inscriptions is not noticed in A.H. Dani 1963 (Indian edition 1986): Pl. VIIa or in C. Sivaramamurti 1952: p. 65.

4. See section 6.15.

5. Cf. C. Sivaramamurti 1952: chart for *e* (Fig. 25, p. 68).

6. This is what K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer (1924: p. 283) meant when he stated that "in the case of combined consonants the occurrence of short *e* and short *o* deserves special attention, the two being the special characteristics of the Dravidian alphabets". He was not referring to the graphic forms as misunderstood by T. N. Subramanian (1938, reprint 1996: p. 22; 1957: p. 1507) and T.V. Mahalingam (1967: p. 134). For discussion on the contrast between *e*/*ē* and *o*/*ō* sounds in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, see section 6.16.

7. See No. 13, Table 1.6.

and the *puḷḷi* was added as a diacritic mark to the short vowels *e* and *o* (both initial and medial) to distinguish them from the respective long vowels. This development proves conclusively the derivation of Tamil-Brāhmī from the Brāhmī script.

**ai:** The curious asymmetry in the occurrence of the vowel *ai* in Asokan Brāhmī<sup>1</sup> is also reflected in Tamil-Brāhmī. In both cases, the initial vowel is absent, but the medial vowel occurs from the earliest times.<sup>2</sup> The initial vowel *ai* is attested for the first time in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Tirunatharkunru (Chart 4: *ai: 116*). The form of this letter looking like a 'trident' is quite different from the earliest form in Brāhmī.<sup>3</sup> However, the trident-form of *ai* occurs in a Southern Brāhmī Prakrit inscription<sup>4</sup> at an earlier date than in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu script.

**au:** The vowel *au* (initial or medial) does not occur in Tamil-Brāhmī or Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu although it is included in the list of vowels in *Tolkāppiyam* (*Elu*. 4).

**The āytam (h):** The unique Tamil sound *āytam* is not represented graphically in the Tamil-Brāhmī or Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> The phrase *muppāl puḷḷi* (*Tol. Elu*. 2) has been interpreted by some commentators (e.g., Nacčinārkkiniyar) as 'dots on three sides' supposedly referring to the graphic shape of the *āytam*. However, as the character with three dots in a triangular pattern represents the initial vowel *i* in Tamil-Brāhmī, the same character could not have represented the *āytam*. The alternative interpretation of the *sūtra* as referring to 'three types of sounds marked by dots viz., the shortened *-i* and *-u* and the *āytam*' seems to be correct (e.g., Pēraciriyar). However, there is no inscriptional evidence that the dependent sounds, shortened *-i* and *-u*, were marked by the *puḷḷi*. It is likely that the present form of the *āytam* with three dots is itself a result of the later misinterpretation of this *sūtra* as referring to the graphic shape of the letter. There would have been no confusion as by this time in the early medieval period, the letter *i* was no longer being written as three dots (compare *i* in Charts 4 & 8).

1. C.S. Upasak 1960: pp. 114-115.

2. E.g., *tantai-y* 'father' (Corpus: No. 2). See also Palaeographic Chart 6: *-ai: 2*.

3. In the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela (K. G. Krishnan ed. 1989: No. 67). See illustration in A.H. Dani 1963 (Indian edition 1986): Table VI a. 9.

4. At Alluru (Krishna District., Andhra Pradesh) in *ARE* 331/1924. See illustration in T.N. Subramanian 1957: pp. 1518-1519; Pl. 2, Col. IV. 49.

5. The earliest inscriptional occurrence of the *āytam* is in the expression *vehkā* 'name of a river' in the Kasakkudi Plates of Nandivarman II (ca. 753 A.D.). Here the letter is depicted as an upward-looking curve flanked by a pair of dots placed above and below (*SHI*. II: No. 73, Pl. IXb, Line 115). This form is likely to have been influenced by the *visarga* symbol of the Grantha script (M. Raghavaiyengar 1938, reprint 1984: pp. 127-131). The *āytam* occurs in the expression *aḥkam* 'payment in grain' in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription of Varaguna II (ca. 874 A.D.) at Tiruchendur. In this record, the letter is represented by a horizontal line with dots marked above and below 'like the division sign' (*El*. XXI: p. 102).

### 5.11 Consonants

**k:** The simple form of *k*, a plain cross (Chart 2), remains stable with hardly any change throughout the period under study. There are, however, a few exceptional forms in Late Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, which are influenced by the contemporary Southern Brāhmī forms (Chart 5A: *k*: 73, 83, 84, 85, 114 & 116). These forms possess one or more of the following features of Southern Brāhmī, viz., head-marks (triangular or rectangular), drooping of the horizontal line and leftward curving of the lower end of the vertical. It is significant that these forms occur only in the northern and western districts adjoining Andhra and Karnataka. Another exceptional form is the conjunct consonant *kka* (ibid. 112) occurring in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions at Arasalapuram (Corpus: No. 112, ca. 5th century A.D.) and Paraiyanpattu (ibid. No. 115, ca. 6th century A.D.)

**ñ:** The letter *ñ* does not occur in Asokan Brāhmī. However, its existence in Mauryan Brāhmī is proved by the Stonemason's Alphabet found at Gaya.<sup>1</sup> While *ñ* begins to appear in the North only in the Sanskrit inscriptions from about the 2nd century A.D.,<sup>2</sup> it is attested in its primitive form in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions from the earliest times (Chart 5A: *ñ*: 8, 22).

**c:** The letter *c* remains stable in the Tamil-Brāhmī period. The only major modification in the form of the letter is the opening of the lower loop to form a hook, first seen in the Mannarkoil cave inscription of ca. 2nd century A.D. (Chart 6: *-e/-ē*: 89). Another variant form has a tail projecting below the loop (Corpus: No. 55; Chart 5A: *c*: 105). This form recurs in the pottery inscriptions at Arikamedu (Chart 7: AKB 28) and Kodumanal (ibid. KDM 27). In Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, the drop-shaped form (Chart 5A: *c*: 115) and the form with the 'head-mark' (ibid. 119) are influenced by contemporary Southern Brāhmī forms.<sup>3</sup>

**ñ:** The primitive form of *ñ* (Chart 5A: *ñ*: 1) becomes cursive even by the end of the Early Period (ibid. 59). The cursive form continues in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu as at Pulankurichi (Chart 8).

**t:** The letter *t*, a semicircle facing right (Chart 2), remains stable in Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (Chart 5A).

**ṇ:** The letter *ṇ* remains stable till almost the end of the Tamil-Brāhmī period. The form begins to change in the Arachalur cave inscription in ca. 4th century A.D. (Chart 5A: *ṇ*: 85). In Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, the letter resembles the numeral 3 (ibid. 106, etc.; also in Chart 8). The contemporary Southern Brāhmī form of *ṇ* is seen in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Ezhuttukallu, Kerala, situated near the border with Karnataka (Corpus: No. 120, ca. 5th century A.D.).<sup>4</sup>

**t:** Both the angular and cursive forms of *t* occur in Tamil-Brāhmī (Chart 5A). The forms remain stable until almost the end of the Late Tamil-Brāhmī Period. It is in the Arachalur cave inscriptions

1. G. Bühler 1896 (1959 reprint): illustration at p. 53.

2. Cf. C. Sivaramamurti 1952: chart for *ñ* (Fig. 36, p. 95). Neither he nor A.H. Dani (1963, Indian edition 1986: Pl. VIIa) notices the occurrence of *ñ* in the Tamil cave inscriptions.

3. Cf. ibid. chart for *c* (Fig. 37 at p. 97).

4. See direct photograph (Pl. 53) of inscription No. 120.

(Corpus: Nos. 85-87, ca. 4th century A.D.) that a significant change occurs where the form resembles a left-facing hook hanging from a short vertical line (Chart 5A: *t*: 85). This form continues in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (ibid. 101, 105), but gradually begins to look like the numeral 3 (ibid. 121) when it becomes difficult to distinguish the letters *n* and *t* which look almost alike. However, the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions at Pulankurichi (Chart 8) retain the Late Tamil-Brāhmī form of *t* even though they are somewhat later than the Arachalur inscriptions. The Southern Brāhmī form of 'looped' *t* occurs uniquely in the Late Tamil-Brāhmī inscription at Ammankoyilpatti (Corpus No. 84, ca. 4th century A.D., Chart 6: *e / ē*: 84). The Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu form with the head-mark (Chart 5A: *t*: 115) is influenced by the contemporary Southern Brāhmī forms.<sup>1</sup>

***n*:** The primitive form of *n* looking like an inverted T remains stable in the Early Tamil-Brāhmī Period (Chart 5A: *n*: 1). In Late Tamil-Brāhmī, the baseline to the left of the vertical becomes shorter (ibid. 73). This change progressively leads to the L-shaped form (ibid. 83) which continues in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (ibid. 102, 121) with cursive variants (ibid. 109, 117).

***p*:** The evolution of *p* in Tamil-Brāhmī runs parallel to that in Southern Brāhmī. In both the scripts, the primitive tall form (Chart 5A: *p*: 41) becomes shorter and broader with the height of both arms progressively getting equalised (ibid. 76, 79). Both angular and cursive forms occur, sometimes in the same inscription (ibid. 79). The head-mark in the Late Tamil-Brāhmī inscription (ibid. 84) and the hook at the top left in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription (ibid. 118) are due to the influence of contemporary Southern Brāhmī forms.<sup>2</sup>

***m*:** The Asokan Brāhmī form of *m* looks like a crescent mounted on a circle.<sup>3</sup> The Tamil-Brāhmī form, though morphologically related to the Asokan, is characteristically distinct, looking like a tube with a crossbar in the middle (Chart 5A: *m*: 1). The same form occurs also in Early Sinhala-Brāhmī, but is replaced by the Southern Brāhmī form in Late Sinhala-Brāhmī.<sup>4</sup> In Late Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, the crossbar in the middle becomes shorter and does not meet the left side of the tube (ibid. 85 & 101) and tends to project a little outside the tube at the right (ibid. 108 and Chart 8). In Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, the shortened crossbar becomes a curve (Chart 5A: *m*: 119) and finally a loop around the right top of the tube (ibid. 116) leading to the later Vaṭṭeḷuttu forms.<sup>5</sup>

The pottery inscriptions have some special forms of *m*. Among them may be mentioned the rectilinear box-like form at Kodumanal (Chart 7: KDM 12), the triangular form of Southern Brāhmī and the fish-like form of Bhattiprolu (but inverted here) both from Arikamedu (ibid. AKB: 11 & 13 respectively). The triangular Southern Brāhmī form occurs intrusively in the letter *mā* (Chart 6: *-ā*: 73) in the Mamandur cave inscription.

1. Cf. C. Sivaramamurti 1952: chart for *t* (Fig. 45, p. 112).
2. C. Sivaramamurti 1952: chart for *p* (Fig. 50, p. 122).
3. C.S. Upasak 1960: Appendix No. 31 (1).
4. S. Karunaratne 1984: p. 28 and Fig. 26.
5. Cf. C. Sivaramamurti 1952: chart for *m* (Fig. 54, p. 131).

**y:** The earliest form of *y* looks like an anchor with a tall vertical and a baseline with a double curve (Chart 5B: *y:1*). Other variants also occur from the beginning in which all the three verticals may be of more or less equal height (ibid. 2) and the baseline may consist of a single smooth curve (ibid. 3). In an unusual variant, the line at the left (or sometimes at the right) is joined to the middle of the central line (ibid. 55, 65). This development is due to writing the character with two successive strokes. This variant is seen more often in the pottery inscriptions at Arikamedu (Chart 7: AKW: 13, 5 and 15; AKB: 23, 17 & 24), Kodumanal (ibid. KDM 3) and Karur (ibid. KRR: 2 with three different forms in same inscription<sup>1</sup>). In extreme cases, the letter is almost unrecognisable, the earlier investigators mistaking it for *pe* or *pi*. The letter occurs with the head-mark (Chart 5B: *y: 83 & 85*) in the Nekanurpatti and Arachalur cave inscriptions betraying Southern Brāhmī influence. In Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, the form of the letter does not change much (ibid. 101, 104; and Chart 8).

**r:** The standard form of *r* in Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu is a straight vertical line (Chart 5B: *r: 6 & 111*). Another variant, aptly described as 'serpentine', occurs rarely in the Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (ibid. 8, 9 & 56). In some of the Late Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions from the border regions, the letter occurs with intrusive features influenced by Southern Brāhmī viz., the head-mark (as in *ru* in Corpus: Nos. 83 and 85) or the curving of the lower end of the vertical (Chart 5B: *r: 84*). The addition of the *puḷḷi* to the basic consonant *r* in the Kunnakkudi cave inscription (ca. 3rd century A.D.) is one of the earliest instances. Note that in this case the *puḷḷi* is placed to the right of the letter in the middle (Chart 5B: *r: 74*).

**l:** The letter *l* develops from a tall and narrow form (Chart 5B: *l:1*) to a broader form with more or less equal sides (ibid. 7) and in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu as a smooth horizontal curve (ibid. 121), sometimes with the addition of a curl at the left end (ibid. 101). At this stage, the direction of the letter changes and is written from the left. The angular form of the letter (Chart 7: KDM: 30) is a local characteristic seen in several other letters in pottery inscriptions at Kodumanal.

**v:** The earliest form of the letter *v* is a tall vertical line with a small circle attached to its lower end (Chart 5B: *v:1*). Even in the Early Period, the vertical tends to get shorter and the circle bigger (e.g., *ve* in Chart 6: *-e /-ē :7*). The lower circle is sometimes attached to the left of the vertical, when the letter becomes almost indistinguishable from *c* (e.g., Corpus: Nos. 4, 28, 29, 31, 35, 43, 49, 101, 119). In order to avoid such confusion, the lower circle is sometimes placed to the right of the vertical (e.g., Corpus: Nos. 3 & 12). In some of the Late Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions from the border regions, intrusive features influenced by Southern Brāhmī are seen viz., a triangular form with the apex pointing upwards (Chart 5B: *v:67*) and a 'fat' circle with the head-mark almost completely replacing the vertical (ibid. 84). The triangular forms also occur in the pottery inscriptions from Arikamedu (Chart 7: AKW 5, 19; AKB 18) and Kodumanal (ibid. KDM 63). At the latter site a couple of exceptional forms occur viz., a square form (ibid. KDM 62) and a triangular form with the apex pointing down (ibid. KDM 12).

1. See No. 6, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.20C.

## 5.12 Additional letters in Tamil-Brāhmī

The most interesting palaeographic feature of Tamil-Brāhmī is the formation of four additional letters to represent the consonants *ḷ*, *ḻ*, *ḽ* and *ṇ* in Tamil. It will be seen that in each case the additional letter is formed by a process of simple adaptation from the corresponding Brāhmī letter with the nearest phonetic value (Chart 3). The mode of formation of the letters provides valuable insight into their early phonetic affinities. These four letters serve as 'markers' of Tamil-Brāhmī and their presence in Southern Brāhmī and Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions of known dates provides new evidence for crosschecking the dates of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. The story of the discovery of the special letters in the Tamil cave inscriptions has already been narrated.<sup>1</sup> In this section, we shall study their origin and palaeographic evolution.

### 5.12.1 Tamil-Brāhmī *ḷ*

#### (a) Formation of *ḷ*

The sound *ḷ* is produced when the tip of the tongue is raised and rubs the palate (*Tol. Elu.* 95). The sound -ṭ- (phonetically -ḍ-) alternates with *ḷ* in the Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> The sound *ḷ* in Old Telugu becomes *ḍ* in later times.<sup>3</sup> These linguistic correspondences find remarkable corroboration in the formation of Tamil-Brāhmī *ḷ* from Brāhmī *ḍ*, specifically from the Asokan form of *ḍ* (Chart 3:I.1). Phonetically, *ḍ* appears to be quite close to the sound *ḷ*; (cf. Asokan *ēḍakē*<sup>4</sup> with Ta. *ēḷakam* 'sheep').

In Asokan Brāhmī, the letter *ḍ* is formed by the addition of a thick dot to the lower end of *ḍ*.<sup>5</sup> The Tamil-Brāhmī *ḷ* is formed by transposing the dot (enlarged into a circle<sup>6</sup>) from the bottom to the top of the letter (Chart 3:I. 1 & 2). The rare Asokan *ḍ* is not known to have been in use after his time. This is important evidence that the origin of Tamil-Brāhmī cannot be dated much later.

Dani derives Tamil-Brāhmī *ḷ* from Southern Brāhmī *ḷ*.<sup>7</sup> His view is based on a comparison of the looped form of *ḷ* at Tirupparankunram with the form of *ḷ* occurring at Sanchi in ca.1st century A.D.<sup>8</sup> Bühler derives *ḷ* from an even later prototype, the *ḷ* of the Gupta period.<sup>9</sup> There is, however, hardly any resemblance between the two letters. In any case, we now know of the existence

1. See sections 2.3.1 & 2.4.2.

2. Corpus: Nos. 34 & 44. See Commentary (34.1.a). See also Bh. Krishnamurti 1958b on *ḷ* in Dravidian.

3. K. Mahadeva Sastri 1969: p. 40.

4. *CII*. I. Pillar Edict at Delhi-Mirath: V. 11.

5. C.S. Upasak 1960: pp. 74-75; Appendix 19.

6. G. Bühler 1896 (1959 reprint: p. 55) had suggested that the dot in *ḍ* might be a substitute for a circle.

7. A. H. Dani 1963 (Indian edition 1986): Fig. 7 (x) at p. 71.

8. A.H. Dani (1986: p. 71) is mistaken in attributing the view that *ḷ* is derived from the Brāhmī 'double-looped' *ja* to K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer. The comparison was made by H. Krishna Sastri (1919:p. 336, n. 7), which was not accepted by Subrahmanya Aiyer (1924:pp. 284-285) who emphasised the much closer likeness to the modern Tamil *ḷ*.

9. G. Bühler 1896 (1959 reprint: p. 94; Pl. IV. 40. II).



Figure 5.3. Pottery inscription from Kodumanal: use of  $\text{d}$  as  $\text{l}$ .



Figure 5.4. Pottery inscription from Arikamedu: use of reversed  $\text{d}$  as  $\text{l}$ .

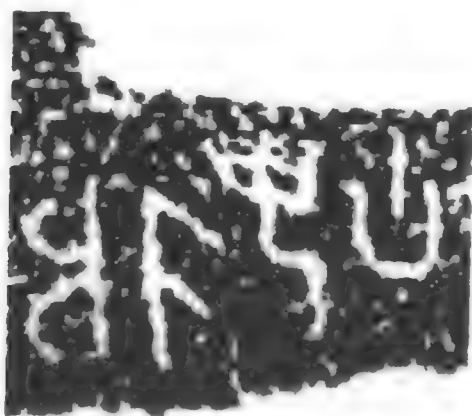


Figure 5.5. Cave inscription in Sri Lanka with Tamil-Brāhmī  $\text{l}$  (detail).

of much older forms of *l* with the circular top (e.g., Corpus: Nos. 1-3, ca. 2nd century B.C.) which bear no likeness to the Southern Brāhmī *l*.

Nagaswamy derives *l* by combining the Brāhmī letters *ṭh* and *ḍ*.<sup>1</sup> However, the suggested derivation is doubtful as it is unlikely that a simple consonant would be derived by combining two other consonants.

Karunaratne derives the Tamil-Brāhmī *l* from the reversed form of Brāhmī *ḍ* by adding hypothetically a small loop in the middle.<sup>2</sup> However, the evolution of the looped *l* is better explained morphologically as a later development from the older circular form when written with a running hand (cf. Chart 3: I. 3 & 4; Chart 5B: *l*:55 & 76).

#### (b) *Evolution of l*

In Early Tamil-Brāhmī, *l* has a circular top which may or may not be bisected by the vertical (Chart 3: I. 2 & 3; Chart 5B: *l*:17 & 49). Both variants are also attested in the pottery inscriptions from Kodumanal (Chart 7: KDM 27 & 164; 148 & 3). The step-like line derived from Brāhmī *ḍ* (Corpus: *lu* in No. 1 and *li* in No. 2), tends to change from the angular to cursive shape (Chart 5B: *l*: 17). Towards the end of the Early Period, the top circle opens out and forms a large loop with a gracefully curved tail as at Tirupparankunram (Chart 3: I.4; Chart 5B: *l*: 55). Still later, the tail gets straightened (Chart 3: I.5; Chart 5B: *l*: 77). It is this late form that is seen in the pottery inscriptions at Arikamedu (Chart 7: AKW:16). The Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu form is similar but somewhat more cursive (Chart 3: I.6; Chart 5B: *l*: 116).

#### (c) *Use of ḍ as l in pottery inscriptions from Kodumanal*

A unique feature of the pottery inscriptions from Kodumanal<sup>3</sup> is the apparent use of the Brāhmī letter *ḍ* to represent the sound *l*. Apart from the forms of Tamil-Brāhmī *l* with the circular top,<sup>4</sup> there are five occurrences of *ḍ*,<sup>5</sup> a letter which is not attested elsewhere in Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. Even though the pottery inscriptions are too fragmentary, it seems unlikely that inscriptions with the letter *ḍ* are in Prakrit, as almost all the inscriptions at this site are in Tamil. It is also unlikely that *-ḍ-* represents the voicing of *-ṭ-* in medial positions as such a usage is unknown in Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions at this site<sup>6</sup> or elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> The conclusion, therefore, appears inescapable that there was a unique innovation in the pottery inscriptions at this site, which permitted the employment of the Brāhmī *ḍ* to represent the Tamil sound *l*. A plausible example is the word ...to[ut[t\*]ai 'slave

1. R. Nagaswamy 1979:p. 75.

2. S. Karunaratne 1984:pp. 33-35.

3. Y. Subbarayalu, Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumanal 1996 (unpublished).

4. The circular forms of *l* with bisected top circle occur in KDM 3 & 148, and without bisecting in KDM 27, 84 & 164 (see Palaeographic Chart 7 for examples).

5. The Brāhmī letter *ḍ* probably stands for the sound *l* in KDM 2, 70, 83?, 151 & 167. (See Palaeographic Chart 7: KDM 70 & 2 for examples.)

6. E.g., *asaṭa[ṇ]* and *neṭuñ-*, where the medial *-ṭ-* occurs (KDM 38 & 110 respectively).

7. See section 6.22 for discussion on voicing of consonants in Tamil-Brāhmī.

woman, servant maid' (TL), where *ḍu* seems to have the value *ḷu* (Fig. 5.3).<sup>1</sup> This tentative suggestion is supported by the evidence regarding the use of the reversed *ḍ* to represent *ḷ* at Arikamedu and in the loanwords in the cave inscriptions of Sri Lanka, which we shall consider next.

(d) *Use of reversed ḍ for ḷ in pottery inscriptions from Arikamedu*

Another connected innovation is the representation of the sound *ḷ* by the reversed form of *ḍ* in the pottery inscriptions at Arikamedu. The choice of the reversed form of *ḍ* (unlike at Kodumanal) has the advantage of avoiding confusion with Prakrit inscriptions which also occur minimally along with Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions on pottery at ancient Tamil sites. Karunaratne<sup>2</sup> first pointed out that in a Prakrit inscription from Arikamedu,<sup>3</sup> the reversed *ḍ* denotes the Tamil *ḷ* in the expression *yaḷu-valabhutaya* 'of Yaḷu Balabhūtā'.

I have found another instance in a Tamil-Brāhmī pottery inscription (Fig. 5.4) at Arikamedu from the excavations by Wheeler and published by him but not read satisfactorily so far.<sup>4</sup> The earlier part of the inscription is fragmentary with portions missing; the later part is clear; it reads:

... [ma] ṇa ca ṇ ṭai kō va ḷā ṇ 'Aḷāṇ, the chief of ... maṇacaṇṭai '.

The penultimate letter, perfectly preserved, is the reversed form of *ḍā* with the value *ḷā* which fits the context.<sup>6</sup>

The open looped form of *ḷ* with the straight tail (a late feature) also occurs at Arikamedu (Chart 7: AKW 16). The earlier circular form of *ḷ* is not attested at this site.

(e) *Use of reversed ḍ for ḷ in Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions*

Karunaratne has drawn attention to the employment of the reversed *ḍ* of Brāhmī with the sound *ḷ* in Early Sinhala-Prakrit inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> He points out that in the expression *damēḍa*<sup>8</sup> (corresponding to Ta. *tamiḷa*), the letter *ḍ* is reversed even though the direction of writing of the inscription is not reversed. His inference that the reversed form of *ḍ* in such cases has to be read as *ḷ* is acceptable.

1. KDM 2. Y. Subbarayalu (1988:p. 120) reads ...*toṭittai*.

2. S. Karunaratne 1984: p. 34.

3. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri 1942: pp. 3-4 and Fig. 5. P. Z. Pattabiramin 1946: Pl. XXI, No. 3. R.E.M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: p. 114, Fig. 47. 20. I. Mahadevan 1973: pp. 60-64, Inscription No. IV, Fig. 4.

4. In my 1973 paper, I had read the expression as *yaḍu-valabhuti-y* on the basis of the eye copy published by Pattabiramin and interpreted the word as a 'masculine' personal name and hence regarded the language as Tamil. I have reconsidered the matter after re-inspection of the original sherd and also in the light of the new evidence presented here. I now consider this to be a Prakrit inscription influenced by Tamil. See the previous two notes for references.

5. R.E.M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: p. 112, Fig. 46, No. 4 (right fragment).

6. *kōvaḷāṇ* is analysed as *kō* 'chief' + *v* (glide) + *aḷāṇ* (name). The name is attested in Old Tamil; cf. *aḷāṇ* and *aḷāṇtai*, cited as illustrations in *Tol. Eḷu*. 349, comm., Iḷam. The name *aḷāṇ* is also attested as a variant reading in *Naṇṇ*. 121, comm. Mayilai. The incomplete expression ... *maṇacaṇṭai* is probably a place name.

7. S. Karunaratne 1984: pp. 33-35; Fig. 35

8. *Ibid.* Inscription No. 48.

However, his suggestion that the reversed *ḍ* found in Sri Lanka is "the earliest known form of Dravidian *ḷa*"<sup>1</sup> needs to be reconsidered in the light of the new evidence on the formation and evolution of Tamil-Brāhmī *ḷ*.

(f) *Occurrence of Tamil-Brāhmī ḷ in a Sinhala-Brāhmī inscription*

I have also found a unique and hitherto unnoticed occurrence of the early circular form of the Tamil-Brāhmī letter *ḷ* (but with reversed orientation) from the published estampages<sup>2</sup> of an early cave inscription at Bambaragastalava, Eastern Province, Sri Lanka (detail in Fig. 5.5). The expression in which this form occurs is a personal name which has been read as *aśaḍiya* by Paranavitana and as *aśaḷiya* by Karunaratne, both treating the third letter as the reversed form of *ḍi*.<sup>3</sup> However, these expressions occur nowhere else.<sup>4</sup> The letter in question which is clearly seen in the estampages in both the publications, is the earlier circular form of Tamil-Brāhmī *ḷa* but with reversed orientation and the top circle (looking squarish as in Kodumanal)<sup>5</sup> bisected by the vertical line. I read the expression as *aśaḷaya* (*aśaḷa* + *aya* < Pkt. *asaḍa* + *aya* < Skt. *āśhāḍha* + *ārya*).<sup>6</sup> This unique occurrence confirms the existence of the Tamil-Brāhmī script from at least the 2nd century B.C., the date assigned to this inscription by Karunaratne.

(g) *Occurrence of Tamil-Brāhmī ḷ in a Southern Brāhmī inscription*

In 1942, Nilakanta Sastri<sup>7</sup> published a Prakrit inscription of the Ikshvāku dynasty found earlier at Gurzala near Nagarjunakonda. The record is in the Southern Brāhmī script of the 3rd century A.D. and gives the name of the ruler as *siri-ruḷu-purisa-dāta* - as read by Nilakanta Sastri. (Later, Krishnan<sup>8</sup> corrected the reading -*ruḷu*- as -*ruḷa*- < Pkt. *ruḍa* < Skt. *rudra*.) Interestingly, when Nilakanta Sastri published this inscription, the occurrence of a similar circular form of *ḷ* in the Tamil cave inscriptions had not been recognised; he identified the letter *ḷ* by comparing it with a somewhat similar form found in a later Western Chalukya record of the 7th century A.D.<sup>9</sup>

1. S. Karunaratne 1984: pp. 34-35.
2. S. Paranavitana 1970: No. 504. S. Karunaratne 1984: No. 15.
3. S. Paranavitana 1970: No. 504. S. Karunaratne 1984: No. 15. See also Karunaratne's discussion on this letter at p. 33. His eye copies of the letter at p. 33 and in Fig. 35 are incorrect. The reading *aśaḷiya* at p. 58 appears to be a typographic error.
4. Paranavitana (1970: Glossary) lists *asaliya*, the genitive singular of *asali* (< Skt. *āślēsha*). But the letter under discussion here cannot be read as *li*.
5. Cf. Palaeographic Chart 7: *ḷi*: KDM 164.
6. Cf. *aśaḍa* and the suffix -(a)*ya* in Sinhala-Prakrit inscriptions (S. Paranavitana 1970: Glossary). Interestingly, the Tamil form of the name occurs as *asaḷaḷ* in a pottery inscription from Kodumanal (KDM 38).
7. ARE 335/1936-37. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri 1941-42: pp. 123-125 (with Pl.).
8. K.G. Krishnan (ed.) 1989: p. 457, n. 5.
9. Badami Rock Inscription of Mangalesa (597-610 A.D.) in *IA*. X, Pl. facing p. 59, Line 4.

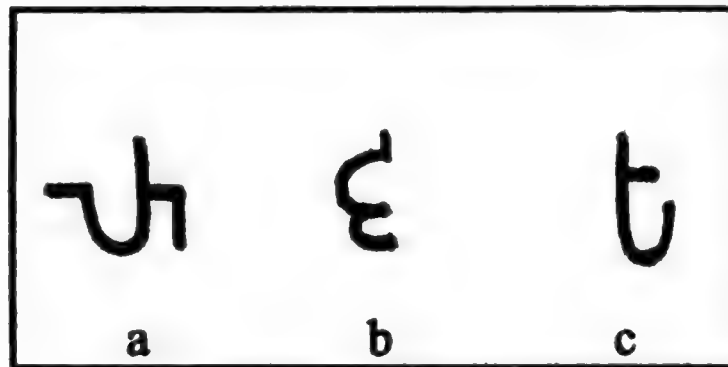


Figure 5.6. Forms of / in Early Southern scripts.

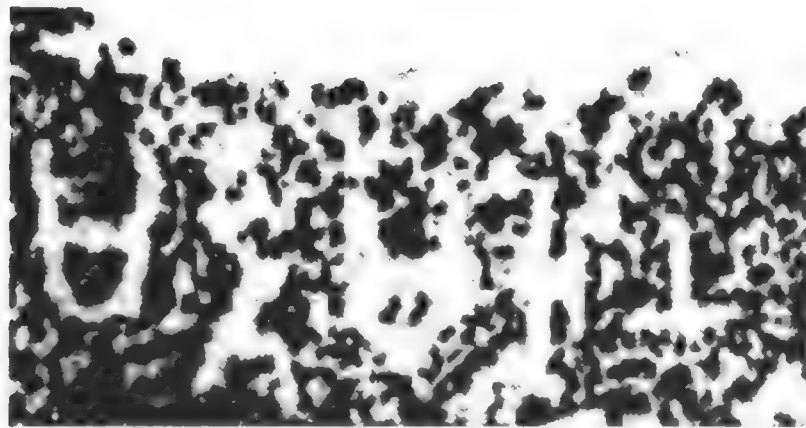


Figure 5.7. Cave inscription in Sri Lanka with Tamil-Brāhmī ṛ (detail).

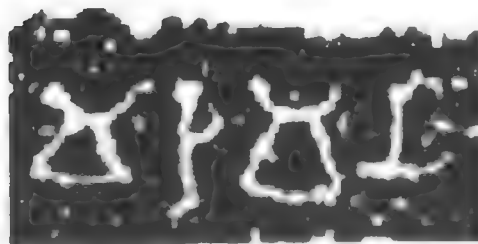


Figure 5.8. Cave inscription in Sri Lanka with Tamil-Brāhmī ṇ (detail).

### 5.12.2 Tamil-Brāhmī ꣳ

#### (a) Formation of ꣳ

The letter ꣳ of Tamil-Brāhmī is formed by attaching a small angular stroke (looking like an inverted L) to the letter ꣳ (Chart 3:II. 1 & 2). The same attachment is employed for deriving ꣳ from ꣳ and ꣳ from ꣳ indicating that these letters were formed at the same time when Tamil-Brāhmī was adapted from the Brāhmī script. The angular stroke is also drawn cursively from the earliest times (ibid. II.3).

#### (b) Evolution of ꣳ

In course of time, the attached stroke at the right of the letter moves downwards (Chart 3:II.4) or upwards (ibid. II. 5). In Late Tamil-Brāhmī, the right side of the letter and the attachment merge into a single vertical line (ibid. II.6). In Early Vaṭṭeluttu, there is a change of direction (as in ꣳ) and the letter is written from the left as a continuous curving line (ibid. II.7). See also Charts 5B and 6 to 8 for attested forms.

#### (c) Occurrence of Tamil-Brāhmī ꣳ in Early Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions

Parker's identification of ꣳ in the Early Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions was disputed by Paranavitana<sup>1</sup> even after the correctness of the identification was proved beyond doubt by the occurrence of the letter in appropriate linguistic contexts in the numerous Tamil cave inscriptions discovered since then. Paranavitana's laboured attempt to read the letter as *lu* is unconvincing, as forms like ꣳ*i* and ꣳ*e* occurring in the Sri Lankan cave inscriptions clearly indicate that the basic form must be a simple consonant.<sup>2</sup> The loanwords from Tamil occurring in these inscriptions can be read meaningfully only if the letter in question is treated as ꣳ.<sup>3</sup> Karunaratne accepts the value ꣳ and records its occurrence in five early inscriptions assigned by him to the 2nd century B.C.<sup>4</sup> He has also pointed out that this form of ꣳ was later replaced by the form in vogue in the Brāhmī inscriptions in India. The occurrence of Tamil-Brāhmī ꣳ in the Early Sinhala-Brāhmī script proves the contemporaneity of the two scripts.

#### (d) Occurrence of Tamil-Brāhmī ꣳ in a Southern Brāhmī inscription

The hill at Malakonda, Nellore (now Prakasam) District in Andhra Pradesh, is strategically located to the north of the traditional boundary between Andhra and the ancient Tamil country, and probably also marked the southern limit of the Mauryan Empire in this region. The cave inscription<sup>5</sup> on this hill is in Prakrit written in the Southern Brāhmī script of ca. 1st century A.D.<sup>6</sup> and is the southernmost

1. S. Paranavitana 1970: pp. xxiii-xxv.

2. Ibid. ꣳ*i* (No. 78), ꣳ*e* (No. 967).

3. Ibid. e.g., *vē* (No. 123), *parumaka* (No. 331), *iḷa*- (No. 94) from Ta. *iḷa*- or *iḷa*-.

4. S. Karunaratne 1984: pp. 32-33; Fig. 34; Inscriptions 8, 18, 27, 29 & 31. S. Paranavitana (1970: p. xxv) gives a list of 23 inscriptions where this letter occurs. A.H. Dani (1963, Indian edition 1986) does not include this form in his Table (ibid. p. XIX b) which lists only the Southern Brāhmī form of ꣳ occurring in Late Sinhala-Brāhmī.

5. ARE 531/1937-38 (with illustration). Also in T.V. Mahalingam 1967: p. 308, Pl. 30.

6. The inscription is dated in the 3rd century B.C. in ARE (ibid.). However, the developed forms of letters like the square *pu* and the triangular *vā* indicate a date around the 1st century A.D.

example of its kind.<sup>1</sup> The inscription records the gift of the cave shelter presumably to Jaina monks by a Tamil trader (*seṭhi*) who describes himself as belonging to the *aruvāḷa-kula*.<sup>2</sup> The Tamil-Brāhmī form of *ḷ* occurs uniquely in this expression.

(c) *Different forms of ḷ in Early Southern scripts*

It is interesting that there are three distinct forms of *ḷ*, one each in the Tamil-Brāhmī, Southern Brāhmī and Bhattiprolu scripts (Fig. 5.6, a to c respectively). Though the sounds are identical or nearly so, the three forms of *ḷ* appear to be derived from different sources.<sup>3</sup> As we have seen above, the Tamil-Brāhmī *ḷ* is derived from *l*. The Southern Brāhmī *ḷ* was developed from the later cursive form of Brāhmī *ḍ* (with a right-facing curve) by adding a small semicircle at the lower end.<sup>4</sup> The form of *ḷ* at Bhattiprolu cannot be related to any other letter and its origin is unknown; it was probably a short-lived local experimentation.<sup>5</sup>

### 5.12.3 Tamil-Brāhmī *ṛ*

(a) *Formation of ṛ*

The Dravidian sound *ṛ* (<PDr \* *ṛ*) was originally an alveolar stop which later developed into a trill in Tamil (except in the Jaffna dialect).<sup>6</sup> It has become almost indistinguishable from *r* in modern spoken Tamil. However, it is described as a *vallinam* (stop) in Tamil grammatical tradition (*Tol. Eḷu*. 19) and, like other stops (and unlike *r*), cannot occur word-finally.

The Tamil-Brāhmī letter *ṛ* is formed from *ṛ* (Chart 3:III.1) to which a short vertical line is added at the bottom (ibid. III.2) to support the angular attachment added to the left or right of the vertical (ibid. III.3 & 4). The choice of *ṛ* to derive the Tamil-Brāhmī *ṛ* is significant as it indicates that the sound *ṛ* was still an alveolar stop (nearer to *ṛ* than to *r*) in the language of the cave inscriptions.<sup>7</sup>

Dani's hypothetical derivation<sup>8</sup> of *ṛ* from *ḷ* at Sanchi ignores the phonetic distinction between the two sounds and is based on a relatively later form of *ṛ*. He is unable to recognise the earlier forms of *ṛ* which he misreads as *ṭu* or *ṭū*.<sup>9</sup>

1. All early cave inscriptions in the Peninsula to the south of this site are in Tamil written in Tamil-Brāhmī.
2. The Aruvāḷar are mentioned in Caṅkam literature as the Tamil tribe which inhabited the northern border regions of ancient Tamil country, cf. *Paṭṭiṇa*. 275; *Tol. Pāyiram*, comm. Nacc.
3. C. Sivaramamurti (1952: chart for *ḷ* in Fig. 64 at p. 152) connects the three forms of *ḷ* in a single evolutionary sequence; but the oldest forms in his own chart do not support the arrangement.
4. G. Bühler 1896 (1959 reprint): p. 30. Dani's hypothetical derivation of the Southern Brāhmī *ḷ* from *ṛ* is improbable (A.H. Dani 1963, Indian edition 1986: p. 54, Fig. 6 viii). Phonetically and graphically, the sound *ḷ* is closer to *ḍ* as pointed out by Bühler.
5. Bühler 1894b (*El*. II: p. 324) derives the Bhattiprolu *ḷ* from the Sanchi *ḷ*. Dani (1986: p. 71, Fig 7 vi) derives the Bhattiprolu *ḷ* from the Brāhmī *l*.
6. Kamil Zvelebil 1970: p. 96.
7. It is significant that there is no instance of *r* occurring in the place of *ṛ* or *vice versa* in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions included in the Corpus.
8. A. H. Dani 1963 (Indian edition 1986): pp. 70-71, Fig. 7 (ix).
9. Ibid. Pl. VII a, Nos. 7 & 9.

According to Meenakshisundaran<sup>1</sup> and Nagaswamy,<sup>2</sup> the letter *ṛ* is formed by combining the letters *ṛ* and *t*. However, the form of *ṛ* illustrated by Nagaswamy is a later one. Further, Tamil-Brāhmī has no ligatures and it is very doubtful whether in this script a simple consonant would be derived from a ligature of two other consonants. A comparison with the mode of formation of the other three additional letters (*ḷ*, *ḻ* and *ṇ*) clearly indicates a similar derivation for *ṛ* also by the addition of a simple diacritic-like attachment.

(b) *Evolution of ṛ*

In the earliest forms of *ṛ* (Chart 3: III. 3 & 4), the constituent parts viz., the basic letter *ṛ*, the lower vertical and the angular attachment are all distinctly seen. Later, however, the vertical slants to the left and the angular attachment is abbreviated to a single stroke slanting to the right with the result that the two elements together look like the letter *t* joined to the letter *ṛ* (ibid. III.5).<sup>3</sup> In another parallel development seen in the pottery inscriptions at Kodumanal, the lower vertical alone survives without the angular attachment or additional stroke (Chart 7: KDM 120 & 89). It is this form which leads to the more cursive shape seen in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (Chart 3: III.6). See also charts 5B and 6 to 8 for attested forms.

(c) *Occurrence of Tamil-Brāhmī ṛ in a Sinhala-Brāhmī inscription*

Pushparatnam,<sup>4</sup> has recently located the occurrence of the Tamil-Brāhmī letter *ṛ* in one of the Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions published by Paranavitana (detail in Fig. 5.7).<sup>5</sup> The letter occurs in the expression *maṛa(ṛu)makaṇ* (read by Paranavitana as *marumakana*).<sup>6</sup>

#### 5.12.4 Tamil-Brāhmī ṇ

(a) *Formation of ṇ*

The Tamil-Brāhmī *ṇ* is formed by the addition of an angular or cursive attachment to the top of the Brāhmī letter *n* (Chart 3: IV.1-3).

Dravidian linguists are not agreed on the question whether the dental nasal *n* and the alveolar nasal *ṇ* are two different phonemes or merely allophones of one phoneme. These are, however, treated as different sounds in Tamil grammatical tradition (*Tol. Eḷu*. 20). The fact that those responsible for the invention of the Tamil-Brāhmī script fashioned a separate character for *ṇ* by modifying *n* is clear evidence that there must have been a distinction in sound between the two letters in the language at that time. The retention of two sounds (but represented by one letter) in Malayalam even at

1. T. P. Meenakshisundaran 1965: p. 41.

2. R. Nagaswamy 1979: pp. 74-75.

3. It is this late form which led to the suggestion that the letter *ṛ* is a combination of *ṛ* and *t* as discussed above.

4. P. Pushparatnam 2000b (unpublished): A survey of the occurrence of the kinship term *marumakaṇ* in the Brāhmī Inscriptions of Sri Lanka, Fig. 4.

5. S. Paranavitana 1970: No. 487 (1) and estampage in Pl. LII. Note especially the angular attachment at lower right clearly identifying the letter as Tamil-Brāhmī *ṛa*.

6. Probably from Ta. *marumakaṇ* lit., 'nephew', also used as a term of endearment.

present corroborates the view that the alveolar nasal  $\eta$  was a distinct phoneme in Old Tamil. However, even in the cave inscriptions there are instances of  $\eta$  being written as  $n$  (e.g., No. 59).

### (b) *Evolution of $\eta$*

The earliest form of  $\eta$  in the cave inscriptions resembles an inverted J (Chart 3: IV.3). The angular form (ibid. IV.2) preserved in the pottery inscriptions at Arikamedu (Chart 7: AKW 9; AKB 22) and Kodumanal (ibid. KDM 38) is probably equally early as indicated by the similar mode of formation of the letters  $l$ ,  $r$  and  $\eta$ . In one of the variant forms, the top attachment is almost flattened making the letter look like  $nā$  (Chart 5B:  $\eta$ : 21). In course of time, the baseline to the left of the vertical becomes shorter and the top hook gets bigger and tends to bend lower until it almost touches the baseline and goes down even below (Chart 3: IV. 4). In a parallel development, the baseline gets elongated towards the left and the hook at right becomes smaller (ibid. IV. 5). In Early Vatteluttu, the baseline has shrunk into a small hook attached to the top left of the larger curve (ibid. IV. 6). See also Charts 5B and 6 to 8 for attested forms.

### (c) *Occurrence of Tamil-Brāhmī $\eta$ in Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions*

Pushparatnam,<sup>1</sup> has recently discovered the occurrence of the Tamil-Brāhmī letter  $\eta$  in a couple of Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions published by Paranavitana (e.g., detail in Fig. 5.8).<sup>2</sup> He made the discovery in the course of his study of the Tamil loanword *marumakaṇ* occurring in the cave inscriptions of Sri Lanka. While in most cases the loanword is spelt with the dental  $n$ , the alveolar nasal  $\eta$  of Tamil-Brāhmī occurs twice.<sup>3</sup> This discovery is important because the expression is shown to be borrowed from Tamil,<sup>4</sup> and also because the occurrence of  $\eta$ , the most characteristic letter of Tamil-Brāhmī, in the Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions proves the existence of the Tamil-Brāhmī script from at least the 2nd century B.C., the date to which one of these inscriptions (No. 643) may be assigned on palaeographic evidence.

## 5.13 Medial vowel signs

When one looks at the orderly sequence of the medial vowel signs in the Brāhmī script (Chart 1), one cannot but wonder at the originality and effectiveness of the system which has the brevity of syllabaries and the simplicity of alphabets.<sup>5</sup> There can hardly be any doubt that the system is indigenously developed. The primitiveness of the signs in Asokan Brāhmī indicates that we are looking at the system in the very initial stage of its invention. A comparison with the medial vowel signs in Tamil-Brāhmī (Chart 2) shows not only that the two systems are identical, but also that the date of adaptation of Tamil-Brāhmī from Mauryan Brāhmī cannot be later than the end of the

1. P. Pushparatnam 2000b (unpublished): Figs. 1 & 2.

2. S. Paranavitana 1970: No. 643 (Early Period) and No. 1161 (Late Period).

3. Ibid.

4. Cf. especially the variant *marumāṇ* < Ta. *marumakaṇ* in No. 1161 (ibid.).

5. It is the system of medial vowel signs that has uniquely positioned Brāhmī between true syllabaries (of the West Asian type) and true alphabets (represented by the Greek and Latin scripts). The Brāhmī script has been aptly described as 'alpha-syllabic'. (S. B. Steever 1998: pp. 4-5).

**Mauryan Age.** The evolution of the medial vowel signs in Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu is traced in Chart 6 (from the occurrences in the Corpus), Chart 7 (based on pottery inscriptions) and Chart 8 (from the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions at Pulankurichi).

**-ā:** The medial -ā sign remains stable till the end of the Tamil-Brāhmī period (Chart 6: -ā). In Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, the stroke becomes longer (ibid. 104) or droops down (ibid. 107); later, the stroke gets attached to the middle of the consonantal characters, especially *k* (ibid. 117, 118, 121). This is a diagnostic feature which separates Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu from Late Tamil-Brāhmī.

**-i:** The angular form of the medial -i sign in Early Tamil-Brāhmī (Chart 6: -i: 1) becomes cursive in Late Tamil-Brāhmī (ibid. 60, 83). In an exceptional form in the pottery inscriptions at Kodumanal, the medial -i stroke is attached to the horizontal arm in *ki* (Chart 7: KDM 15). In Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, the curved medial stroke placed above the consonant is sometimes detached from it (as in *li* in Chart 6: -i: 113).

**-ī:** The medial -ī sign occurs relatively rarely. The primitive form of the sign with twin strokes survives even in Late Tamil-Brāhmī (Chart 6: -ī: 65) along with the more evolved forms in the same period (ibid. 66, 72). In an exceptional form in the pottery inscriptions at Kodumanal, the medial -ī strokes are attached to the horizontal arm in *kī* (Chart 7: KDM 1). In Late Vaṭṭeḷuttu, the twin strokes of the sign become cursive as in the letter *kī* at Pulankurichi (Chart 8). The form with a flourish occurring in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (Chart 6: -ī: 115, 116) is influenced by contemporary Southern Brāhmī.

**-u:** The medial -u sign, a short horizontal or vertical stroke at the lower right of the consonantal characters (depending on their shape) remains stable in Tamil-Brāhmī and tends to become cursive in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (Chart 6: -u: 112, 114).

**-ū:** The medial -ū sign remains stable in Tamil-Brāhmī (Chart 6: -ū), the only notable exception being the cursive twin strokes at Ammankoyilpatti (ibid. 84) influenced by Southern Brāhmī. In Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, the twin strokes tend to join together in an angular form as in *nū*, *yū* and *vū* at Pulankurichi (Chart 8).

**-e/-ē:** The medial -e /-ē sign remains stable in Tamil-Brāhmī (Chart 6: -e/-ē) except for some elongation in the Late Period (ibid. 83). The sign becomes occasionally cursive in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu as at Pulankurichi (Chart 8: *le*, *le*).

**-o/-ō:** The points of attachment of the twin strokes of the medial -o/-ō sign at either side of the vertical vary at random; in some cases, the left stroke is at a lower level (Chart 6: -o/-ō: 1, 2) and in others, the right stroke is lower (ibid. 9, 13). In Late Tamil-Brāhmī, the twin strokes are joined together in a continuous horizontal line at the top of the consonantal character (ibid. 62). The left stroke becomes occasionally cursive (ibid. 69, 73). In Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, the right stroke becomes attached to the middle of the consonantal character, especially *k* (ibid. 117, 121) as in the case of the medial -ā stroke in this period. This is also a diagnostic feature which distinguishes Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu from Late Tamil-Brāhmī. The Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu at Pulankurichi, however, retains the Late Tamil-Brāhmī forms (Chart 8: *ko* and *to*).

**-e and -o (with the *puḷḷi*) :**

The medial *-e* sign with the *puḷḷi* is not attested in Tamil-Brāhmī, but occurs in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (Chart 6: *-e*: 102, etc.). The medial *-o* sign with the *puḷḷi* occurs once in Late Tamil-Brāhmī (ibid. *-o*: 77) and twice in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (ibid. 102, 104). At Pulankurichi, there are rare occurrences of medial *-e* and *-o* signs with the *puḷḷi* (not marked in Chart 8).

**-ai:** The form of the medial *-ai* sign (Chart 6: *-ai*: 2) remains stable till almost the end of the Late Period. At Arachalur, we come across two changes, one in which one of the strokes becomes cursive (Chart 6: *-ai*: 85) and the other in which both strokes are joined in a horizontally laid S-like stroke (ibid. 87). In Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu at Pulankurichi, the medial *-ai* sign is a horizontal stroke with a small hook attached to its left end (Chart 8). At the next stage, the two strokes of the medial *-ai* sign are joined in a single curve with a loop in the middle (Chart 6: *-ai*: 115) or at the left end (ibid. 119). In an exceptional case, the primitive form of the medial *-ai* sign survives in an Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Sittannavasal-B (ibid. 102), though other inscriptions in the same cave show the evolved forms characteristic of the period (ibid. 101 with two slightly different forms).

**5.14 The *puḷḷi*: palaeographic aspects**

The *puḷḷi* (literally, a 'dot') is a diacritical mark placed over the consonant characters to indicate that the consonants are 'basic' and do not include the so-called 'inherent' medial vowel *-a*. The *puḷḷi* was also used to distinguish the short *e* and *o* from the respective long vowels both in initial and medial positions. The earliest description of the functions of the *puḷḷi* is found in *Tolkāppiyam* (*Eḷa*. 15-17). The *puḷḷi* is such a familiar device that its unusual function as a 'minus vowel-marker' is seldom noticed. Unlike all other medial signs which serve to add a medial vowel to a consonant to produce a consonant-vowel (*uyirmey*), the *puḷḷi* subtracts the inherent medial vowel *-a* from the unmarked consonant characters. The *puḷḷi* had to be invented in Tamil-Brāhmī to provide what the parent Brāhmī script lacked viz., markers for the basic consonants and the short vowels *e* and *o*. This explains its unusual function.

The occurrence of the *puḷḷi* with the basic consonants is illustrated in Charts 5A & B, and with the short medial vowels *-e* and *-o* in Chart 6. The *puḷḷi* also occurs regularly with almost all the basic consonants (except *ḷ*) and rarely with the medial vowels *-e* and *-o* in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions at Pulankurichi (not marked in Chart 8). It will be noticed from the examples that the position of the *puḷḷi* varies widely with respect to the basic consonant character; it may be placed above or to the left or to the right, in the middle or even inside.

The *puḷḷi* does not occur in the Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions included in the Corpus. It occurs for the first time in the Late Tamil-Brāhmī inscription at Anaimalai (No. 60, ca. 2nd century A.D.). However, its use is rare in the Late Period. The frequency of the *puḷḷi* gradually increases until it occurs almost without exception with all the basic consonants in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Period. The *puḷḷi* is, however, seldom found in the pottery inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> It may also be noted that, when

1. See section 6.12 on medial vowel notations in pottery inscriptions.

compared with its occurrence with the basic consonants, the *puḷḷi* occurs relatively much less with the short vowels *e* and *o* (initial and medial) even in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Period (see Table 5.1 for statistics).<sup>1</sup> The *puḷḷi* marks an important stage in the development of Early Tamil orthography. The orthographic aspects of the *puḷḷi* are discussed in Chapter 6.<sup>2</sup>

Occurrence of the <i>puḷḷi</i> (in the Corpus)	Early Tamil-Brāhmī (ca. 2nd cent. B.C.- 1st cent. A.D.)	Late Tamil-Brāhmī (ca. 2-4 cent. A.D.)	Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (ca. 5 & 6 cent. A.D.)
Total No. of inscriptions in the Corpus	59	30	21
No. of inscriptions with the <i>puḷḷi</i>	—	8	19
No. of occurrences of the <i>puḷḷi</i> -			
(i) with basic consonants	—	19	51
(ii) with initial vowel <i>e</i>	—	1	1
(iii) with <i>-e/-o</i> medial vowels	—	1	6

Table 5.1. Frequency of the *puḷḷi* in the Corpus.

### 5.15 Tamil-Brāhmī legends on Sātavāhana coins

Though it has been known for a long time that the silver portrait coins of the Andhra Sātavāhana rulers exhibit bilingual legends in two scripts, it is only recently that it has been established that the legends on the reverse of these coins are in Tamil, written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script. In view of the importance of these coin-legends for the study of Tamil-Brāhmī and the chronology of its evolution, I shall present here the essential arguments concentrating on more recent developments.

#### 5.15.1 Previous studies

The literature on the silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas is extensive; I shall refer only to select publications relating to the script and the language of the legends on the reverse of the coins. Sircar<sup>3</sup> was the first to point out the occurrence of the "Dravidian language and alphabet of about the second century A.D." in the coin-legends. According to him, the legend on the reverse is in "the Dravidian script and the Dravidian Prakrit (resembling Tamil more than Telugu)". Tamil epigraphists who have analysed the palaeographic and linguistic features of the legends have concluded that the language is Tamil and the script akin to that found in the Tamil cave inscriptions (Nagaswamy,<sup>4</sup>

1. See also Table 6.2 and Fig. 6.4 on the frequency of the *puḷḷi* and the earlier orthographic systems.

2. See sections 6.8 and 6.9.

3. D.C. Sircar 1963-64b: pp. 247-252.

4. R. Nagaswamy 1968: pp. 200-202; 1985: pp. 105-114.



Figure 5.9. Silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas with Prakrit and Tamil legends. Puṣumāvi (1 & 2) and Sātakarni (3 & 4).

Panneerselvam,<sup>1</sup> Mahadevan<sup>2</sup> and Krishnan<sup>3</sup>). Sarma<sup>4</sup> has argued that the language is Old Telugu and that the coin-legends are in Telugu verse. More recently, Ajay Mitra Shastri<sup>5</sup> reviewed the situation and came to the conclusion that the language of the coin-legends on the reverse is "neither Tamil nor Telugu but Dravidian from which later both these languages separated". Mention should also be made of the recent paper by Somasundara Rao,<sup>6</sup> a Telugu scholar, who "rules out the possibility of Telugu having been used in 2nd century A.D." According to him, the language is "Tamil or Dravidi Prakrit (Proto-Dravidian) language".

### 5.15.2 Coin-legends

The silver portrait coins with bilingual legends were issued by a succession of Andhra kings from Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi to Vijaya Sātakarṇi, who ruled from about the end of the 1st century to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. The coins are in an identical format and depict the bust of the king on the obverse and certain dynastic emblems on the reverse. The legend on the obverse giving the name of the king is in Prakrit written in the well-known Southern Brāhmī script of the period. The legend on the reverse is a literal rendering of the Prakrit legend in Tamil written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script of the Tamil cave inscriptions of the same period (Fig. 5.9). Typical of the series are the following two examples:<sup>7</sup>

On the coins of Puḷumāvi (see coins 1 & 2 in Fig. 5.9):<sup>8</sup>

Obv. (Pkt.): *rāñō vāsīthi-putasa siri puḷumāvisa*

Rev. (Ta.): *aracaṇ-ku vāciṭṭi-makaṇ-ku tiru-puḷumāvi-ku*

Transl.: Of the King Vāsishthīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi.

On the coins of Sātakarṇi (see coins 3 & 4 in Fig. 5.9):<sup>9</sup>

Obv. (Pkt.): *rāñō vāsīthi-putasa siri sātakaṇisa*

Rev. (Ta.): *aracaṇ-ku vāciṭṭi-makaṇ-ku tiru-cātakaṇi-ku*

Transl.: Of the King Vāsishthīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi.

1. R. Panneerselvam 1969: pp. 281-288.
2. I. Mahadevan 1985b: pp. 121-128.
3. K.G. Krishnan (ed.) 1989: No. 143.
4. I. K. Sarma 1980: pp. 107-125.
5. Ajay Mitra Shastri 1991: pp. 45-60.
6. C. Somasundara Rao 1997: pp. 17-21. Ajay Mitra Shastri lamented in his paper (1991: p. 52, n. 48) that "generally speaking, Telugu-speaking scholars favour Telugu and Tamil scholars, Tamil". Somasundara Rao's paper proves that scholarship can transcend such partisan considerations.
7. See Nos. 9 & 10 in Table 1.6. The coin-legends are put together from several specimens.
8. Coin No. 1: Puḷumāvi. National Museum, New Delhi ( Accession No. 79.423 /1).  
Coin No. 2: Puḷumāvi. Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri (Acc. No. 134/1-11).
9. Coin No. 3: Sātakarṇi. National Museum, New Delhi (Acc. No. 74.75/1).  
Coin No. 4: Sātakarṇi. Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri (Acc. No. 134/2-6).

Remarks on the legends on the reverse:

- (i) The Tamil expression *makaṇ-ku* is replaced by the hybrid *puta-ku* in the issues of Yajña and Vijaya Sātakarṇi.
- (ii) The Tamil expression *tiru* is replaced by *ciru* (for *ciri* < Pkt. *siri*) in the above two issues.
- (iii) On the coin of Siva Siri Puḷumāvi, the name is spelt *purumāvi* (R. Nagaswamy 1985).
- (iv) The word *vāciṭṭi* is spelt [*vāci*]*ṭhi* in the issue of Vijaya Sātakarṇi.

### 5.15.3 Palaeography of the coin-legends on the reverse

The critical palaeographic features of the coin-legends on the reverse, which prove conclusively that the script employed in them is Tamil-Brāhmī are: the letter *c* with the open loop; the tubular form of *m* with the crossbar in the middle; the presence of the characteristic Tamil-Brāhmī letters *ḷ* and *ṭ*; the case-ending *-ku*; and the *puḷḷi* to indicate the basic consonant *ṭ*. These features which are illustrated in the photographs of the coins (in Fig. 5.9) are discussed below.

**c:** This is the later Tamil-Brāhmī form in which the closed loop at the left seen in the earlier forms opens out (see clear examples in coins 2 & 4 in Fig. 5.9). This form is attested in the recently discovered Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscription at Mannarkoil (No. 89, ca. 2nd century A.D.). The earlier reading of this letter in the coin-legends as a rare form of *h* turned to the left produced strange expressions like *arahaṇa*, *vāhiṭṭi* and *hātakaṇi* not attested elsewhere. Treating the letter as *c* yields meaningful readings like *aracaṇ*, *vāciṭṭi* and *cātakaṇi*, which are the appropriate Tamil renderings of the corresponding Prakrit expressions *rāñō*, *vāsithi* and *sātakaṇi* in the Prakrit legends on the obverse.

**m:** It is noteworthy that the bilingual legends employ the Southern Brāhmī form of *m* in the Prakrit legends on the obverse and the Tamil-Brāhmī form of the same letter in the Tamil legends on the reverse. The letter actually seen on the coins is the later Tamil-Brāhmī form of *m* in which the horizontal 'crossbar' first moves away from the left side of the 'tube' and later projects a little outside to the right (see coins 3 & 4 in Fig. 5.9 for clear examples).<sup>1</sup> This form is attested in the later cave inscriptions from ca. 4th century A.D. (e.g., Nos. 85, 101, 108, 112, 115). The evidence of the cave inscriptions indicates that the correct reading of the form seen in the coin-legends is *ma* and not *mā* as read earlier.

**ḷ:** The later form of the Tamil-Brāhmī letter *ḷ* with the loop as in the Tirupparankunram cave inscription (No. 55, ca. 1st century A.D.) occurs in the name *puḷumāvi* in the coin-legend on the reverse (corresponding to the form *puḷumāvi* in the Prakrit legend on the obverse). The earlier readings of this letter as *ḷu* or *ḷu* were merely from the context without taking into account the actual forms seen in the coin-legend on the reverse. In the three issues I have seen (from clear photographs of exceptionally well-preserved forms), the letter is written as *ḷu* in two cases (coins 1 & 2 in Fig. 5.9) and as *ḷa* in one case.<sup>2</sup> A somewhat similar-looking Brāhmī letter *j* occurs in the

1. See especially R. Nagaswamy 1985: Fig. at p. 109.

2. In a coin in the National Museum, New Delhi. The letter *ḷa* is also seen clearly in the Nagarjunakonda mould of the coin of Puḷumāvi (I.K. Sarma 1980: Fig. P-7, Pl. XVII).

Asokan inscriptions at Khalsi,<sup>1</sup> which does not suit the context. On the other hand, treating the letter as the Tamil-Brāhmī form of *l* (as in the Tirupparankunram cave inscription) yields a meaningful reading suited to the context. The occurrence of *l* in this coin-legend is of exceptional importance; it provides us for the first time with the indigenous form of the name of this famous and powerful Andhra monarch confirming his Dravidian lineage; it proves that the script of the coin-legends on the reverse of these coins is Tamil-Brāhmī; it also confirms the date of ca. 1st century A.D. for the Tirupparankunram cave inscription.

**ṇ:** A closer examination of the legends on the reverse of these coins has revealed that the Tamil words *aracaṇ* 'king', and *makaṇ* 'son' are sometimes written with the alveolar *ṇ* of the Tamil-Brāhmī script earlier misread as *n*. In the best-preserved specimens (see coins 2 to 4 in Fig. 5.9), the top horizontal line of the letter, unlike the bottom horizontal line, does not extend to the left of the vertical as in *n*. The form is also unlikely to be Brāhmī *nā* which does not suit the context. The form is most probably a variant of the Tamil-Brāhmī alveolar *ṇ*, the difference being the absence of the downward stroke at the top right.<sup>2</sup> The occurrence of the alveolar nasal *ṇ* in the coin-legends is conclusive evidence of the language being Tamil and the script Tamil-Brāhmī, as this character and its sound do not occur in any other script. The word-final consonant *ṇ* in *aracaṇ* and *makaṇ* has to be read as basic in accordance with the orthographic convention in the Tamil-Brāhmī script and not as *ṇa*.

**-ku:** The case-ending *-ku* is added to the nouns as in *aracaṇ-ku*, *makaṇ-ku*, etc. The earlier reading of this letter as *-sha* produced strange forms like *arahaṇa-sha*, *mākaṇa-sha*, etc., not attested elsewhere. The letter looks like *-ku* and adopting this value yields meaningful expressions appropriate to the context and corresponding to the genitive forms in the Prakrit original with the case-ending *-sa* on the obverse.

**The puḷḷi:** It is well-known that the *puḷḷi* occurs with the basic consonant *ṭ* in the expression *vāciṭṭi* (< Pkt. *vāsīṭhi*) in the legends on the reverse of the coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, and those of his successors with the same *gōtra* name except Vijaya Sātakarṇi (see clear examples in coins 2, 3 & 4 in Fig. 5.9). The employment of the *puḷḷi* to mark the basic consonant is known only to the Tamil grammatical tradition.<sup>3</sup> The earliest occurrence of the *puḷḷi* in the Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions is at Anaimalai (No. 60, ca. 2nd century A.D.). The occurrence of the *puḷḷi* confirms that the legends on the reverse of the Andhra coins are written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script as no other variant of Brāhmī employed this device.

#### 5.15.4 Chronology of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions in the light of the coin-legends

A comparative study of the palaeographic features of the Andhra coin-legends with similar features found in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions confirms the chronology of the latter. The late palaeographic

1. C. S. Upasak 1960: Appendix No. 13, Figs. (9) & (10).
2. This form appears to be a further development of the tendency towards flattening of the curve at the top of the vertical in *n*. Cf. Nos. 21 and 85 in the Corpus.
3. *Tol. Eju.* 15-17. See also the discussion on the *puḷḷi* in section 5.14.

forms of *c*, *m*, *l*, *ṇ* and the *puḷḷi* noticed in the coin-legends (Fig. 5.10) occur in the cave inscriptions from about the end of the 1st century or the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. coinciding with the period during which the silver portrait coins with bilingual legends were known to have been issued by the Sātavāhanas.

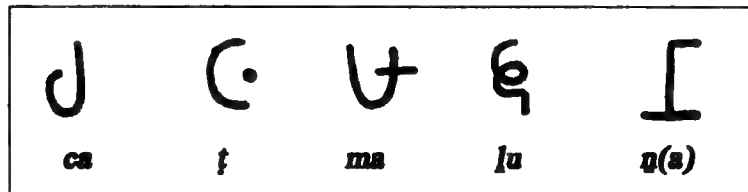


Figure 5.10. Tamil-Brāhmī characters in Sātavāhana coin-legends.

#### 5.15.5 Language of the coin-legends on the reverse

There can hardly be any doubt that the language of the legends on the reverse of the coins is not Prakrit. The only question for consideration is whether the language is Old Telugu or Tamil. *Prima facie*, the case for Old Telugu would seem stronger. The Sātavāhanas were Andhras; most of the silver portrait coins are found in the northern and northwestern regions of their dominions far away from the Tamil country. Telugu was the spoken language of Andhra from very ancient times, certainly much before the invention of the Brāhmī script. In spite of these considerations, there are formidable objections from the linguistic point of view to identify the language of the coin-legends as 'Old Telugu'. The terms *aracaṇ*, *makaṇ*<sup>1</sup> and *tiru* are not found in Old Telugu. The prothetic prefix *a-* in *aracaṇ* is a characteristic Tamil grammatical usage. The pronominal ending *-aṇ* as in *aracaṇ* and *makaṇ* is in Tamil; the corresponding Old Telugu ending *-(a)ṇi* is conspicuously absent from the coin-legends. The employment of the dative *-ku* as the genitive case suffix in certain contexts is sanctioned by Tamil grammatical tradition.<sup>2</sup> One has to conclude from the linguistic evidence that the language of the legends on the reverse of the coins is Tamil and not Old Telugu.

#### 5.15.6 Literal translation

There is, however, a linguistic problem presented by the literal word-for-word translation of the Prakrit legends resulting in texts which are not in idiomatic or correct Tamil. Thus, while Prakrit requires every attribute to be in the genitive case to be in accord with the substantive noun in the genitive, there is no such usage in Tamil. The repetitive addition of *-ku* to the attributes as in *aracaṇ-ku* and *makaṇ-ku* is not in accordance with Tamil grammar. It is clear that the scribe was not too familiar with Tamil and mechanically translated each Prakrit expression literally into Tamil producing the irregular forms seen in the coin-legends.

1. *maganṇu* with the meaning 'son' occurs rarely in Old Telugu inscriptions (K. Mahadeva Sastri 1969: Word Index), but not the form *makaṇ* seen in the Sātavāhana coin-legends.
2. *Tol. Col. 94* cited in R. Panneerselvam 1969: pp. 285-286, n. 15.

### 5.15.7 Reason for the employment of Tamil in the coin-legends

The final question to be considered is why the Andhra kings chose Tamil and not Telugu for the legends on the reverse of their silver coins. The question does not admit of an easy answer and one can only speculate on the probable reasons. My suggestion is that the Sātavāhanas employed Prakrit and Tamil in their coin-legends as these were the only two languages used for political and administrative purposes in South India at the turn of the Christian Era. The Sātavāhanas apparently wanted the legends on their silver coins to be understood by the people of the Tamil kingdoms with whom they must have had active commercial intercourse.

### 5.16 Numerals

The only occurrence of a numeral character in the cave inscriptions is 3 represented by three short horizontal parallel strokes at Tondur (No. 76, ca. 3rd century A.D.). Even in the Late Period, the numeral has preserved the earliest primitive form of the Brāhmī script.<sup>1</sup> The form seen in this inscription is distinctly earlier than the one with curved lines seen in the Gunapadeya Plates of Queen Cārudēvī (ca. 4th century A.D.).<sup>2</sup> Numeral characters occur in the pottery inscriptions at Arikamedu. In one of the sherds found in the excavations during 1989-92, the numeral 855 (or 558 if read from the right) occurs, though its significance is not known as the inscription is too fragmentary.<sup>3</sup>

### 5.17 Punctuation

Punctuation as such does not occur in the short cave inscriptions. However, there are instances of a single vertical line acting as a 'divider' between two sentences of the same inscription (No. 55), and between adjacently engraved inscriptions (Nos. 102 & 103 and 105 & 106).<sup>4</sup>

### 5.18 Symbols in cave inscriptions

Symbols which do not form part of the script occur with some of the cave inscriptions (the main variants A to D are illustrated in Fig. 5.11).

**Symbol A:** This is the most frequent symbol occurring ten times in nine inscriptions from three sites.<sup>5</sup> The symbol is mostly placed at the end of the inscriptions except once when it occurs also in the middle.<sup>6</sup> The symbol looks somewhat like a 'crab' with a pair of 'claws'; in one of the

1. Shobhana Gokhale 1966: pp. 3-4.

2. E. Hultzsch 1905-06, *EI*. VIII: Pl. facing p. 145, Side ii b.

3. I. Mahadevan 1996a: Fig. 5.5. Ibid. pp. 296-297 for other occurrences of numerals in the pottery inscriptions from Arikamedu.

4. The tall, vertical line seen in the middle of No. 80 is apparently part of the earlier rock carvings in this cave at Edakal.

5. Symbol A occurs once at Vikkiramangalam (No. 19), twice at Kongarpuliyankulam (Nos. 12 & 13) and seven times at Alagarmalai (Nos. 36, 40-43 & 46).

6. Symbol A occurs once in the middle and again at the end of No. 40 at Alagarmalai.

variants, the 'feet' are not shown;<sup>1</sup> but the other would appear to have six 'feet', three on either side, though the incompletely preserved symbols in the inscriptions have only three to five 'feet'.<sup>2</sup> Symbol A occurs paired with symbol B in two inscriptions (Nos. 12 & 13) at Kongarpuliyankulam. It is remarkable that these two symbols also occur together in the same sequence (although separated by another symbol in the middle) on a potsherd from Kodumanal (Fig. 5.12).<sup>3</sup> Symbol A also occurs paired with yet another symbol on a potsherd from Uraiur.<sup>4</sup>

**Symbol B:** The symbol is a square divided into four quadrants. As stated above, it is associated with symbol A in two cave inscriptions at Kongarpuliyankulam and in the graffiti on a potsherd from Kodumanal. Symbol B also occurs in the middle of a pottery inscription from Alagankulam.<sup>5</sup>

**Symbol C:** The symbol is probably a stylised representation of a tree or plant. It occurs once with the Cēra inscription at Edakal (No. 80). I have tentatively identified the symbol from the context as the palm tree, an insignia of the Cēra dynasty (Commentary, No. 80). However, the significance of the symbol occurring elsewhere in other contexts may not be the same. Symbol C occurs on megalithic pottery at Sanur,<sup>6</sup> Uraiur<sup>7</sup> and other sites and on the Anaikodai Seal (Fig. 5.14).

**Symbol D:** The symbol can be identified as the bow with arrow. It occurs once in the middle of an Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Sittannavasal-B (No. 101). The bow with arrow is the insignia of the Cēra dynasty; but there is nothing in this inscription to suggest a connection with the Cēras. The symbol is attested on megalithic pottery.<sup>8</sup>

#### 5.18.1 Juxtaposition of script and symbols on pottery from Kodumanal

The excavations at Kodumanal have yielded pottery from the megalithic levels, on which characters of the Tamil-Brāhmī script occur side by side with megalithic symbols. Words like *kōṇ* 'chief', parts of words like *kōvē* and *taṇ*, and single syllables like *a*, *ta* and *ma* occur with preceding and/ or succeeding megalithic symbols<sup>9</sup> (Fig. 5.13). While the precise significance of these megalithic symbols is unknown, the evidence indicates that they must be meaningful and have some sort of connection with the expressions in the script which they accompany. This should also be true of the cases of similar juxtaposition of script and symbols in the cave inscriptions studied above.

1. Symbol A occurs only with 'claws' and without 'feet' in Nos. 12, 13, 19 & 40-43. It is likely, especially at Alagarmalai, that some of the occurrences are incompletely preserved. However, clear examples occurring in the pottery inscriptions from Uraiur and Kodumanal confirm the existence of the variant without the 'feet'. See Fig. 5.12.
2. Variants of symbol A in Nos. 36 and 40 have three 'feet' each and in No. 46 five 'feet'.
3. From a colour photograph, courtesy Y. Subbarayalu.
4. K. V. Raman (ed.) 1988: Pl. 22.10.
5. Natana Kasinathan 1997: Pl. III. 4.
6. B. B. Lal 1960: Pl. XXXI B.
7. K. V. Raman (ed.) 1988: Pl. 21.4.
8. B. B. Lal 1960: Pl. XXIII: Symbol 32: 1, 4 and 5.
9. K. Rajan 2001: pp. 14-15.

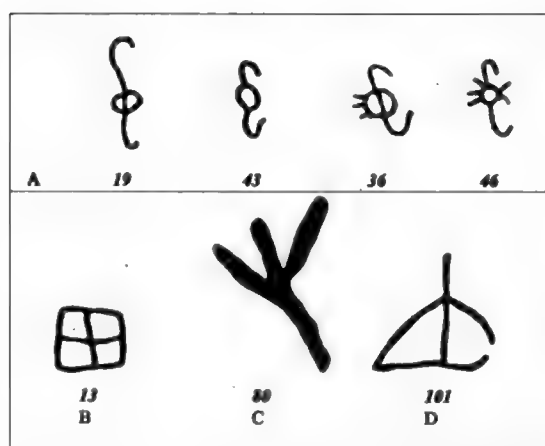


Figure 5.11. Symbols in cave inscriptions.

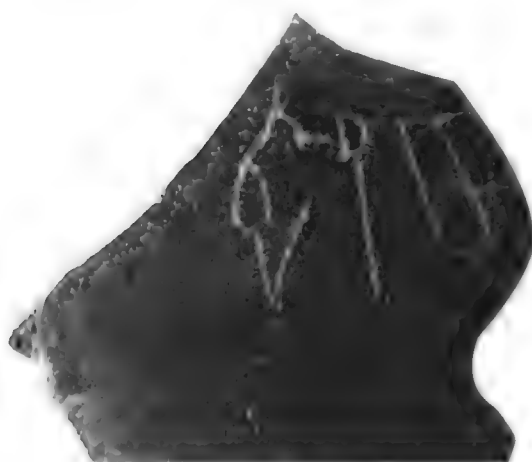


Figure 5.12. Pottery graffiti from Kodumanal with cave symbols.



Figure 5.13. Juxtaposition of script and symbols in pottery graffiti from Kodumanal.

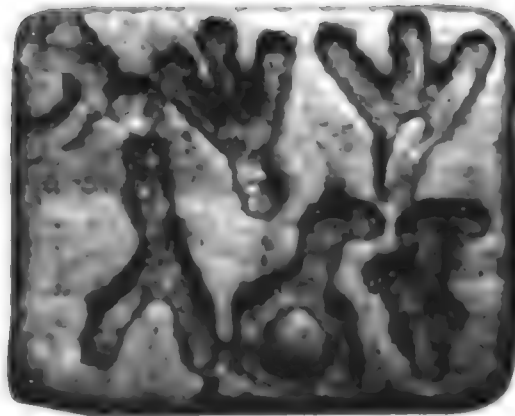


Figure 5.14. Seal with script and symbols from Anaikoddai. Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

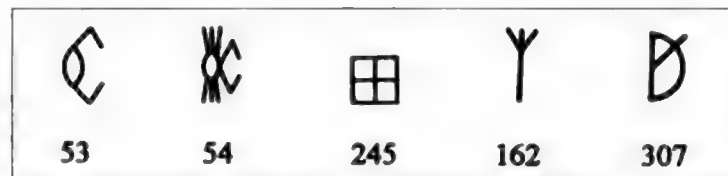


Figure 5.15. Signs of the Indus script resembling cave symbols.



Figure 5.16. Pallava Grantha and Tamil inscriptions. Sendalai (ca. 8th century A.D.).  
Lines 1 and 3 are in Tamil and lines 2 and 4 are in Grantha scripts.

The evidence of pottery inscribed with megalithic symbols and letters of the Brāhmī script from sites like Vallam,<sup>1</sup> Uraiyur<sup>2</sup> and especially Kodumanal<sup>3</sup> indicates clearly that megalithic symbols which coexist with the Brāhmī script and also found at preceding and succeeding levels in the excavations cannot be the source for the script.<sup>4</sup>

#### 5.18.2 *Symbols in the cave inscriptions of Sri Lanka*

Symbols not forming part of the script occur in greater numbers and with higher frequency in the cave inscriptions of Sri Lanka.<sup>5</sup> According to Paranavitana, these 'non-Brāhmī' symbols appear to have some connection with the contents of the inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> The four symbols occurring with the Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions do not appear in the cave inscriptions of Sri Lanka.

#### 5.18.3 *The Anaikoddai Seal*

A square metal seal found during the excavations of a megalithic burial complex at Anaikoddai, Jaffna District, Sri Lanka, has two lines of writing, the upper line consisting of three 'megalithic' symbols and the lower lines three characters of the Brāhmī script (Fig. 5.14).<sup>7</sup> Attempts have been made by Indrapala and others to decipher the symbols on the basis of their reading of the lower line in Brāhmī as the clue,<sup>8</sup> but the results are inconclusive.<sup>9</sup>

#### 5.18.4 *Cave symbols and signs of the Indus script*

In the preceding discussion, attention has been drawn to the occurrence of the cave symbols in the graffiti on megalithic pottery. There is also a remarkable resemblance between these cave symbols and signs of the Indus script (Table 5.2 and Fig. 5.15).

Lal has demonstrated that many symbols are common to the megalithic pottery on the one hand, and to the Harappan and chalcolithic on the other. He suggested that the commonness of the symbols was perhaps due to the commonness of ideas between cultures but refrained from suggesting any phonetic values for the symbols.<sup>10</sup> While there are close similarities between some of the megalithic

1. Y. Subbarayalu 1984: Fig. 26 and Pl. XII.
2. K.V. Raman (ed.) 1988: chapter 5 and Fig. 25 at p. 76.
3. K. Rajan 2001: pp. 1-13.
4. P. Shanmugam 1983: pp. 31-36.
5. S. Paranavitana 1970: pp. xxv-xxvi; 43 non-Brāhmī symbols occurring in the cave inscriptions of Sri Lanka are illustrated by him at p. xxvi.
6. Ibid. for Paranavitana's identification of symbol No. 2 in his list as a 'phonogram' for the name Gamaṇi Tiśa.
7. See No. 1, Table 1.7.
8. K. Indrapala, P. Raghupathy and K.V. Ramesh (in) P. Raghupathy 1987: pp. 199-204.
9. See criticism in I. Mahadevan 1994b: pp. 137-138.
10. B.B. Lal 1960: pp. 4-24. See especially his comments on symbol No. 47 illustrated by him with parallels from the megalithic and Indus graffiti. I. Mahadevan 2001: pp. 379-385 (drawing attention to the Indus-like graffiti on the megalithic pottery from Sular).

symbols and the signs of the Indus script, they are more likely to share similar significance but not necessarily the same phonetic values, considering the enormous time and distance separating them.

Cave Symbols (Fig. 5.11)	Signs of the Indus Script (Fig. 5.15)	
	I. Mahadevan 1977	Asko Parpola 1994
A	53 & 54 (variant)	88 e and 88 a
B	245 (variant)	268 †
C	162 (variant)	91 m
D	307	187 b

† Koskeniemi & Parpola 1982 (from Text No. 1424).

Table 5.2. Cave symbols resembling Signs of the Indus script.

## 5.19 The Vaṭṭeḷuttu script

### 5.19.1 Origin of Vaṭṭeḷuttu

Burnell thought that Vaṭṭeḷuttu was not related to the Asokan alphabet and must have developed independently from Phoenician or Aramaic scripts.<sup>1</sup> Bühler described Vaṭṭeḷuttu as a 'cursive' form of the Tamil script, "which bears the same relation to the Tamil as the modern northern alphabets of the clerks and merchants to their originals".<sup>2</sup> These theories proposed in the late 19th century in the early days of South Indian epigraphical studies have become obsolete after the discovery and decipherment of the Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions. Gopinatha Rao<sup>3</sup> and Subramanian<sup>4</sup> were able to demonstrate that both Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Tamil scripts originated from Brāhmī, but had separate lines of evolution. Sivaramamurti published palaeographic charts tracing the origin of each letter of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Tamil scripts from the corresponding letter in the Tamil cave inscriptions, but admitted the existence of a millennium-long gap between the cave inscriptions and the medieval Tamil inscriptions on which his charts are based.<sup>5</sup> In so far as the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script is concerned, this enormous gap has now been bridged by the more recent discoveries noticed below.

1. A.C. Burnell 1874 (1994 reprint): pp. 5-6, 38-42.
2. G. Bühler 1896 (1959 reprint): p. 95.
3. T.A. Gopinatha Rao 1908 a & b, *TAS. I* (1988 reprint): pp. 299- 344; 395-431.
4. T.N. Subramanian 1957: pp. 1535-1562. See also R. Nagaswamy 1971, 1972b & c and 1973 for discussion.
5. C. Sivaramamurti 1952: charts and comments on p. 227.

### 5.19.2 Evolution of Vaṭṭeḷuttu: the early phase (5-6 centuries A.D.)

#### (a) Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions at Pulankurichi

The two rock inscriptions discovered in 1979 at Pulankurichi are the earliest and by far the longest of the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu records.<sup>1</sup> They are assigned to ca. 5th century A.D. on palaeographic evidence. The script employed in the inscriptions at this site is in the transitional stage between Tamil-Brāhmī and Vaṭṭeḷuttu (see Chart 8). The vowels *a*, *ā*, *e* and *o* and most of the consonants still retain the Late Tamil-Brāhmī forms. The vowels *i* and *u* and the consonants *ṇ*, *n*, *l*, *ḷ* are more advanced and have attained the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu forms. From the palaeographic point of view, the importance of the Pulankurichi inscriptions is that they have finally set at rest the controversy regarding the origin of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script and proved conclusively its derivation from Tamil-Brāhmī.

#### (b) Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions on herostones

The remarkable discoveries made by Nagaswamy and his colleagues of numerous herostones inscribed in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu from Chengam Taluk<sup>2</sup> and the adjoining Dharmapuri District<sup>3</sup> in the north-west of the Tamil country have revolutionised our understanding of the position of Vaṭṭeḷuttu vis-a-vis the Tamil script.<sup>4</sup> They have confirmed what was only suspected earlier that Vaṭṭeḷuttu was current all over the Tamil country until it was displaced by the Tamil script patronised by the Pallavas and later by the Cōḷas.<sup>5</sup> The pace of displacement was, however, quite slow. The herostones within the Pallava territories bearing the names and regnal years of successive Pallava rulers from Simhavarman III to Nandivarman II (mid-sixth to mid-eighth centuries A.D.) are exclusively in Vaṭṭeḷuttu. The statistics in Table 5.3 relating to the changeover in the scripts employed in the herostone inscriptions in the Tamil country are revealing.<sup>6</sup>

Period (A.D.)	Vaṭṭeḷuttu	Tamil script
400-600	31	—
601-800	91	9
801-1000	8	70
1001-1200	—	20

Table 5.3. Changeover from Vaṭṭeḷuttu to Tamil script in herostone inscriptions.

1. R. Nagaswamy 1981c: pp. 2-67 to 2-71. Natana Kasinathan 1983: pp. 157-165. Y. Subbarayalu and M.R. Raghava Varier 1991: pp. 57-69. The inscriptions have not been included in the Corpus, but see Palaeographic Chart 8.
2. *Chengam Naṭukaṇkaḷ*. See also K.G. Krishnan (1971-73 and 1973-74) for the earliest herostones.
3. *Dharmapuri Kalveṭṭukaḷ*.
4. See R. Nagaswamy (ed.) 1974. R. Govindaraj 1994; 2001: pp. 27-41. K. Rajan 2000.
5. "It is therefore to be presumed that the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script was in use throughout the Tamil country in the earlier days, that it fell into disuse after the introduction of the Grantha-Tamiḷ by the Pallavas in their dominion, but that it continued to exist in the Gaṅgavāḍi, the Vāṇakappāḍi and the North Koṅgu portions which were not directly under the Pallava rule, even though the other script was slowly gaining preference." (T.N. Subramanian 1957: p. 1562).
6. Abridged from K. Rajan 2000: Table 3 at p. 46.

(c) *Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions in the Corpus*

The Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions included in the present Corpus (Nos. **101-121**) are mostly recent discoveries which illustrate the evolution of the script during the transitional period (5-6 centuries A.D.). The evolution of each letter from the Late Tamil-Brāhmī to the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu forms found in these inscriptions has been studied above (Palaeographic Charts 4 to 6).

**5.19.3 Evolution of Vaṭṭeḷuttu: the middle phase (7-10 centuries A.D.)**

The middle phase may be described as the Classical Age of Vaṭṭeḷuttu, when the script was patronised by independent and powerful rulers of the Pāṇṭiya and Cēra dynasties. The copperplate grants and numerous temple inscriptions of this period are the primary sources for the reconstruction of the medieval history of the Pāṇṭiya and Cēra kingdoms.<sup>1</sup> While the Tamil script supplanted Vaṭṭeḷuttu in the northern region from the middle of the 8th century A.D., Vaṭṭeḷuttu held its ground in the southern region up to the end of the 10th century A.D. After the Cōḷa conquest of the Pāṇṭiya country and its incorporation into the Cōḷa Empire, Vaṭṭeḷuttu was displaced by the Tamil script in the southern region also.

**5.19.4 Evolution of Vaṭṭeḷuttu: the last phase (11-19 centuries A.D.)**

Vaṭṭeḷuttu was current for almost another millennium in the Cēra country which was never fully integrated with the Cōḷa empire. With the passage of time, the letters became ever more rounded with many of its characters losing their individuality and becoming unrecognisable except from the context.<sup>2</sup> During this period, the western dialect of Tamil spoken in the Cēra country gradually evolved into Malayalam which borrowed so heavily from Sanskrit that the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script based on Tamil phonology became too inadequate to express the sounds in the new language. In the initial stages, the deficiency was made up by using Grantha characters for the additional sounds as in the Tamil inscriptions of the eastern region. Ultimately, however, it became necessary for Malayalam to have a script of its own, which was formed from the Grantha script; the Vaṭṭeḷuttu letters for which Grantha had no equivalents were also included in the script. The new script which came into existence towards the end of the 14th century A.D. was called Ārya-eḷuttu to distinguish it from Tekkaṇ Malayalam, the local name for Vaṭṭeḷuttu in South Kerala, and Kōleḷuttu, another variant of Vaṭṭeḷuttu current in North Kerala. Even after the introduction of Ārya-eḷuttu for Malayalam, Vaṭṭeḷuttu lingered on as it was popular among the sections of the population whose dialects were not so heavily Sanskritised as that of the Nambūdiri Brāhmins. Gradually, however, the Malayalam script completely replaced the phonologically deficient and palaeographically degenerate Vaṭṭeḷuttu by the end of the 18th century A.D. It is said that the Royal Chancellery of the State of Travancore in South Kerala continued to use Vaṭṭeḷuttu even in the 19th century until the Malayalam script was adopted in the time of Svāti Tirunāl.<sup>3</sup>

1. See especially *SII. XIV (The Pāṇḍyas)*; *TAS. I-III*; *Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ*.
2. For the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions in the Cēra country, see *TAS*, especially Vols. I-III.
3. For a discussion of the last phase of Vaṭṭeḷuttu, see R. Krishnamurthy 1982 and 1985.

## 5.20 The Tamil script

### 5.20.1 Emergence of the Tamil script

The Tamil script is not directly derived from Tamil-Brāhmī, although its ultimate descent from Brāhmī is not open to doubt. Unlike in the case of Vaṭṭeḷuttu, no earlier inscriptions have been found linking the Tamil script with the Tamil-Brāhmī of the cave inscriptions. Inscriptional evidence points to the creation of a new script for Tamil in the Pallava kingdom around the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The script was formed by simplifying the Grantha script (which itself is derived from the Southern Brāhmī script of the Prakrit Charters of the Early Pallavas) and adding to it the necessary additional letters from Vaṭṭeḷuttu. The similarity between Pallava Grantha and Tamil scripts is illustrated by the Sendalai Pillar Inscriptions of ca. 8th century A.D. (Fig. 5.16).<sup>1</sup> The new script was patronised by the Pallava rulers and their feudatories. However, only very few stone inscriptions in the Tamil language are known from Mahendravarman I (ca. 590-630 A.D.) to Paramesvaravarman II (720-732 A.D.). During this period, most of the stone inscriptions of the Pallavas are in Sanskrit. The changeover from Sanskrit to the almost exclusive use of Tamil as the language of the stone inscriptions of the Pallavas happened only from the time of Nandivarman II in about the middle of the 8th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> The statistics in Table 5.4 on the languages and scripts of the inscriptions in Tamil Nadu have been compiled by Govindaraj<sup>3</sup> from the *Topographical List of Inscriptions from Tamil Nadu and Kerala States*.<sup>4</sup>

Period (A.D.)	Vaṭṭeḷuttu	Tamil	Grantha
500-600	25	—	2
601-700	54	8	40
701-800	49	41	30
801-985	236	1762	52

Table 5.4. Scripts used in inscriptions in Tamil Nadu (6th-10th centuries A.D.).

Note the complete absence of inscriptions in the Tamil script before the time of Mahendravarman I and the steep increase in the number of such inscriptions from the 9th century A.D. coinciding with the changeover to the Tamil language in the Pallava inscriptions.

The Classical Age of the Tamil script commences with the ascendancy of the Cōḷas from the middle of the 9th century. The Cōḷas, who were earlier the feudatories of the Pallavas, inherited

1. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1915-16, *EL* XIII: pp. 134-149 (not illustrated). The photograph in Fig. 5.16 is by Michael Lockwood from the estampage taken by S. Rajagopal, TNSA.
2. T.V. Mahalingam 1988.
3. R. Govindaraj 1994: Table I.
4. T.V. Mahalingam (ed.) *Topographical List of Inscriptions from Tamil Nadu and Kerala States* (in 10 vols.).

the Tamil script from them and spread its use in all the conquered territories (except the Cēra country) making the Tamil script the exclusive script of the language in Tamil Nadu from about the beginning of the 11th century A.D.

### 5.20.2 Evidence for earlier Tamil inscriptions re-examined

The present understanding of the origin and evolution of the Tamil script has led to a re-examination of the reported evidence for the existence of the Tamil script before the turn of the 7th century A.D.

#### (a) *Paḷḷaṅkōvil Plates*

The Paḷḷaṅkōvil Plates of Simhavarman III (ca. 540-550 A.D.) have been regarded as the earliest known inscription in the Tamil script. The Plates<sup>1</sup> record the grant of land to Vajranandi, a senior Jaina monk at Paruttikkunṇil (near Kanchipuram). The first part of the inscription is in Sanskrit in the Grantha script and the second part in Tamil in the Tamil script. The Plates are engraved beautifully in a masterly hand and the palaeography of both Grantha and Tamil scripts is well-developed. Notwithstanding the elaborate arguments advanced by Subramanian in support of the early date, it is difficult to accept his contention in the complete absence of any inscriptions in the Tamil script before the 7th century A.D.; the few Tamil inscriptions belonging to the period up to the middle of the 8th century A.D. are palaeographically much less advanced than the Paḷḷaṅkōvil Plates. Govindaraj has re-examined the palaeographic evidence, pointing out such advanced features like detached medial vowel signs and the developed forms of letters like *ṇ*, *v* and *ṇ*, which suggest that the Paḷḷaṅkōvil Plates are later than the Kūram Plates (late 7th century A.D.) and of the same period as the Paṭṭattāḷmangalam Plates (8th century A.D.).<sup>2</sup> On the basis of an independent re-examination of the palaeographic evidence, I consider that the Paḷḷaṅkōvil Plates are a later copy made not earlier than late 7th century A.D.<sup>3</sup>

#### (b) *Presence of Tamil characters in Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions*

The presence of Tamil characters in Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions and *vice versa* in the records dated between 650-900 A.D. has been pointed out by Subramanian.<sup>4</sup> This is of course an expected development during the transitional period of the changeover from Vaṭṭeḷuttu to the Tamil script. However, it is anachronistic to talk about a 'mixed script' before the Tamil script was created in the 7th century A.D. The appearance of 'Tamil-like' letters (e.g., *tē* and *to* at Ammankoyilpatti, No. 84, ca. 4th century A.D.) is due to the influence of Southern Brāhmī in the border regions.

1. T.N. Subramanian 1959: pp. 41-83 (with Plates).
2. R. Govindaraj 1994: pp. 16-17. An additional reason for an earlier date for the Kūram Plates is the occurrence of the earlier form of *-ai* (e.g. *-lai* in Lines 61, 67, etc.) mistaken for *-e* and its absence in the Paḷḷaṅkōvil Plates. (Cf. *-malai* in No. 119 in the present Corpus.) See *Pallavar Ceppēṭukaḷ* (1999 edn.) for the Plates.
3. I have cited the linguistic data from the Paḷḷaṅkōvil Plates in the Commentary as relating to the 6th century A.D., the date of the original grant, since the fact of recopying of the Plates at a later date is not relevant for linguistic study. Recopying of earlier grants seems to have been very common in the case of Pallava copper-plate charters. T. V. Mahalingam (1988: Appendix II) cites 5 such cases viz., Ōṅgōḍu I & II Plates, Udayēndiram I & II Plates and Cūra Plates.
4. T.N. Subramanian 1938 (1996 reprint): pp. 90-93 & Fig. 6; 1957: pp. 1559-1562 and Pl. 6.

### 5.21 Evolution and chronology of South Indian scripts: a summary

The evolution and approximate chronology of the South Indian scripts are summarised in Table 5.5.

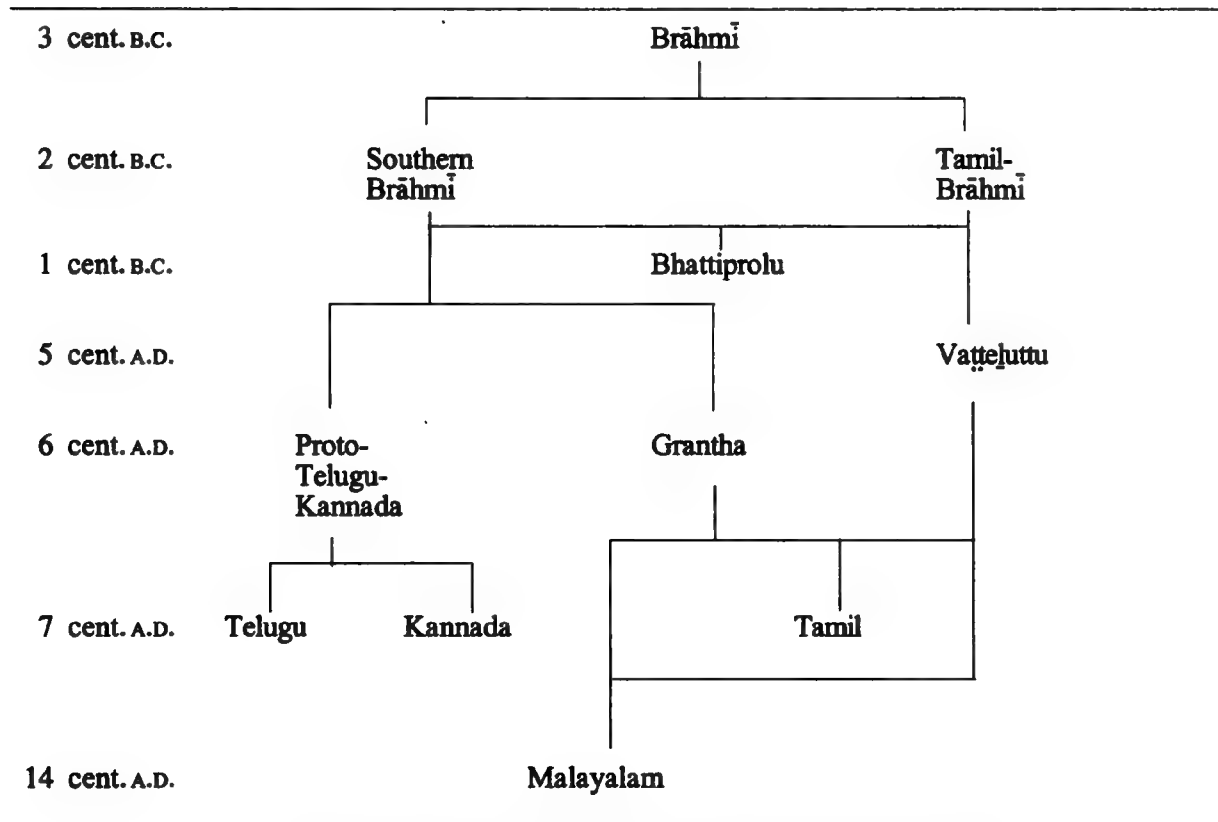


Table 5.5. Evolution and chronology of South Indian scripts.


Palaeographic Chart 1: The Brāhmī Script.

<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>e/ē</i>	<i>o/ō</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ñ</i>
<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>n</i>		

<i>ka</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>kī</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>kū</i>	<i>ke/kē</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>ko/kō</i>

Palaeographic Chart 2: The Tamil-Brahmī Script.

		Brāhmī	Tamil-Brāhmī					Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu	
I	ḍḍ								ḍ
II	ḷ								ḷ
III	ṭ								ṭ
IV	ṇ								ṇ
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Palaeographic Chart 3: Origin and evolution of additional letters in Tamil-Brāhmī.

	Early Tamil-Brāhmī (2 cent. B.C. - 1 cent. A.D.)					Late Tamil- Brāhmī (2 - 4 cent. A.D.)					Early Vatteluttu (5 - 6 cent. A.D.)				
a	𑌀 <sub>1</sub>	𑌁 <sub>2</sub>	𑌂 <sub>10</sub>	𑌃 <sub>53</sub>	𑌄 <sub>59</sub>	𑌅 <sub>60</sub>	𑌆 <sub>61</sub>	𑌇 <sub>62</sub>	𑌈 <sub>63</sub>	𑌉 <sub>69</sub>	𑌊 <sub>108</sub>				
ā	𑌋 <sub>55</sub>					𑌌 <sub>60</sub>	𑌍 <sub>61</sub>	𑌎 <sub>62</sub>	𑌏 <sub>66</sub>	𑌐 <sub>73</sub>	𑌑 <sub>116</sub>				
i	𑌒 <sub>17</sub>	𑌓 <sub>55</sub>				𑌔 <sub>60</sub>	𑌕 <sub>89</sub>	𑌖 <sub>76</sub>			𑌗 <sub>111</sub>				
ī	𑌘 <sub>1</sub>														
u	𑌙 <sub>17</sub>					𑌚 <sub>61</sub>									
ū	𑌛 <sub>9</sub>					𑌜 <sub>69</sub>	𑌝 <sub>76</sub>								
e						𑌞 <sub>85</sub>					𑌟 <sub>117</sub>				
e/ē	𑌠 <sub>18</sub>	𑌡 <sub>19</sub>	𑌢 <sub>34</sub>	𑌣 <sub>55</sub>	𑌤 <sub>56</sub>	𑌥 <sub>60</sub>	𑌦 <sub>70</sub>				𑌧 <sub>121</sub>				
ai											𑌨 <sub>116</sub>				
o/ō	𑌩 <sub>6</sub>	𑌪 <sub>12</sub>	𑌫 <sub>18</sub>			𑌬 <sub>79</sub>									

Palaeographic Chart 4: Evolution of vowels.

	Early Tamil-Brāhmī (2 cent. B.C. - 1 cent. A.D.)			Late Tamil-Brāhmī (2 - 4 cent. A.D.)						Early Vatteluttu (5 - 6 cent. A.D.)			
k	𑌕 <sub>37</sub>	𑌕 <sub>40</sub>	𑌕 <sub>54</sub>	𑌕 <sub>73</sub>	𑌕 <sub>83</sub>	𑌕 <sub>83</sub>	𑌕 <sub>84</sub>	𑌕 <sub>85</sub>	𑌕 <sub>101</sub>	𑌕 <sub>114</sub>	𑌕 <sub>116</sub>	𑌕 <sub>117</sub>	𑌕 <sub>112</sub>
ñ	𑌕 <sub>8</sub>	𑌕 <sub>22</sub>		𑌕 <sub>61</sub>	𑌕 <sub>62</sub>	𑌕 <sub>76</sub>			𑌕 <sub>119</sub>				
c	𑌕 <sub>35</sub>			𑌕 <sub>73</sub>					𑌕 <sub>105</sub>	𑌕 <sub>111</sub>	𑌕 <sub>113</sub>	𑌕 <sub>115</sub>	𑌕 <sub>119</sub>
ñ	𑌕 <sub>1</sub>	𑌕 <sub>2</sub>	𑌕 <sub>59</sub>										
t	𑌕 <sub>1</sub>	𑌕 <sub>8</sub>		𑌕 <sub>60</sub>					𑌕 <sub>102</sub>				
n	𑌕 <sub>14</sub>			𑌕 <sub>83</sub>	𑌕 <sub>85</sub>				𑌕 <sub>106</sub>	𑌕 <sub>109</sub>	𑌕 <sub>110</sub>	𑌕 <sub>115</sub>	
t	𑌕 <sub>1</sub>	𑌕 <sub>1</sub>	𑌕 <sub>37</sub>	𑌕 <sub>69</sub>	𑌕 <sub>73</sub>	𑌕 <sub>83</sub>	𑌕 <sub>85</sub>		𑌕 <sub>101</sub>	𑌕 <sub>105</sub>	𑌕 <sub>115</sub>	𑌕 <sub>121</sub>	
n	𑌕 <sub>1</sub>			𑌕 <sub>73</sub>	𑌕 <sub>77</sub>	𑌕 <sub>83</sub>			𑌕 <sub>102</sub>	𑌕 <sub>109</sub>	𑌕 <sub>116</sub>	𑌕 <sub>117</sub>	𑌕 <sub>121</sub>
p	𑌕 <sub>41</sub>	𑌕 <sub>46</sub>		𑌕 <sub>76</sub>	𑌕 <sub>79</sub>	𑌕 <sub>79</sub>	𑌕 <sub>84</sub>	𑌕 <sub>84</sub>	𑌕 <sub>116</sub>	𑌕 <sub>118</sub>			
m	𑌕 <sub>1</sub>			𑌕 <sub>64</sub>	𑌕 <sub>83</sub>	𑌕 <sub>84</sub>	𑌕 <sub>85</sub>	𑌕 <sub>85</sub>	𑌕 <sub>101</sub>	𑌕 <sub>108</sub>	𑌕 <sub>116</sub>	𑌕 <sub>119</sub>	

Palaeographic Chart 5A: Evolution of consonants: k-m.

	Early Tamil-Brāhmī (2 cent. B.C. - 1 cent. A.D.)						Late Tamil-Brāhmī (2 - 4 cent. A.D.)						Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (5 - 6 cent. A.D.)			
y	𑌢 <sub>1</sub>	𑌣 <sub>2</sub>	𑌤 <sub>3</sub>	𑌥 <sub>4</sub>	𑌦 <sub>5</sub>	𑌧 <sub>55</sub>	𑌨 <sub>65</sub>	𑌩 <sub>66</sub>	𑌪 <sub>83</sub>	𑌫 <sub>84</sub>	𑌬 <sub>85</sub>	𑌭 <sub>101</sub>	𑌮 <sub>104</sub>			
r	𑌰 <sub>6</sub>	𑌱 <sub>8</sub>	𑌲 <sub>9</sub>	𑌳 <sub>35</sub>	𑌴 <sub>74</sub>	𑌵 <sub>56</sub>	𑌶 <sub>74</sub>	𑌷 <sub>84</sub>				𑌸 <sub>111</sub>	𑌹 <sub>115</sub>			
l	𑌺 <sub>7</sub>	𑌻 <sub>7</sub>	𑌼 <sub>14</sub>	𑌽 <sub>48</sub>	𑌾 <sub>62</sub>							𑌿 <sub>101</sub>	𑍀 <sub>105</sub>	𑍁 <sub>114</sub>	𑍂 <sub>121</sub>	
v	𑍃 <sub>1</sub>	𑍄 <sub>43</sub>	𑍅 <sub>44</sub>		𑍆 <sub>67</sub>	𑍇 <sub>84</sub>	𑍈 <sub>85</sub>					𑍉 <sub>104</sub>	𑍊 <sub>115</sub>			
ḷ	𑍋 <sub>17</sub>	𑍌 <sub>49</sub>	𑍍 <sub>55</sub>		𑍎 <sub>76</sub>	𑍏 <sub>77</sub>	𑍐 <sub>83</sub>					𑍑 <sub>113</sub>	𑍒 <sub>116</sub>			
i	𑍔 <sub>3</sub>	𑍕 <sub>6</sub>	𑍖 <sub>46</sub>	𑍗 <sub>57</sub>	𑍘 <sub>60</sub>	𑍙 <sub>62</sub>	𑍚 <sub>66</sub>	𑍛 <sub>77</sub>	𑍜 <sub>83</sub>	𑍝 <sub>77</sub>	𑍞 <sub>83</sub>	𑍟 <sub>114</sub>				
ɾ	𑍠 <sub>11</sub>	𑍡 <sub>12</sub>	𑍢 <sub>35</sub>		𑍣 <sub>60</sub>	𑍤 <sub>88</sub>	𑍥 <sub>88</sub>					𑍦 <sub>104</sub>	𑍧 <sub>112</sub>	𑍨 <sub>115</sub>	𑍩 <sub>116</sub>	
ṇ	𑍪 <sub>1</sub>	𑍫 <sub>7</sub>	𑍬 <sub>9</sub>	𑍭 <sub>21</sub>	𑍮 <sub>61</sub>	𑍯 <sub>63</sub>	𑍰 <sub>76</sub>	𑍱 <sub>73</sub>	𑍲 <sub>84</sub>	𑍳 <sub>85</sub>		𑍴 <sub>103</sub>	𑍵 <sub>106</sub>	𑍶 <sub>108</sub>	𑍷 <sub>116</sub>	𑍸 <sub>117</sub>
ṅ					𑍹 <sub>72</sub>											

Palaeographic Chart 5B: Evolution of consonants: y- ṇ.

	Early Tamil-Brāhmī (2 cent. B.C. - 1 cent. A.D.)						Late Tamil-Brāhmī (2 - 4 cent. A.D.)						Early Vatteḷuttu (5 - 6 cent. A.D.)					
-ā	𑌀	𑌁	𑌂	𑌃	𑌄	𑌅	𑌆	𑌇	𑌈	𑌉	𑌊	𑌋	𑌌	𑌍	𑌎	𑌏	𑌐	𑌑
-i	𑌒	𑌓	𑌔	𑌕	𑌖	𑌗	𑌘	𑌙	𑌚	𑌛	𑌜	𑌝	𑌞	𑌟	𑌠	𑌡	𑌢	𑌣
-ī																		
-u	𑌤	𑌥	𑌦	𑌧	𑌨	𑌩	𑌪	𑌫	𑌬	𑌭	𑌮	𑌯	𑌰	𑌱	𑌲	𑌳	𑌴	𑌵
-ū	𑌶	𑌷	𑌸	𑌹	𑌺	𑌻	𑌼	𑌽	𑌾	𑌿	𑍀	𑍁	𑍂	𑍃	𑍄	𑍅	𑍆	𑍇
-e																		
-e/-ē	𑍈	𑍉	𑍊	𑍋	𑍌	𑍍	𑍎	𑍏	𑍐	𑍑	𑍒	𑍓	𑍔	𑍕	𑍖	𑍗	𑍘	𑍙
-ai	𑍚	𑍛	𑍜	𑍝	𑍞	𑍟	𑍠	𑍡	𑍢	𑍣	𑍤	𑍥	𑍦	𑍧	𑍨	𑍩	𑍪	𑍫
-o																		
-o/-ō	𑍬	𑍭	𑍮	𑍯	𑍰	𑍱	𑍲	𑍳	𑍴	𑍵	𑍶	𑍷	𑍸	𑍹	𑍺	𑍻	𑍼	𑍽

Palaeographic Chart 6: Evolution of medial vowel signs.

AKW : Arikamedu (Wheeler 1946 : Figs. 46-47 & Pl.XLI)									
a 6	ya 13	ya 13	ya 5	yi 15	va 5	vai 19	la 16	li 4	lu 20
la 19	pa 9	pa 4	pa 15	pa 13					
AKB : Arikamedu (Begley 1996 : Figs. in Chapter 5)									
a 21	a 7	i 20	ca 28	mu 11	ma? 13	ya 23	ya 17	yi 24	va 18
pa 22	pa 30	pa 7	u 28						
KDM : Kodumanal (Y.Subbarayalu, 1996, unpublished)									
e 26	ki 15	ki <sup>r</sup> 1	ca 27	tu 110	n 39	pa 57	mu 12	ya 3	la 30
ve 62	va 63	va 12	la 27	li 164	la 148	li 3	la? 70	lu? 2	la 115
ra 120	ra 89	ra 160	pa 38						
KRR : Karur. ALA : Alagankulam (JESI 23 : 1997 : Pl. II-VII)									
KRR :	ya 2	ya 2	yai 2	ALA :	vi 14	ra 19	pa 10		

Palaeographic Chart 7: Tamil-Brāhmī: special forms from pottery inscriptions.

	𑌕	𑌖	𑌗	𑌘		𑌙		𑌚
	a	ā	i	u		e		o
	-a	-ā	-i/-ī	-u/-ū	-ū	-e/-ē	-ai	-o/-ō
k	𑌛	𑌜	𑌝𑌞	𑌟		𑌠		𑌡
ñ	𑌢							
c	𑌣	𑌤	𑌥			𑌦		
ñ	𑌧							
t	𑌨	𑌩	𑌪	𑌫		𑌬	𑌭	
n	𑌮	𑌯		𑌰			𑌱	
t	𑌲	𑌳	𑌴	𑌵	𑌶	𑌷	𑌸	𑌹
n	𑌺	𑌻	𑌼	𑌽	𑌾			
p	𑌿	𑍀	𑍁	𑍂		𑍃		𑍄
m	𑍅	𑍆	𑍇	𑍈		𑍉	𑍊	
y	𑍋	𑍌		𑍍	𑍎			
r	𑍏	𑍐	𑍑	𑍒			𑍓	
l	𑍔	𑍕		𑍖	𑍗	𑍘	𑍙	𑍚
v	𑍛	𑍜	𑍝	𑍞	𑍟	𑍠	𑍡	
l	𑍣	𑍤	𑍥	𑍦				
!	𑍧		𑍨	𑍩	𑍪	𑍫	𑍬	
r	𑍮	𑍯	𑍰	𑍱			𑍲	
q	𑍴	𑍵	𑍶	𑍷			𑍸	𑍹

Palaeographic Chart 8: Early Vatteluttu script at Pulankurichi.

## ORTHOGRAPHY

### 6.1 Introduction

One of the most interesting but least studied aspects of the Tamil-Brāhmī script is its orthography.<sup>1</sup> A study of the inscriptions reveals that early Tamil writing experimented with different orthographic models especially for denoting medial vowels before settling down to the system described in classical Tamil grammar. In retrospect, one can see that the palaeographic discoveries relating to the external features of the script were the easier ones to make than the unravelling of the internal orthographic conventions, which took longer to accomplish. A comparative study of the origin and evolution of the orthographic systems provides fresh insight into the relationship of Tamil-Brāhmī with the Mauryan and Bhattiprolu scripts and their relative chronology.

### 6.2 Orthographic 'peculiarities' of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions

The Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions could not be read satisfactorily even after their palaeographic features had become known, mainly because the unusual orthographic conventions in the script were not fully understood. Even such simple Tamil words like *tantai-y* 'father' and *makaṇ* 'son' assume the apparently strange forms *tānataiya* and *mākāṇa* in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. Again, the simple Tamil word *kal* 'stone' is spelt *kāla* or *kala* or *kal* in different inscriptions indicating the presence of more than one orthographic convention in the script. There are also other orthographic 'peculiarities' like, for example, the employment of the *ī* symbol for *i*, the *ū* symbol for *u*, the same set of symbols for *e/ē* and *o/ō*, avoidance of doubling of consonants, absence of voiced consonants, etc. These usages are too numerous and too systematic to be dismissed as scribal errors. An attempt is made in the present study to investigate them and find explanations.

### 6.3 Orthographic conventions in Brāhmī inscriptions

The Brāhmī script is a syllabary in which each *akshara* is an open syllable, either a vowel or ending in one (except in the case of the *anusvāra*). A basic consonant being mute is not regarded as an *akshara* and cannot stand alone. These principles resulted in a system of writing with the following conventions:

- (i) A consonantal symbol is invested with the 'inherent' -a;
- (ii) The notational system of medial vowels commences only with the medial -ā, since -a is 'inherent' and does not require a marker;
- (iii) A basic consonant cannot be represented except as part of a conjunct-consonant (*samyuktākshara*);
- (iv) A *samyuktākshara* being an open syllable cannot depict a consonant in final position.

1. The term 'orthography' is used in this book in the sense of conventions adopted for spellings in the inscriptions.

This orthographic system suited the Prakrit languages perfectly as they did not have basic consonants (except the *anusvāra*) in final position. To illustrate, we may look at the first two lines of the text of the famous Rummindei Pillar Edict of Asoka marking the sacred spot where the Buddha was born:<sup>1</sup>

Lines: 1. *dē vā na pi yē na pi ya da si na lā ji na vī sa ti va sā bhi si tē na*  
 2. *a ta na ā gā ca ma hī yi tē hi da bu dhē jā tē sa kya mu nī ti*

Note the absence of final consonants and how the only mute consonant is combined with the next syllable to form the *samyuktākshara* (*kya*).<sup>2</sup>

The Brāhmī notational system described above is unsuitable for Tamil which abounds in final consonants (e.g., *kaṇ* 'eye', *maram* 'tree', *tāy* 'mother', *nīr* 'water', *kal* 'stone', *yāl* 'lute', *nāl* 'day', *avaṇ* 'he', etc.). Tamil which has much fewer consonant clusters than Indo-Aryan (mostly geminates and nasal-homorganic clusters) does not also need the *samyuktākshara* system of writing. Those who were responsible for the adaptation of the Brāhmī script for Tamil must also have decided to modify the notation for medial vowels to suit Tamil phonetics. A period of bold and innovative experimentation followed during which no less than four alternative systems of vowel notations were evolved, all different from one another and from that of the parent Brāhmī script.

#### 6.4 Evolution of alternative medial vowel notations in Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions

Decipherment of Tamil-Brāhmī has now firmly established that there were originally two parallel and seemingly independent systems of medial vowel notations (designated here as TB-I and TB-II) in this script. Both systems were evolved with the same objective, namely, to be able to represent basic consonants in final position and in consonant clusters. They were successful in doing so and obtained the additional advantage of getting rid of the cumbersome *samyuktākshara* system of the Brāhmī script. However, both systems proved to be imperfect and unstable, each giving way, in a characteristically different manner, to another improved system. One of them is known only from the Bhattiprolu casket inscriptions, and the other, the *puḷḷi* notation (TB-III system), is the one described in the earliest extant Tamil grammar (*Tolkāppiyam*) (see Table 6.1).

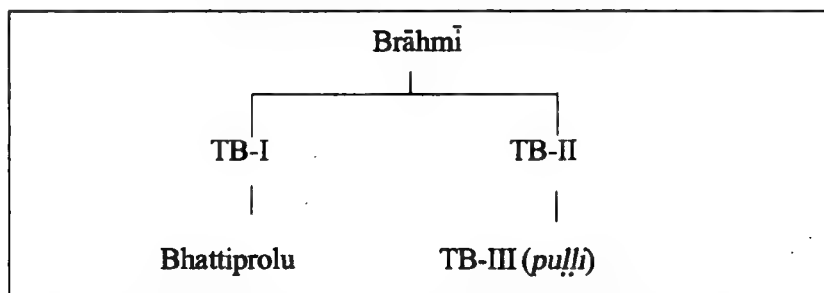


Table 6.1. Evolution of orthographic systems in Tamil-Brāhmī.

1. *CIL* I: pp. 164–165, Pl. facing p. 164 (1991 reprint).
2. Incidentally, this analysis indicates that the Brāhmī script was designed initially for the Prakrit (Middle Indo-Aryan) languages and was adapted later for Sanskrit which employs final consonants freely as in *yat*, *tat*, etc.

### 6.5 TB-I system of medial vowel notation

The Brāhmī principle of the 'inherent' -a was given up and the consonantal symbol was regarded as basic (mute). This simple but original modification enabled the Tamil-Brāhmī script to depict basic consonants in final position and in consonant clusters without ligatures. The employment of a specific marker to depict the medial -a follows as the natural corollary to the abandoning of the concept of the 'inherent' -a in the consonantal symbol. Consequently, the first of the medial vowel markers in Brāhmī, the short horizontal stroke to the top right of a consonant, came to represent the medial -a in the TB-I notation.

*Examples:*

Apparent reading	Actual reading (with TB-I notation)
kā ṇi ya nā na tā-	kaṇi-y nanta- 'name and title of a monk' (1.1-2) <sup>1</sup>
ko ṭu pi tā vā ṇa	koṭupitavaṇ 'he who caused to be given' (11.2)
i lā nā tā ṇa	iḷanataṇ 'name of a donor' (17.1)

However, a separate marker for the medial -ā was not developed in this system and the same marker depicted the medial -a and -ā, which could be distinguished only from the linguistic context.

*Examples:*

sā lā kā ṇa	sālakaṇ 'sister-in-law's husband' (2.6)
pā kā ṇa ū ra	pākaṇ-ūr 'a place-name' (13.1)

The Mangulam inscriptions (Nos. 1-6) are typical examples of the Tamil-Brāhmī script with the TB-I notation. It is difficult to explain why a separate marker for the medial -ā was not evolved in this system as at Bhattiprolu. The ambiguity in this system was removed in the Bhattiprolu script with the invention of a separate marker for the medial -ā vowel.

### 6.6 Medial vowel notation in Bhattiprolu inscriptions

Bühler has pointed out that the notation of the medial vowels in the unique inscriptions on the stone caskets at Bhattiprolu shows the following orthographic peculiarities:<sup>2</sup>

- (a) The short -a is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant, which denotes the long -ā in the Mauryan alphabet except when an *anusvāra* follows;
- (b) The long -ā is usually marked by a horizontal stroke and a vertical hanging down from its end.

There is no ambiguity in this system, unlike in TB-I, between the medial -a and -ā which have distinct markers (see Figs. 6.1 & 6.2).

1. For the system of Reference Numbers to words in the Corpus, see Table of Conventional Symbols.
2. G. Bühler 1894b: p. 324. See also section 5.6.3 in this vol.



**Example:**

Apparent reading

sā mā nō sā mā nā dā shō

Actual reading with Bhattiprolu notation

*samaṇō samaṇadāshō* 'Samaṇadāsa, the monk'  
(on the lid of Casket III. See Fig. 6.1, middle,  
third and second lines from the bottom).

Bühler deduced from these 'peculiarities' that "the consonants have no inherent -a" and that the vowel notations of the script were "invented in order to avoid the necessity for ligatures".<sup>1</sup> His deductions are astonishingly correct considering that neither can be illustrated from the inscriptions he edited. However, his conclusion "I do not think that it (the Bhattiprolu script) teaches us much regarding the history of the Southern Maurya characters"<sup>2</sup> has turned out to be wide of the mark. We can now see that the basic principle behind the Bhattiprolu notation must have originated in Tamil-Brāhmī and that its use at Bhattiprolu (probably by a Tamil scribe) was fortuitous because the casket inscriptions are in Prakrit which does not require this special notation. In fact, there is not a single example in these inscriptions of a final basic consonant which is the *raison d'être* of the Bhattiprolu notation. However, the evolution of a separate marker for the medial -ā removing the ambiguity between the medial -a and -ā in the TB-I notation is an advance presently known only from Bhattiprolu.

**6.7 TB-II system of medial vowel notation**

The characteristic features of this system are as follows.

1. The consonantal symbol is read either as basic or with the 'inherent' -a depending on the linguistic context.
2. There is therefore no separate marker for the medial -a.
3. The short horizontal stroke attached to the top right of a consonantal symbol stands only for the medial -ā as in the Brāhmī script.

**Examples:**

Apparent reading

a ti ya na ne ṭu mā na a ña ci

vi ya ka ka ṇa ko pa ṇa ka ṇa te va ṇa

Actual reading (with TB-II notation)

*atiyan neṭumān añci* 'name of a chieftain' (59.2)

*viyakkaṇ kōpaṇ kaṇatēvaṇ* 'name of  
a donor' (84.4)

The Cēra inscriptions at Pugalur (Nos. 61 & 62) are typical examples of the Tamil-Brāhmī script with the TB-II notation. The ambiguity in this system in distinguishing the basic consonant from the one with the 'inherent' -a was removed in the next stage (TB-III) with the invention of a marker (*pulli*) for the basic consonant.

1. G. Bühler 1896 (1959 reprint): p. 31.

2. G. Bühler 1894b: p. 325.

### 6.8 TB-III (*puḷḷi*) system of medial vowel notation

The characteristic features of this system are as follows.

1. The basic consonant is marked by the *puḷḷi* ('dot').
2. The unmarked consonantal symbol is read with the 'inherent' -a.
3. The short horizontal stroke at the top right of a consonantal symbol represents the medial -ā as in Brāhmī.
4. The *puḷḷi* is also employed to mark the short e and o in initial and medial positions.

The Nekanurpatti inscription (No. 83) with all the nine basic consonants in it marked by the *puḷḷi* is a good example of the Tamil-Brāhmī script with the TB-III notation. The brief Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription (No. 102) at Sittannavasal-B, in which the basic consonants as well as the short medial -e and -o are marked with the *puḷḷi*, illustrates the fully developed *puḷḷi* notation.

Since the use of the *puḷḷi* was optional in practice, the question arises whether there is any real difference between the TB-II and TB-III systems. Can we not explain the absence of the *puḷḷi* in the TB-II system by assuming it was 'implicit' as in medieval writing?<sup>1</sup> It is, however, most unlikely that originally an 'inherent' -a could have been cancelled by an 'implicit' *puḷḷi*. It seems necessary on theoretical considerations to postulate two stages, as the *puḷḷi* is clearly a response to the felt need to obviate the confusion in having to read the unmarked consonantal symbol either as basic or with the inherent -a as in the earlier system.

Another interesting question is why the *puḷḷi* system alone survived, but not the Bhattiprolu system which has an equally unambiguous though different orthographic notation. Firstly, it appears that the removal of the 'inherent' -a from the consonantal symbol was too radical a departure from all other Indian systems of writing which still follow this principle. Influence from Upper South India and Sri Lanka must have brought about the acceptance of the principle of the 'inherent' -a in the TB-II and TB-III systems. Secondly, as the syllables ending in -a outnumber all others in Tamil, it is more economical to treat the unmarked consonantal symbol as having the 'inherent' -a and invent a marker (*puḷḷi*) to denote the relatively infrequent basic consonants. The *puḷḷi* also became a convenient marker to distinguish the short e and o from the respective long vowels. These improvements enabled the *puḷḷi* system to survive all the other systems and become the sole standard notation in Tamil grammatical tradition.<sup>2</sup>

### 6.9 The *puḷḷi* in *Tolkāppiyam*

The functions of the *puḷḷi* are described in *Tolkāppiyam* as follows:

The nature of the consonant is to be provided with a dot.  
e and o are also of the same nature.

1. K.G. Krishnan 1990: pp. 92-93. According to him, there is no need to distinguish between TB-II and III stages since the marking of dots over mute consonants is not uniformly observed; and since the *puḷḷi* is "an integral part of the system in Tamil, it is futile to argue that the Tamils or the authors of the cave inscriptions had to wait till the script came from the north".
2. I. Mahadevan 1992: p. 146.

All consonants without dots retain their own forms when animated with the sound -a, and change their form when combined with other vowels. These are the two ways to vocalise (consonants).

(*Tol. Eḷu.* 15-17)<sup>1</sup>

We can see at once that this is the last stage (TB-III) in the evolutionary development of the medial vowel notations in the Tamil-Brāhmī script. TB-I notation, with its denial of the principle of inherent -a, treating the unmarked consonant as basic, and providing a marker for the medial vowel -a, is unknown to *Tolkāppiyam* and precedes it chronologically. *Tolkāppiyam* not only describes the *puḷḷi* as the 'natural' (*iyarkai*) adjunct of the basic consonant and the short vowels e and o, but also uses the expression *puḷḷi* to denote the basic consonant itself by transfer of meaning.<sup>2</sup> It is thus clear that this grammatical work must have been composed after the *puḷḷi* was invented and had become an integral part of Tamil writing. Judging from the available evidence of the earliest occurrences of the *puḷḷi* from about the end of the 1st century A.D.,<sup>3</sup> *Tolkāppiyam* was composed most probably not earlier than the Late Tamil-Brāhmī Period (ca. 2nd-4th centuries A.D.).

#### 6.10 Medial vowel notations in Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions: a comparative study

The characteristic features of the five stages of development of medial vowel notations which have been described above are summarised in Fig. 6.3.<sup>4</sup> A comparative study of the notations shows clearly that all of them are ultimately derived from the original vowel-marker system of the Mauryan Brāhmī script. The modifications are minimal and specifically designed to suit the needs of Tamil. However, TB-I and TB-II systems were, in spite of the advantages gained by the respective modifications, no more than transitional, short-lived experiments replaced by the more stable systems. The comparison also brings out the fact that the Bhattiprolu system which developed from TB-I, and the *puḷḷi* system from TB-II, must be later than the respective systems replaced by them.

In my earlier studies of the cave inscriptions, I had suggested that TB-I and TB-II notations are successive stages in the orthographic evolution of the Tamil-Brāhmī script.<sup>5</sup> However, further structural studies and stratigraphy of inscribed pottery from excavations of ancient Tamil sites indicate that it is better to consider TB-I and TB-II as parallel and independent developments from the Mauryan Brāhmī script. The essential evidence is as follows.

- (1) Gift Siromoney has pointed out that the TB-II notation seems to be structurally closer to the Mauryan Brāhmī and is more easily derived from it directly than through TB-I.<sup>6</sup>

1. Translation after Kamil Zvelebil 1972: p. 46 (with minor changes).
2. According to the Index Verborum of *Tolkāppiyam*, *puḷḷi* is used with the meaning of 'dot over a letter' 3 times, while it has the meaning 'basic consonant' 33 times. (*Tolkāppiya-c-ṣiṟap-p-akarāti* 2000: p. 241).
3. See discussion in section 5.14.
4. In Fig. 6.3, the personal name *cātan* is merely illustrative; the alveolar nasal *ṇ* of Tamil-Brāhmī is not shown in order to simplify the comparison.
5. I. Mahadevan 1970a: pp. 5-7; 1971: pp. 82-83.
6. Gift Siromoney 1982: pp. 13-21; 1983: pp. 27-28; 1990: pp. 105-106.

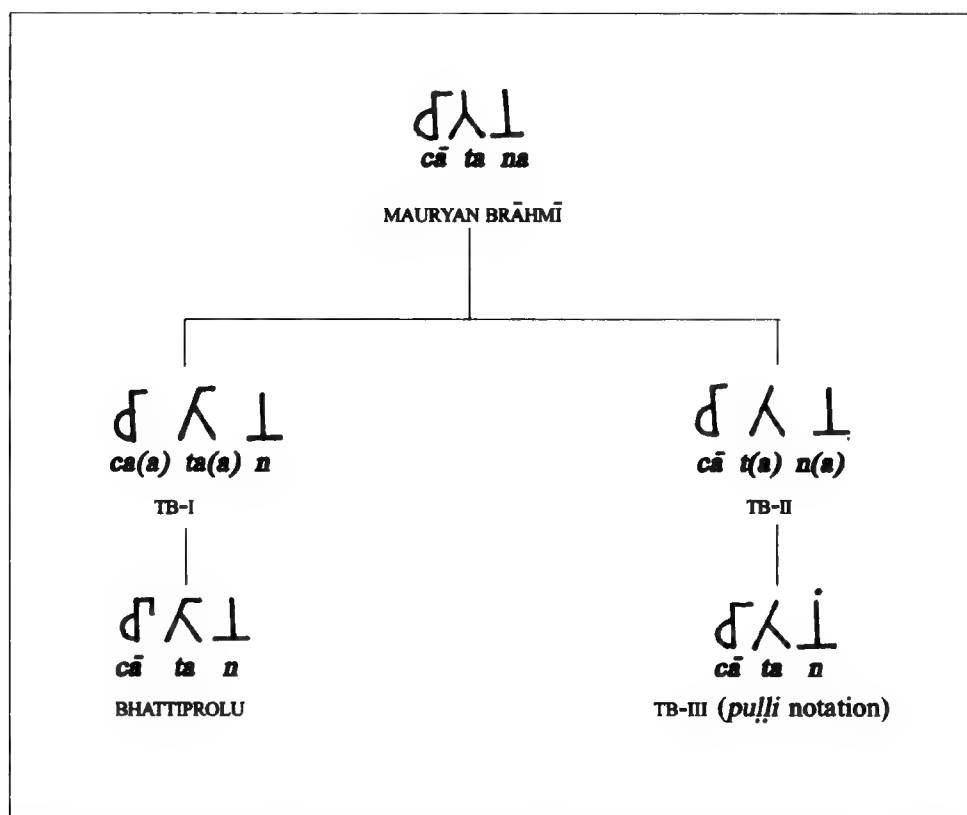


Figure 6.3. Medial vowel notations in the Mauryan, Bhattiprolu and Tamil-Brāhmī scripts.

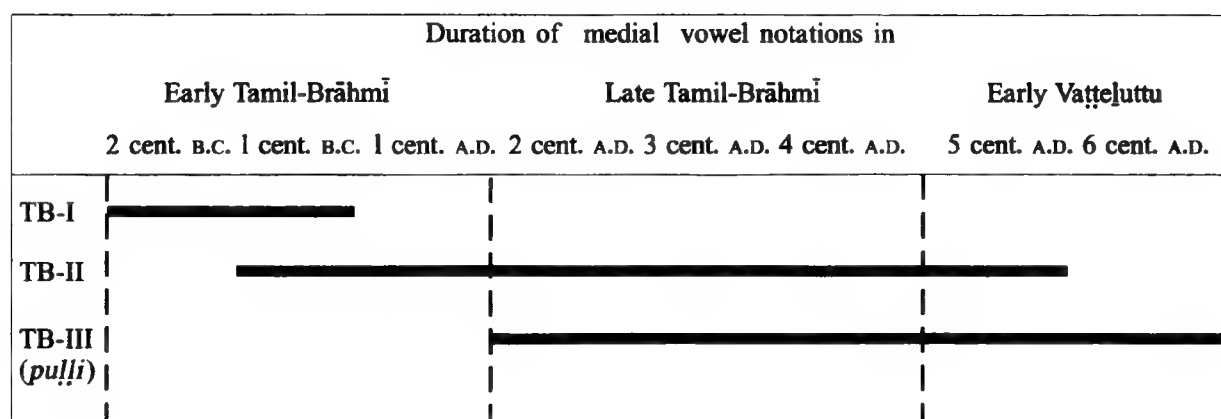


Figure 6.4. Chronology of medial vowel notations in the Corpus.

Medial vowel notations	Number of inscriptions						Total	
	Early Tamil-Brāhmī		Late Tamil-Brāhmī		Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu			
	2 cent. B.C.	1 cent. B.C.	1 cent. A.D.	2 cent. A.D.	3 cent. A.D.	4 cent. A.D.	5 cent. A.D.	6 cent. A.D.
TB-I	35	16†						
TB-II		3	5	8	11	3	2	
TB-III ( <i>pulli</i> )				1	5	2	14	5
Total	35	19	5	9	16	5	16	5
† 8 inscriptions in TB-I and 8 others in TB-I / TB-II mixed notations.								110

Table 6. 2 : Frequency and chronological distribution of medial vowel notations in the Early Tamil inscriptions in the Corpus

- (2) At Arikamedu, Casal excavated a potsherd inscribed in the TB-II style from the 'megalithic' level predating the period of Roman trade.<sup>1</sup> This inscription, which appears to be securely dated by stratigraphic evidence to ca. 2nd century B.C., vouches for the existence of the TB-II notation also from the earliest times in the Tamil-Brāhmī script.

The revised model<sup>2</sup> for the evolution of medial vowel notations in Tamil-Brāhmī leads to another problem: How did two parallel, mutually exclusive and competing systems of medial vowel notations appear at about the same time and within a relatively small and homogenous linguistic community? No solution to this problem is yet in sight.<sup>3</sup>

### 6.11 Medial vowel notations in cave inscriptions

The earliest and most abundant occurrence of the TB-I notation is found in the cave inscriptions, especially from the southern region, the ancient Pāṇṭiya country (see Map I). The first 35 inscriptions in the Corpus, assigned to ca. 2nd century B.C. from palaeographic evidence, are exclusively in the TB-I style (with a few exceptions where the medial -a marker is absent due to scribal omission or weathering of the stone). All the 11 sites where these inscriptions are found are in the southern region (see Map I, detail). The TB-I notation becomes extinct after the 1st century B.C.

The TB-II notation appears in cave inscriptions from about the 1st century B.C. Both TB-I and TB-II notations occur in contemporary inscriptions at the same site or even within the same inscriptions (e.g., Nos. 38-45 from Alagarmalai). The TB-II notation becomes the dominant style in the cave records (with only occasional occurrences of TB-I spellings) during ca. 1-4 centuries A.D.

The TB-III (*puḷḷi*) system appears for the first time in ca. 2nd century A.D. at Anaimalai. The *puḷḷi* occurs rarely in the beginning, but gradually increases in numbers till it virtually becomes (with only a couple of exceptions) the exclusive notation in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Period (ca. 5-6 centuries A.D.). The chronological sequence of medial vowel notations in the Early Tamil inscriptions in the Corpus is illustrated in the bar-chart (Fig. 6.4). The frequency and chronological distribution of the notations are shown in Table 6.2.

### 6.12 Medial vowel notations in pottery inscriptions

There is a striking contrast between stone and pottery inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī in the matter of medial vowel notations. While the TB-I notation is more ancient and more frequent in the cave inscriptions, the TB-II notation appears to be the dominant style in pottery inscriptions from the earliest period. The TB-I notation also occurs in pottery inscriptions from the earlier levels, but relatively in much fewer numbers. The TB-III (*puḷḷi*) notation occurs rarely in pottery inscriptions. These conclusions are based on a preliminary survey of inscribed pottery.<sup>4</sup>

1. Casal J.-M., 1949: Pl. XIII D. Vimala Begley drew my attention to the significance of this discovery. Casal's sherd is illustrated in Vimala Begley *et al.* 1996: Fig. 5. 17 at p. 304.
2. See I. Mahadevan 1990: pp. 39-41.
3. For a discussion on the unsolved problems of Tamil-Brāhmī, see I. Mahadevan 1985b: p. 126 and the response in K.G. Krishnan 1990: pp. 92-93.
4. See Map II, Tables 1.4 & 1.5 and Figs. 1.19 to 1.21.

### 6.12.1 At sites in Tamil Nadu

(i) *Arikamedu*: Only 5 out of 66 pottery inscriptions from this site follow the TB-I notation,<sup>1</sup> and the remaining except one are in the TB-II notation. One inscription with distinctly late palaeographic features of about the 3rd century A.D. depicts the *puḷḷi*.<sup>2</sup>

(ii) *Uraiyur*: Only 4 out of 20 pottery inscriptions from this site are in the TB-I notation<sup>3</sup> and all the remaining are in the TB-II notation. No pottery inscription with the *puḷḷi* has been reported from this site.

(iii) *Kodumanal*: Out of 170 pottery inscriptions from this site, only 7 are in the TB-I notation<sup>4</sup> and 6 more with mixed TB-I & II notations.<sup>5</sup> All the remaining legible Tamil inscriptions are in the TB-II notation except in one case where the occurrence of a *puḷḷi* is doubtfully reported.<sup>6</sup> Both TB-I and II notations occur in Periods I and II (ca. 200 B.C.-150 A.D.) at this site.<sup>7</sup>

(iv) *Other sites in Tamil Nadu*: A pottery inscription recently found from excavation at Teriruvēli (Ramanathapuram District) has the legend *korraṇ* in which both basic consonants are marked by the *puḷḷi*.<sup>8</sup> The inscription may be assigned to ca. 2nd century A.D. on palaeographic evidence.

### 6.12.2 From sites outside Tamil Nadu

(i) *Salihundam* (Andhra Pradesh): The Tamil inscription on pottery found at this site is partly in the TB-I notation.<sup>9</sup>

(ii) *Ports on the Red Sea Coast of Egypt: Quseir al-Qadim and Berenike*

Two pottery inscriptions from Quseir al-Qadim<sup>10</sup> and one more from Berenike<sup>11</sup> on the Red Sea coast of Egypt follow the TB-II notation.

### 6.13 Medial vowel notations in legends on inscribed objects

All three types of vowel notations appear in Tamil-Brāhmī legends on inscribed objects like coins, seals and rings.<sup>12</sup> The TB-I notation occurs in fewer and earlier legends. The *puḷḷi* appears only rarely. Only legends with the TB-I notation or the *puḷḷi* are noticed below.

1. I. Mahadevan 1996a: Nos. 5.1, 5.24, 5.25, 5.26 and 5.31.

2. Ibid. No. 5.28. Note especially the late form of *ṇ* with the *puḷḷi* in this inscription.

3. K.V. Raman (ed.) 1988: Fig. 24: Nos. 3 & 10 (Pl. 16 & 19.11) and probably Fig. 24: Nos. 4 & 9 (Pl. 19.5 & 19.9).

4. Y. Subbarayalu 1996: Nos. 3, 23, 24, 78, 127, 166 & 169.

5. Ibid. Nos. 6, 17, 38, 40, 88 & 113.

6. Ibid. No. 39.

7. Personal communication from Y. Subbarayalu.

8. Unpublished. I have seen the pottery inscription in the collections of TNSA at Chennai.

9. See sections 1.13.8 and 4.19.6 (iv).

10. See section 1.13.9 (ii).

11. Ibid.

12. See Tables 1.6 to 1.8 and Figs. 1.22 to 1.24.

## 6.13.1 Coins

Apparent reading	Actual reading
(i) With TB-I notation	
pe ru vā lu ti	<i>peruva[uti]</i> (Early Pāṇṭiya) <sup>1</sup>
ka ṭā la a ṇa	<i>kaṭalan</i> (coin from Sri Lanka) <sup>2</sup>
ū ti rā ṇa	<i>u(t)tiraṇ</i> (coin from Sri Lanka) <sup>3</sup>
pi ṭā ṇa	<i>pi(t)ṭaṇ</i> (coin from Sri Lanka) <sup>4</sup>

(ii) With the *puḷḷi*

*vāciṭṭi makaṇ* (portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas; the *puḷḷi* is placed next to -ṭ-).<sup>5</sup>

*atiṇṇaṇ etirāṇ cēntaṇ* (coin from Andippatti; the short vowel *e* has a *puḷḷi* inside).<sup>6</sup>

*kuṭṭuvaṇ kōtai* (Early Cēra; with two *puḷḷi* marks, one of them incorrectly placed).<sup>7</sup>

## 6.13.2 Seals with TB-I notation

pā rā ta ṇa	<i>parataṇ</i> , 'a clan name'. (A terracotta seal from Kadathur). <sup>8</sup>
ku rā vā ṇa	<i>kuṛavaṇ</i> , 'a clan name'. (A silver seal from Karur). <sup>9</sup>

## 6.13.3 Rings with TB-I notation

The following legends are on gold rings from Karur:

ū pā ā ṇa	<i>upa[c*]aṇ</i> 'preceptor' <sup>10</sup>
ti yā ṇa ō tā lā ṇa	<i>tiyaṇ ōtalan</i> , 'a personal name' <sup>11</sup>
mi ti rā ṇa	<i>mi(t)tiraṇ</i> 'a personal name' <sup>12</sup>
ti yā ṇa	<i>tiyaṇ</i> 'a personal name' <sup>13</sup>

1. See Nos. 1 & 2, Table 1.6 and Fig. 1.22A. See also section 4.2.2.

2. See No. 4, Table 1.6.

3. See No. 5, Table 1.6. See also section 4.19.5 (iv). For the use of *ū* in lieu of *u*, see section 6.15.

4. See No. 6, Table 1.6.

5. See Nos. 9 & 10, Table 1.6. See also section 5.15 and Fig. 5.9.

6. See No. 13, Table 1.6. See also section 4.5.4.

7. See No. 12, Table 1.6 and Fig. 1.22 E. See also section 4.3.4.

8. See No. 3, Table 1.7 and Fig. 1.23 B. See also section 4.18.1 (v).

9. See No. 2, Table 1.7 and Fig. 1.23 A. See also section 4.18.1 (iii).

10. See No. 4, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.24 A. See also section 4.9.3 (iii).

11. See No. 2, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.23 D. See also sections 4.18.1 (v) and 4.19.4 (i).

12. See No. 3, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.23 E. See also section 4.19.3 (i).

13. See No. 1, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.23 C. See also section 4.19.4 (i).

#### 6.14 Use of $\bar{i}$ as $i$ in Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions

Subrahmanya Aiyer thought there was an exchange of values between the letters  $i$  and  $\bar{i}$  in the cave inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The present evidence does not support this generalisation. He himself reads the letter  $i$  with the normal value in the Anaimalai inscription.<sup>2</sup> Out of the five occurrences of  $i$  in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> it has the normal value in four, and hence the lone exception with the value  $\bar{i}$  noticed by Subrahmanya Aiyer in the Tirupparankunram inscription<sup>4</sup> is best explained as a scribal error. It is, however, true that the symbol for the initial vowel  $\bar{i}$  (a vertical line flanked by a pair of dots) stands for the sound  $i$  in most places. The symbol occurs 26 times in the Corpus, all in the Early Period. It has the normal value  $\bar{i}$  in only 4 places (in Nos. 2, 12, 16 & 59), and has to be read as  $i$  in all others to suit the context (e.g., *iḷaṇcaṭikaṇ*, 'a personal name' in No. 2).<sup>5</sup>

The use of the symbol  $\bar{i}$  for  $i$  is also noticed in the Tamil-Brāhmī legends on pottery and other inscribed objects.

(e.g.) *cāttaṇ āvi-iṇ* 'of Cāttaṇ Āvi' (pottery inscription from Arikamedu).<sup>6</sup>

*vāruṇi -iy* 'Vāruṇi' (pottery inscription from Kodumanal).<sup>7</sup>

*kol-i-p-purai* 'Porai of Kolli' (legend on an Early Cēra coin from Karur).<sup>8</sup>

*kol-irumpurai-y* 'Irumpurai of Kolli' (legend on an Early Cēra coin from Karur).<sup>9</sup>

*veḷ-i cāmpāṇ* 'Veḷi Cāmpāṇ' (legend on a silver ring from Karur).<sup>10</sup>

#### 6.15 Special usage governing $u$ -vowels in Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions

##### 6.15.1 Apparent lengthening of $u$ as $\bar{u}$

Another orthographic peculiarity of the Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions is the apparently 'unnecessary lengthening' of the short vowel  $u$  (initial and medial) as  $\bar{u}$  in certain positions. The present Corpus records 16 instances of this special usage in 12 inscriptions from 8 sites, far too many to be dismissed as scribal errors. All the inscriptions except one belong to the Early Period (ca. 2nd century B.C.-1st century A.D.) and occur in association with TB-I or mixed TB-I and II notations.<sup>11</sup> All of them are clustered around the Madurai region (see Map I, detail). The frequency and distribution of this peculiar usage justify the search for a rational explanation.<sup>12</sup>

1. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: p. 284.

2. Ibid. p. 294. (Corpus: No. 60).

3. Corpus: Nos. 17, 55, 60, 76 & 89.

4. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924: pp. 288-289. (Corpus: No. 55).

5. See section 5.10 ( $i / \bar{i}$ ) for a possible explanation.

6. R.E.M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: No. 9, Pl. XLI. I. Mahadevan 1973: No. II. See also No. 2, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.19B.

7. Y. Subbarayalu 1996: No. 114. See also section 4.19.3 (ii).

8. See No. 7, Table 1.6 and Fig. 1.22 B. See also section 4.3.2.

9. See No. 8, Table 1.6 and Fig. 1.22 C. See also section 4.3.2.

10. See No. 7, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.24 B.

11. The exception is the inscription at Anaimalai (No. 60) assigned to the Late Period (ca. 2nd century A.D.).

12. I. Mahadevan 1985a: pp. 22-27. The data has been updated in the present study.

The following is the complete list of words in the Corpus with the special usage:<sup>1</sup>

S.No.	Apparent reading	Actual reading	Meaning	Ref.No.
1.	a na tū vā ṇa	antuvan	'a personal name'	53.1
2.	a va [v]i r[u] a a ra ū ma	avviru-ar-um	'those two persons also'	45.3
3.	a sū tā ṇa	a(s)sutan	'a personal name'	3.7.b
4.	ū tā yā ṇa sa	utayaṇa(s)sa	'of Utayaṇaṇ'	24.5
5.	ū pā cā a ṇa	upa(c)caṇ	'preceptor'	10.1, 11.3
6.	ū pā cā ṇa	upa(c)caṇ	'preceptor'	9.1
7.	ū pā ru vā ...	u(p)paṛuva[ṇ]	'a personal name'	11.4
8.	ū pu vā ṇi ka ṇa	u(p)pu vāṇikaṇ	'salt merchant'	39.1
9.	ū ṛai	urai	'abode (of ascetics)'	9.3, 24.4
10.	ku ṇa ṛa tū	-kuṇṛa(t)tu	'of the hill'	60.1.b
11.	ko ṭa ṭū pi ta tā a	kottupitta-a	'which was caused to be carved'	1.8
12.	ko ṭa ṭū pi to ṇa	kottupi(t)tōṇ	'he who caused to be carved'	8.3, 9.4
13.	ko ṭū pi to ṇa	koṭu(p)pi(t)tōṇ	'he who caused to be given'	5.2
14.	ni kā mā tū	nikama(t)tu	'of the merchant guild'	3.4
15.	pā ra a cū	paracu	'a personal name'	9.2
16.	pi ṇā ū	piṇa(v)u	'cleft?'	3.8

This special usage is also known from legends on pottery and other inscribed objects:

17.	ū ti rā ṇa	u(t)tiraṇ	'a personal name' (coin from Sri Lanka). <sup>2</sup>
18.	ū pā ā ṇa	upa[c*]aṇ	'preceptor'(gold ring from Karur). <sup>3</sup>
19.	ū mā ṇ(a) ...	umaṇa[ṇ]	'trader in salt' (pottery inscription from Uraiyur). <sup>4</sup>

1. The list does not include words in which the vowels *u* and *ū* occur with normal values. It also excludes obvious scribal errors (e.g., *ur* for *ūr* 'village').
2. See No. 5, Table 1.6.
3. See No. 4, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.24 A.
4. K. V. Raman (ed.) 1988: Fig. 24.3 and Pl. 16. (See also No. 3, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.19C in this vol.)

### 6.15.2 Empirical rules for the special usage of *u*-vowels

The clue to the understanding of this special usage comes from the TB-I notation with which it is closely associated as may be seen from the word list above. The TB-I notation attempted to distinguish three medial vowel-lengths viz., *-ā*, *-a* and *Ø*, but provided for only two as it employed the same marker for both *-ā* and *-a*. On this analogy, we may formulate the following empirical rules for the special usage relating to the *u*-vowels:

- (a) The symbols for *ū* (initial and medial) stand for the sounds *ū* (long) or *u* (short).
- (b) The symbols for *u* (initial and medial) stand for the sounds *u* (short) or *u* (shortened).

Let us examine the words in the list given above in the light of these empirical rules.

Rule (a): *ū* to be read as *u*

9 initial occurrences of *ū*- have to be read as *u*- (items 4 to 9, 17-19);

6 medial occurrences of *-ū*- have also to be read as *-u*- (items 1 to 3, 11 to 13).

The situation is less clear in respect of the final occurrences of *-ū* which have to be read as *-u* according to rule (a). Items 15 and 16 may be read respectively as *paracu* and *piṇa(v)u* probably with the short *-u* finally as required by the rule. However, as item 15 is a personal name and item 16 is not attested elsewhere, one cannot be sure about the length of the final *-u* in these cases. Items 10 and 14 have to be emended respectively as *kunṇa(t)tu* and *nikama(t)tu* as in Literary Tamil; one should then expect the shortened *-u* in the final position in these cases and not the short *-u* as required by this rule.

Rule (b): *-u* to be read as shortened *-u*

The diagnostic word in the list (item 8) is *ū pu* to be read as *u(p)pu* (with short and shortened *u* at either end) according to this rule. Apparently the shifting of the long *ū* symbol to represent the short *u* was for the purpose of leaving the short *u* symbol to represent the shortened *-u* in word-final positions. There are, however, no other such clear instances in the word list to confirm this hypothesis.

On the whole, the evidence from the word list supports the empirical rules formulated above governing the usage of the *u*-vowels in the Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. But, as in the case of the TB-I notation, this system is also defective as it provides for only two symbols (*ū* and *u*) to represent three sounds (*ū*, *u* and shortened *u*). This is almost certainly the reason why this orthographic experiment failed. While the TB-I notation was replaced by better systems, the special usage governing the *u*-vowels disappeared without any replacement, thus ending an interesting, though short-lived, attempt to depict the shortened *u* graphically in the Tamil-Brāhmī script.

### 6.16 Dual values of the letters *e* and *o*

The length of *e* and *o* (initial and medial) is not indicated in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions of the Early Period,<sup>1</sup> and only sporadically in the Late Period and in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions with

1. See sections 5.10 & 5.13 (*e/o*).

the addition of the *puḷḷi* ('dot'). There is, however, no doubt that the respective short and long vowels existed in the language. This is proved by the following contrasting pairs of words in the Corpus.

<i>teṇ-</i>	'southern' (49.5.a)	<i>tēṇ-</i>	'(pleasing as) honey' (73.2.a)
<i>peru(m)-</i>	'great' (83.1.a)	<i>pēr-</i>	'great' (13.2.a)
<i>veḷ-</i>	'white' (3.3.a)	<i>vēḷ</i>	'a clan name' (32.1.c)
<i>koṭu-</i>	'to give' (3.9)	<i>-kōṭu</i>	'mountain' (120.1.b)
<i>poṇ</i>	'gold' (36.2.a)	<i>-pōṇ</i> as in <i>vep(p)ōṇ</i> ( <i>vaippōṇ</i> )	'he who has endowed' (13.4)

### 6.17 Doubling of consonants in Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions

One of the characteristic orthographic features of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions is the employment of a single consonant in writing to represent the doubled consonants in the language. This feature is due to the influence of Prakrit inscriptional orthography which seldom permits doubled consonants in writing. However, unlike in Prakrit inscriptions, doubling of consonants is present as an optional feature in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions from the earliest times.<sup>1</sup> The presence or absence of doubled consonants in any particular inscription is unpredictable. The same inscription or even the same word is found to employ or avoid doubled consonants at random. However, a survey of the inscriptions in the Corpus shows a clear trend towards increasing use of doubled consonants approximating to the linguistic norms. The main features of this development which may be interpreted as due to the waning influence of Prakrit inscriptional orthography and the growing influence of the local language, are summarised below.

#### 6.17.1 Doubling of consonants in loanwords

As may be expected, avoidance of doubling of consonants is more pronounced in loanwords from Prakrit.<sup>2</sup> (In the following examples, the basic consonant not in the original is shown within brackets.)

(e.g.) *a(s)sutaṇ* (3.7.b), *āy(c)ca-* (55.5.a), *upa(c)caṇ* (9.1), *ka(s)sapaṇ* (45.2), *ta(c)caṇ* (73.8), *-pu(t)ta* (80.1.b), *-pu(t)tō* (59.1.b), *vi(s)suvaṇ* (27.2.b), *sa(p)pami(t)tā* (41.1);

(cf. also) *ū ti rā ṇa* for *u(t)tiraṇ* (legend on a coin from Sri Lanka).<sup>3</sup>

*mi ti rā ṇa* for *mi(t)tiraṇ* (legend on a gold ring from Karur).<sup>4</sup>

1. See, for example, Nos. 1, 8, 9, 12, 13, 24, etc., in the Corpus for the occurrence of doubled consonants in the Early Period. Subrahmanya Aiyer's observations that "doubling of consonants came into later use in the Tamil language" and that its absence "is a telling feature of (the) records" (1924: p. 288) are incorrect. He did not read the longest inscription at Mangulam (No. 1 in the present Corpus) which contains no fewer than five of the earliest instances of doubled consonants. His own reading of the Anaimalai inscription (No. 60 in the present Corpus) has two more instances. He missed two more instances in the Kongarpuliyankulam inscriptions (Nos. 12 and 13 in the present Corpus).
2. See Appendix V for the word list in Indo-Aryan and Appendix VI for a few more doubtful items.
3. See No. 5, Table 1.6.
4. See No. 3, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.23 E.

Loanwords are sometimes written with doubled consonants, no doubt reflecting the influence of the local language:

(e.g.) *attuvāyi* (read *attavāyi*) (60.6), *atiṭṭāṇam* (63.6), *cāṭṭaṇ* (85.4.b), *dhammam* (1.3), *viyakkaṇ* (84.4.a).

There are occasional hypercorrect doubling of consonants in loanwords reflecting the unsettled orthographic convention:

(e.g.) *atiṭṭāṇṇam* (for *atiṭṭāṇam*) (64.1), *vāṇṇikaṇ* (for *vāṇikaṇ*) (70.1.c).

#### 6.17.2 Doubling of consonants in Tamil words

There are numerous examples, especially in the Early Period, of Tamil words written with single consonants in lieu of doubled consonants:<sup>1</sup>

(e.g.) *aṇu(p)pi(t)a* (62.14), *u(p)pu* (39.1.a), *ko(t)ṭiy-avaṇ* (4.3), *ko(t)ṭi-ōr* (6.3), *ko(r)ri* (65.4.b), *to(t)ṭa* (84.5), *tai(t)ta* (101.2), *pa(l)li-* (1.9), *ma(l)laṇ* (42.2.b), *vai(k)ka* (16.2);

(cf. also) *pi ṭā ṇa* for *pi(t)ṭaṇ* (13.2.c and in a legend on a coin from Sri Lanka<sup>2</sup>).

The number of native words employing doubled consonants is more than that of such loanwords, especially in the Late Period and in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions. Of special interest are pairs with and without doubling of consonants in adjoining inscriptions proving conclusively that the doubled consonants were present in the spoken language:

(e.g.) *koṛi/koṛri* (65.4.b & 66.4.b), *nali-/nalli-* (65.1.a & 66.1.a), *paḷi-/paḷli* (89.4 & 88.1).

A few of the numerous Tamil words written with doubled consonants are given below:

(e.g.) *araṭṭa* (60.7.a), *īttavaṇ* (12.3), *koṭṭupitta-* (1.8), *koṛṛantai* (67.1.a), *ceyvittāṇ* (88.2), *nōṛra* (116.3), *peruṅkūṛraṇ* (88.6), *muṭṭitta* (115.8), *yāṛṛūr* (61.3);

(cf. also) *cāṭṭaṇ āvi*, *tevvaitattai* and *uttiraṇ* (pottery inscriptions from Arikamedu).<sup>3</sup>

*atiṇṇaṇ* (coin from Andippatti).<sup>4</sup>

*tittaṇ* (silver ring from Karur).<sup>5</sup>

There are also a couple of hypercorrect forms with doubled consonants in lieu of single consonants in Tamil words in the Early Period before the orthographic conventions settled down.

(e.g.) *vaḷutti-* for *vaḷuti* (1.7.b), *mattirai-* for *matirai* (38.1).

1. See Appendix IV for the word list.
2. See No. 6, Table 1.6.
3. R.E.M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: Figs. 46-47: Nos. 9 & 19; I. Mahadevan 1996a: No. 5.30 respectively. See also Table 1.5, Nos. 1 & 2 and Figs. 1.19A & B in this vol.
4. See No. 13, Table 1.6.
5. See No. 12, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.24 D.

### 6.17.3 Doubling of consonants as a grammatical feature

Doubling of word-initial and word-final consonants in sandhi are well-known morphophonemic features in Tamil (*mikuta* and *iraṭṭitta* respectively). These are represented in the Late Period and in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

(e.g.) *mikuta*: *tiṭi-kkāttāṇ* (58.1-2), *cē-kkānti* (83.2. a-b).

*iraṭṭitta*: *cell-irumporai* (61.7.b-c)

### 6.17.4 A special orthographic convention for doubling of consonants

Doubling of consonants in the inscriptions does not follow the rules of grammar in some cases.<sup>2</sup> As such usage is also seen in later Tamil inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> they should not be dismissed as 'scribal errors', but regarded as an orthographic convention of the inscriptional language:

(e.g.) *amaṇṇaṇ* (for *amaṇaṇ*) (61.2),

*kurraṇṇ - aṇupitta* (for *kurraṇ aṇupitta*) (63.4-5).

### 6.17.5 Doubled consonants in Early Tamil inscriptions: a statistical study

As mentioned earlier, the inscriptions represent doubled consonants with increasing frequency in the Late Period and in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions, moving closer to the linguistic usage. This trend is brought out in Table 6.3. The overall trend is quite clear. While avoidance of doubled consonants was the norm in the Early Period, the employment of doubled consonants became dominant in the Late Period and almost the exclusive orthographic convention in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions.

	Early Ta. Br.		Late Ta. Br.		Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of times doubling of consonants is avoided	77	83.70	25	37.31	4	13.33
No. of times doubling of consonants is present	15	16.30	42	62.69	26	86.67
Total No. of times doubling of consonants is expected	92		67		30	

Table 6.3. Frequency of doubled consonants in the Corpus.

## 6.18 Analytical writing in Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions

One of the characteristic orthographic features of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, especially in the Early Period, is what may be called 'analytical' writing in which non-initial word-segments and

1. See sections 7.15.3 & 7.15.4.

2. Ibid.

3. See Commentary (63.4). See also A. Velu Pillai 1976: pp. 35-36 for examples from later inscriptions.

grammatical suffixes commencing with vowels occur separately without sandhi or the glides *y* or *v* in between. This style of writing in which segmentation occurs at the junction of words, or words and suffixes, cannot be described as alphabetic as suggested by Subramanian.<sup>1</sup> His theory is not borne out by the evidence,<sup>2</sup> though it has been repeated in later publications.<sup>3</sup> The Tamil scripts have remained basically syllabic (as the parent Brāhmī) with the exception of free-standing basic consonants.

Two types of segmentation through analytical writing are illustrated below, each involving non-initial word-segments and grammatical suffixes commencing with vowels.<sup>4</sup>

#### 6.18.1 Consonant followed by vowel:

(e.g.) (i) between word-segments:

<i>pākaṇ-ūr</i>	Pākaṇūr	'a place name'	13.1
<i>veḷ-aṟai</i>	Ve(l)ḷaṟai	'a place name'	6.1

(ii) between word and suffix:

<i>kaṭal-aṇ</i>	Kaṭalaṇ, a personal name	1.7.a
<i>cēvit-ōṇ</i>	<i>cēvi(t)tōṇ</i> , 'he who caused to be made'. <sup>5</sup>	18.3
<i>kuvira-aṇ-a</i>	'of Kuviraṇ' (pottery inscription from Alagankulam) <sup>6</sup>	

(iii) both types:

<i>pēr-ay-am</i>	<i>pērayam</i> 'large tank'	35.2
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#### 6.18.2 Vowel followed by vowel<sup>7</sup>

(e.g.) (i) between word-segments:

<i>karu-ūr</i>	Karu(v)ūr	'a place name'	69.1
<i>tiṭi-il-</i>	Ti(t)ti(y)il	'a place name'	33.1

(ii) between word and suffix:

<i>ā-iṇa</i>	<i>ā(y)iṇa</i>	'who is, alias'	41.2
<i>koṭi-ōr</i>	<i>ko(t)ti(y)ōr</i>	'they who carved'	6.3

1. "The vowelised consonants (are) sometimes written not as one letter, but as two separate letters, with the consonant and the vowel side by side". (T.N. Subramanian 1957: p. 1509).
2. Ibid. Figs. 7a & b. The first example *y ū* is probably from the Karungalakkudi inscription (No. 34) in which the place name *eḷaiy-ūr* is written as two words. His second example *ṭ ā* (sic) is probably taken from *atiṭ-aṇam* (read *atiṭ-āṇam*) in the Sittannavasal-A inscription (No. 49) in which the pause serves the same function as doubling of consonants (*atiṭṭāṇam*). These are not cases of alphabetic writing.
3. E.g., K.A. Nilakanta Sastri 1955 (4th edn. 1975): p. 90.
4. For more examples, see section 7.4.4.
5. See comments on the verb *cē* in section 3.2.2 (v).
6. Natana Kasinathan 1997: No. 12; Pl. VI, Fig. 14.
7. See also section 7.4.4.

Both types of segmentation, especially as in section 6.18.2, occur in early medieval Tamil inscriptions also.<sup>1</sup>

### 6.19 Pause in Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions

One of the remarkable orthographic features of the Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions is the occasional pause or break between a consonant and the following vowel in the *same* syllable. This does not appear to be alphabetic writing with separation of consonants from the following vowels.<sup>2</sup> This orthographic feature does not occur in the Late Period and is not also attested in Tamil literary or epigraphical sources. The pause is noticed only in three words (two of them with two variants each) in the Corpus. An empirical study of the words reveals that the pause serves two functions.

#### 6.19.1 *Pause in lieu of doubling of consonants*

(i) <i>ataṭ-aṇam</i> (read <i>atiṭ-āṇam</i> for <i>atiṭṭāṇam</i> )	'hermitage'	50.3
(ii) <i>atiṭ-aṇam</i> (read <i>atiṭ-āṇam</i> for <i>atiṭṭāṇam</i> )	'hermitage'	49.8
The word occurs elsewhere in the Corpus as <i>atiṭṭāṇam</i> with the normal doubling of consonants (-ṭṭ-). <sup>3</sup>		63.6

It is interesting that this archaic orthographic convention occurs also in Tamil-Brāhmī legends on inscribed objects.

- (i) *kol-i- p-puṛai* 'Kolli Puṛai ' (Early Cēra coin from Karur).<sup>4</sup>
- (ii) *kol-irum-puṛai-y* (*kolli + irum-*) 'Irumpuṛai of Kolli ' (Early Cēra coin from Karur).<sup>5</sup>
- (iii) *veḷ-i cāmpāṇ* 'Veḷḷi Cāmpāṇ' (silver ring from Karur).<sup>6</sup>

#### 6.19.2 *Pause indicating that the following vowel is a diphthong*

(i) <i>ar-itaṇ</i> (Aritaṇ)	8.2
(ii) <i>ar-iytaṇ</i> (Ariytaṇ)	18.2

These are personal names of donors derived from Harīta (Pkt.). The pause between *r* and *i* in the first example seems to signal that the following vowel *i* should be read as the diphthong -*iy* as made explicit in the second example. Cf. also *ariti* (34.2) and *ariyti* (25.1.b), personal names of donors, derived from Hariti or Haritī (Pkt.).<sup>7</sup>

1. E.g., *kāviri-iṇ*, *yāṇai-um*, etc., in the Velvikudi Plates (*Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ*: No. 1, lines 93 and 57-58 respectively).
2. See section 6.18.
3. See Commentary (49.8).
4. See No. 7, Table 1.6 and Fig. 1.22 B.
5. See No. 8, Table 1.6 and Fig. 1.22 C.
6. See No. 7, Table 1.8 and Fig. 1.24 B.
7. See Commentary (8.2).

(iii) *par-acu* (Paracu)

9.2

This is a personal name of a donor.<sup>1</sup> The pause between *r* and *a* seems to signal that the following vowel is to be read as the diphthong *ai*. Cf. (inscr.) pairs like *aracu* / *araicu* and *uvaccaṇ* / *uvaiccaṇ*; cf. LT *amaiccu* < Pkt. *amacca*.

**6.20 Assimilation and epenthesis in loanwords**

The rules of assimilation and epenthesis between Sanskrit and Prakrit on the one hand, and between Sanskrit and Tamil on the other, are remarkably similar. This similarity is no doubt due to the fact that evolution of the Middle Indo-Aryan was strongly influenced by the Dravidian languages spoken in North India and the prolonged bilingualism in ancient times. Thus it is not always easy to decide whether assimilation or epenthesis in any particular case had already taken place in Prakrit before borrowing by Old Tamil, or whether the change took place when borrowing from Sanskrit into Tamil according to the rules of Tamil orthography. In practice, the question is decided mostly on chronological grounds, the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions borrowing only from Prakrit, and the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions from Sanskrit (along with Prakrit borrowings surviving from an earlier age).<sup>2</sup>

	Sanskrit	Prakrit	Loanwords	
<b>6.20.1 Where the changes had taken place in Prakrit:</b>				
Assimilation	<i>adhishṭhāna</i>	<i>adhiṭṭhāna</i>	<i>atiṭṭāṇam</i>	63.6
	<i>putra</i>	<i>putta</i>	<i>-pu(t)ta</i>	80.1.b
Epenthesis	<i>śrī</i>	<i>siri</i>	<i>-siri</i>	1.2.b
<b>6.20.2 Where the changes appear to have taken place in Tamil:</b>				
Assimilation	<i>astu</i>		<i>-(a)ttu</i>	115.1.b
	<i>śakti</i>		<i>catti</i>	119.2.b
Epenthesis	<i>ācārya</i>		<i>ācāriyar</i>	115.4

**6.21 Orthographic changes in loanwords**

Loanwords from Indo-Aryan are mostly adapted to the Tamil phonetic pattern resulting in the following types of orthographic changes.<sup>3</sup>

**6.21.1 Loss of voicing**

	IA	Inscr. form	Ref. No.
$g > k$	<i>gaṇaka</i>	<i>kaṇaka-</i>	40.2
	<i>gaṇi</i>	<i>kaṇi</i>	1.1

1. See Commentary (9.2).

2. See Commentary on the relevant entries for discussion.

3. The examples given here are selective to illustrate the types of orthographic variations. See the Etymological Indexes (Appendices V & VI) for more examples.

	IA	Inscr. form	Ref. No.
$g > k$	<i>gōpa</i>	<i>kōpaṇ</i>	84.4.b
	<i>nigama</i>	<i>nikama-</i>	3.4
	<i>gōtraja</i>	<i>kōtiracaṇ</i>	pottery inscription <sup>1</sup>
$j > c$	<i>rāja-</i>	<i>irācar</i>	111.1
$d > t$	<i>dānam</i>	<i>tāṇa</i>	19.4
	<i>dēva</i>	<i>tēvaṇ</i>	84.4.d
	<i>dēvadattā</i>	<i>tevvaitattai</i>	pottery inscription <sup>2</sup>
$b > p$	<i>kuṭumbika</i>	<i>kuṭumpikaṇ</i>	55.2.b
<b>6.21.2 Loss of aspiration</b>			
$gh > k$	<i>ghaṭikā</i>	<i>kaṭikai</i>	88.3
$ch > c$	<i>kacchapa</i>	<i>kaccavanu</i>	119.2.a
$jh > (c)c$	<i>upajjha</i>	<i>upa(c)caṇ</i>	9.1
$ṭh > ṭṭ$	<i>adhiṭṭhāna</i>	<i>atiṭṭāṇam</i>	63.6
$th > (t)t$	<i>sattha, sātha</i>	<i>cā(t)taṇ</i>	55.5.d
		<i>cāttaṇ</i>	85.4.b
$dh > t$	<i>adhiṭṭhāna</i>	<i>atiṭṭāṇam</i>	63.6
	<i>ārādhana</i>	<i>ārātaṇi</i>	115.6
$ph > p$	<i>phāṇita</i>	<i>pāṇita-</i>	42.1.a
$bh > p$	<i>bhadamta</i>	<i>patantaṇ</i>	60.3
	<i>bhūti</i>	<i>pūti</i>	81.2.a
<b>6.21.3 Loss of anusvāra ṁ</b>			
	<i>dānam</i>	<i>tāṇa</i>	19.4
<b>6.21.4 Loss of h</b>			
	<i>iha</i>	<i>iva- (&lt; * i-a)</i>	60.1.a
	<i>hariti</i>	<i>ariti</i>	34.2
	<i>hārita</i>	<i>āritaṇ</i>	60.5
<b>6.21.5 Substitution of sibilants</b>			
$s > c$	<i>kusala</i>	<i>kucalaṇ</i>	108.2
	<i>satti</i>	<i>catti</i>	119.2.b

1. From Arikamedu. R.E.M. Wheeler *et al.* 1946: Pl. XLI: No. 9. See also No. 2, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.19B in this vol.

2. Ibid. Fig. 47.19. Revised reading in I. Mahadevan 1973: No. III, Fig. 3.

	IA	Inscri. form	Ref. No.
$s > c$	<i>satthā, sātha</i>	<i>cā(t)taṇ</i> <i>cāttaṇ</i>	55.5.d 85.4.b
$s > y$	<i>kāsapa</i> <i>tisa</i>	<i>kāyapaṇ</i> <i>tiyaṇ</i>	61.4.b 47.1.a
$s > \emptyset$	<i>satiya (&lt; * catiya)</i>	<i>atiyan(LT atiyaṇ)</i>	59.2.a
6.21.6 Intervocalic -p- > -v-			
	<i>gapiti (&lt; * gāpiti)</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>kāviti</i>	3.5
6.21.7 IA non-initial -n > Ta. -ṇ			
	<i>anaśana</i>	<i>aṇacapa(m)</i>	116.2
	<i>ārādhana</i>	<i>ārātaṇi</i>	115.6
	<i>dāna(m)</i>	<i>tāṇa</i>	19.4
6.21.8 IA final -ā > Ta. -ai			
	<i>ghaṭikā</i>	<i>kaṭikai</i>	88.3

## 6.22 Voicing of consonants: evidence of Tamil-Brāhmī orthography

### 6.22.1 Caldwell's Law

Caldwell's celebrated 'law of convertibility of surds and sonants' states that the stops are always pronounced as surds in initial position and when doubled, and as sonants in medial (intervocalic and postnasal) positions.<sup>1</sup> The law was formulated by him on the basis of modern Tamil pronunciation. The question whether this law held good in earlier times has long been debated.<sup>2</sup> There is no direct evidence as the Tamil script does not distinguish between voiced and voiceless consonants. Attempts have been made to settle the question on the basis of Tamil loanwords in Indo-Aryan and Western classical languages and also in Kannada and Telugu literary works and inscriptions, as the scripts of these languages could have faithfully recorded voicing in the loanwords.<sup>3</sup> The problem has also been studied more rigorously utilising the comparative method of Dravidian phonology.<sup>4</sup> As far as Old Tamil is concerned, there is at present a consensus among Dravidian linguists that stops had weakened or lenis articulation leading to voicing in medial positions.

1. Robert Caldwell 1856 (3rd edn. 1961 reprint): pp. 138-139.
2. The literature on this question is extensive. See especially T. Burrow 1968a: pp. 1-17; Bh. Krishnamurti 1961: pp. 28-33; K. Zvelebil 1970: pp. 78-84; P. S. Subrahmanyam 1983: pp. 269-286 for discussion and earlier references.
3. E.g., for evidence from a 12th or 13th century literary work, see Bh. Krishnamurti 1971: pp. 356-361; for inscriptional evidence of Tamil loanwords in Kannada, Grantha and Nāgarī scripts, see K. G. Krishnan 1981b: pp. 77-86.
4. See references in n. 2 above.

The discovery of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions has brought to light new evidence in the form of a sizeable vocabulary of Old Tamil interspersed with loanwords from Prakrit in a script derived from Brāhmī which has a complete set of voiced consonants. The significance of this new development for re-examining the problem of voicing of consonants in Old Tamil has been recognised;<sup>1</sup> but no in-depth study could be undertaken earlier for want of reliable texts. The evidence presently available may be summarised as follows.

#### 6.22.2 Absence of voiced consonants in Tamil-Brāhmī

There are no voiced consonants in the graphemic inventory of the Tamil-Brāhmī script,<sup>2</sup> even though they are present in the Brāhmī script and known to the local scribes as proved by the exceptional occurrence of *dhammam/dhamam* in two of the earliest inscriptions (Nos. 1 & 2). The presence of voiced consonants in contemporary Prakrit inscriptions on pottery from ancient Tamil sites like Arikamedu also shows familiarity with the full range of the Brāhmī script.<sup>3</sup> And yet Tamil words in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are written without exception employing only the voiceless consonants of the Brāhmī script in initial as well as medial (intervocalic and postnasal) positions as illustrated below:<sup>4</sup>

(e.g.)	<i>peruṅkaṭuṅkōṇ</i>	'a personal name'	61.9
	<i>neṭuṅcaḷiyaṇ</i>	'a personal name'	1.5
	<i>toṇṭi</i>	'a place name'	10.2
	<i>tantai-</i>	'father'	2.8
	<i>-irumpoṇai</i>	'a dynastic name'	61.7.c-d

#### 6.22.3 Substitution of voiced with voiceless consonants in loanwords and Prakrit inscriptions

Voiced consonants even in the loanwords from Prakrit are systematically replaced in all positions by the corresponding voiceless consonants (with the solitary exception cited above).<sup>5</sup>

(e.g.) Initial	<i>gaṇi</i> > <i>kaṇi</i>	'title of a senior Jaina monk'	1.1
	<i>dānam</i> > <i>tāṇa</i>	'gift'	19.4
Intervocalic	<i>udayana</i> > <i>utayaṇa-</i>	'a personal name'	24.5
	<i>nigama</i> > <i>nikama-</i>	'merchant guild'	3.4
Postnasal	<i>nanda</i> > <i>nanta-</i>	'a personal name'	1.2.a
	<i>kuṭumbika</i> > <i>-kuṭumpikaṇ</i>	'householder'	55.2.b

1. E.g., K. Zvelebil 1970: p. 79, n.3. P. S. Subrahmanyam 1983: p. 279.

2. See section 5.5.

3. For a list of Prakrit (including Sinhala-Prakrit) inscriptions on pottery from Arikamedu, see I. Mahadevan 1996a: p. 291.

4. See Etymological Index: Dravidian (Appendix IV) for more examples.

5. See section 6.21 for more examples. See also Etymological Index: Indo-Aryan (Appendix V).

A tendency towards replacement of voiced consonants and sibilants with voiceless consonants is seen even in some of the contemporary Prakrit inscriptions on inscribed objects found in the Tamil country:

(e.g.) *bhāvataṭasa* for *bhavadattasa* (Pkt. legend on a gold ring from Karur).<sup>1</sup>

*cāmutaha* for *śamudaha* (Sinh. Pkt. inscription on pottery from Alagankulam).<sup>2</sup>

#### 6.22.4 Weakened articulation of consonants

There is, however, some evidence for weakened or spirantised articulation of consonants in intervocalic position.

(e.g.) -k- (>-x-\*) > Ø as in *makaṇ* > -*mān* (read -*māṇ*) 'son' 59.2.c

-c- > -y- as in *kācipaṇ* > -*kāyipaṇ* 'a personal name' 60.7.b

-p- > -v- as in *ceyipita* (65.5) and *ceyivitta* (83.5) 'which was caused to be made'<sup>3</sup>

#### 6.22.5 Minimal presence and loss of the sibilant *s*

Only one sibilant viz., *s* occurs minimally in loanwords in the Early Period. Even in the early inscriptions, loss of the sibilant occurs in initial position (*s*- > \**c*- > Ø).

(e.g.) *satiya* > *atiyan* (read *atiyaṇ*) 'a clan name' 59.2.a

*samaṇa* > *amaṇaṇ* 'Jaina monk' 24.1

#### 6.22.6 *Tolkāppiyam* silent on voicing

*Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest extant grammatical treatise in Tamil, makes no reference to voicing of consonants.<sup>4</sup>

#### 6.22.7 Evidence of voicing only from the early medieval period

The practice of employing Grantha characters for voiced consonants, aspirates and sibilants to express these non-Tamil sounds in loanwords occurring in Tamil inscriptions commenced only from about the beginning of the 7th century A.D. It is also from this period that we find evidence for the occasional presence of voiced consonants in medial position even in native Tamil words expressed by Grantha characters.

#### 6.22.8 Interpreting the evidence

The evidence briefly summarised above has been interpreted in two diametrically opposite ways, one emphasising the negative evidence of the earliest Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions and the native

1. See No. 10, Table 1.8.

2. I. Mahadevan 1996c: Inscription No. 4, Fig. 4.

3. See causative suffixes -*pi*- and -*vi*- in the Index to Grammatical Morphemes (Appendix VII). See also section 7.28.4 for discussion.

4. According to P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri 1930 (1999 reprint: Preface, p. xviii), it is evident that voiced consonants did not exist in the ancient Tamil language as *Tolkāppiyam* provides only for 30 primary sounds including 5 stops.

grammatical tradition, and the other stressing the objective results of the comparative method in Dravidian.

- (A) There was no voicing in Tamil when the Tamil-Brāhmī script was devised and *Tolkāppiyam* was written. Had voicing been present, the readily available and known characters for the voiced consonants in the Brāhmī script would have been borrowed. This evidence is reinforced by the virtual avoidance of voiced consonants even in the Prakrit loanwords occurring in Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, indicating the influence of Tamil phonology with its lack of voicing. Equally important is the negative evidence of *Tolkāppiyam* which devotes a whole chapter to articulatory phonetics (*Tol. Eḷu. Piṟappiyal*) which would have dealt with voicing if the feature was present in the language.<sup>1</sup>
- (B) The comparative method points to the existence of lenis articulation and voicing in medial position in Dravidian even prior to the pre-Tamil stage. As these features are present in modern Dravidian languages including Tamil, they must have existed in Old Tamil also, but not provided for in its orthography.<sup>2</sup> This omission is explained by assuming that those who created the earliest script for Tamil must have been aware of the principle of the phoneme and saw no point in borrowing Brāhmī voiced consonants to indicate voicing of allophones in complementary distribution which is completely predictable.<sup>3</sup> The consequent reduction achieved in the number of characters in the script was probably perceived as an advantage.

#### 6.22.9 Discussion

While the comparative method is objective, the results in this case do not appear to be secure as they fail to resolve the following contradictions implicit in the argument summarised at (B) above:

1. P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri 1934 (1997 reprint): pp. 49-57; his conclusion: "Therefore Dr. Caldwell's theory of convertibility of surds and sonants can hold good only with reference to the spoken Tamil of the present day." See also P. S. Subrahmanyam 1983: pp. 269-286. His view is: "on the whole, it will be better to conclude that at the earliest stage of Tamil (i.e., when the Tamil script was devised and *Tolkāppiyam* was written) plosives were pronounced voiceless in the medial position and later, i. e., perhaps at the beginning of our era, voiced or lax articulation of them in that position must have started." However, according to Suniti Kumar Chatterji (1956: pp. 164-165), voicing of stops existed in Ancient Tamil of the pre-Sangam and pre-*Tolkāppiyam* period, but voicing was totally lost in the period between the early centuries of the Christian Era, or even earlier still, and 600 A.D. "In oldest Tamil as in the Pallava inscriptions and as in the earliest Tamil of literature, the modern Tamil habit of pronunciation did not obtain. There were no voiced stops at all in the language; otherwise there would have been no need to frame a special alphabet and orthography for Tamil".
2. K. Zvelebil (1970: p. 80) puts forth this view most forcefully: "After careful re-examination of this problem it seems that we have no reason whatsoever to posit voiceless intervocalic stops for any stage of Dravidian" (emphasis in the original).
3. Ibid. p. 82: "This situation (namely that intervocalic voiced stops are regular, phonologically conditioned, positional allophones of one series of stop-phonemes, in complementary distribution with voiceless initial stops) was obviously well understood by those who first devised or adapted the Tamil system of writing; they had a clear conception of the basic principles of the phoneme and its positional variants, and Tamil orthography is truly and fully phonemic in this respect."

- (a) On the one hand, the orthography of the Early Tamil-Brāhmī script is described as experimental, halting or even defective; and on the other, the script is regarded as so sophisticated as to anticipate the modern theory of the phoneme and devise an orthographic system based on it.
- (b) *Tolkāppiyam* has been rightly praised for its extraordinary insights into the principles of articulatory phonetics; but at the same time, the work is presumed to be unaware of the articulatory feature of voicing of the consonants in medial position.

#### 6.22.10 Conclusion

On the basis of the direct and unambiguous evidence from the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions taken together with the native grammatical tradition, the present study favours the interpretation summarised at (A) above, viz., there was no voicing of consonants in Old Tamil.<sup>1</sup> There was a slight drift towards lenis articulation and spirantisation of consonants in medial position; but the articulation in these cases was perceived to be quite different from the full-fledged voicing in Indo-Aryan, which explains why the Brāhmī characters for voiced consonants were not borrowed into the Tamil-Brāhmī script. By the time voicing of consonants developed as a secondary characteristic in Tamil in the early medieval period as a result of contacts with Indo-Aryan as well as the Kannada and Telugu languages, the Tamil script had acquired fixity and resisted inclusion of additional characters in its graphemic inventory. The problem of representing voiced consonants in the loanwords from the Indo-Aryan was solved by utilising Grantha characters for this purpose. Even thereafter, Literary Tamil avoided employing Grantha characters to indicate voicing of consonants in medial position. This avoidance is also seen in Malayalam orthography for native words<sup>2</sup> even though the script is derived from Grantha and has a full complement of characters for voiced consonants.

1. It is relevant in this context to refer to the dual system followed for romanised transliteration of Tamil. The *Tamil Lexicon* and linguistic publications strictly follow the phonemic method, using only one set of stops ( *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p* ). The official epigraphical publications follow the phonetic method indicating voicing in medial position with the use of voiced stops ( *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d* and *b* ) imposing modern Tamil pronunciation on ancient inscriptional language. The transliteration is, however, not always quite consistent. In practice, the official epigraphical publications follow the phonemic transcription for the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, but switch over to the phonetic transcription for the later inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Tamil scripts.
2. Cf. Malayalam entries in *DEDR*. E.g., *akam* 'inside' (D. 7), *ampu* 'arrow' (D. 178), etc.



# 7

## GRAMMAR

### I. PHONOLOGY

#### 7.1 The Tamil alphabet

Tamil has an alphabet of 30 letters (*Tol. Eju.* 1). All except *au* occur in the Corpus. However, the length of *e* and *o* is not indicated in the earlier inscriptions, and only sporadically in the later inscriptions. Three 'dependent' sounds (*cārpeḷuttu*), viz., the shortened *-i* and *-u* and the *āytam* (*h*) are also enumerated (*Tol. Eju.* 2), out of which only the last has a graphic form. The *āytam* does not occur in the Corpus. The Brāhmī characters *dh* and *s* occur marginally in loanwords from Indo-Aryan. See Chapters 5 and 6 for the distinctive palaeographic and orthographic features respectively of the Tamil-Brāhmī script.

#### 7.2 Phonemic inventory

As the language of the inscriptions is Tamil, it is possible to set up the following phonemic inventory based on a comparison with Literary Tamil (LT).

##### 7.2.1 Vowels (*uyir*)

	Front		Central		Back	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>			<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ē</i>			<i>o</i>	<i>ō</i>
Low			<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>		

The diphthong *ai* may be interpreted as *ay* (*Tol. Eju.* 56); cf. *-aiyaṇ* (55.3.b) and *-a(y)yaṇ* (55.5.b) occurring in the same inscription and also *koṟṟantai / koṟṟantay* (67.1 & 77.2) and *matirai / matiray* (24.2 & 36.1).

##### 7.2.2 Consonants (*mey*)

	Stops ( <i>valliṇam</i> )	Nasals ( <i>melliṇam</i> )	Liquids ( <i>iṭaiyiṇam</i> )
Velar	<i>k</i>	<i>ṅ</i>	
Palatal	<i>c</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>y</i>
Retroflex	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>ḷ</i> <i>ḻ</i>
Alveolar	<i>r</i>	<i>ṙ</i>	<i>r</i> <i>l</i>
Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	
Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>v</i>

The velar nasal *ṇ* occurs in the Corpus only as an allophone of *m* before *-k* in sandhi.  
(e.g.) *peruṇkaṭuṇkōṇ* (*perum* + *kaṭum* + *kōṇ*) 'a personal name' (61.9).

### 7.3 Dependent sounds (*cārpeḷuttu*)

#### 7.3.1 Shortened *-i* (*kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*)

While there is no graphic representation of the sound, its presence in the language can be inferred from the following passage:

*mēṟcēriku-y=āṭi* 'having fought for Mēṟcēri' (112.2-3)

Here *-ku* seems to have been pronounced *-ki* as indicated by the glide *-y-* following it. Cf. *Tol. Eḷu.* 35 & 410. It also appears that the shortened *-u* following the front vowel *-i* has changed into the shortened *-i*. See Commentary for discussion.

#### 7.3.2 Shortened *-u* (*kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*)

There seems to have been an interesting but short-lived attempt in the Early Tamil-Brāhmī script to distinguish the shortened *-u* from the short *-u* as illustrated by the following example:

*ū pu* for *upu* (*uppu*) 'salt' (39.1.a)

where the initial *ū-* stands for *u-* and the final *-u* for the shortened *-u*. In this orthographic system, the graphic *ū* stands for the vowels *ū* or *u* and the graphic *u* for the short vowel *u* or the shortened *-u* according to the context. See section 6.15 for explanation of the rationale of this system.

#### 7.3.3 The *āytam* (*h*)

The unique Tamil sound *āytam* (*h*) is mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam* (*Eḷu.* 2). The sound has been reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian (Bh. Krishnamurti 1997: pp. 147-151). Even though the *āytam* does not occur in the Tamil-Brāhmī or Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions, its presence in the language may be inferred from the words:

*ittā-a* < *iḥtu* + *ā-a* 'lo, behold, look here !' (1.4)

*īṭā* < *iḥtu* + *ā* id. (2.4, 16.1)

(cf. LT *itā* / *īṭā* in the same sense.)

*itta* < *iḥtu* + *a* 'this (accusative case)' (13.3)

(cf. LT *itai* / *ittai* in the same sense.)

In these words, the *āytam* (*h*) seems to be elided with compensatory doubling of the succeeding stop or lengthening of the preceding vowel (see Bh. Krishnamurti 1997: p. 160 for the rule).

## 7.4 Distribution of vowels

### 7.4.1 Initial

All the 12 vowels can occur initially in Tamil (*Tol. Elu*, 59). All of them (except *ō* and *au*) occur initially in the Corpus:

a-	<i>a<u>ṛ</u>am</i>	'charity'	76.4
ā-	<i>āka</i>	'having become'	61.13
i-	<i>iruvar</i>	'two persons'	48.5
ī-	<i>ī<u>t</u>ta</i>	'which was given'	59.3
u-	<i>u<u>ṛ</u>ai</i>	'abode of ascetics'	9.3
ū-	<i>ūr</i>	'village, town, city'	19.2
e-	<i>e<u>m</u></i>	'our'	19.1
ē-	<i>ē<u>v</u>a</i>	'when commanded'	76.2
ai-	<i>ai<u>m</u>pattē(u)</i>	'fifty-seven'	116.1
o-	<i>o(p)pa<u>ṇ</u></i>	'a personal name'	79.1.a

The absence of word-initial *ō-* in the Corpus is not significant. Cf. *ōtalaṇ* 'a personal name' in the Tamil-Brāhmī legend on a ring (No. 2, Table 1.8).

### 7.4.2 Medial

All the 12 vowels can occur medially in Tamil. All of them except *-au-* occur medially in the Corpus:

-a-	<i>ka<u>l</u></i>	'stone'	48.7
-ā-	<i>kā<u>t</u>tā<u>ṇ</u></i>	'a personal name'	58.2
-i-	<i>ki<u>ḷ</u>ār</i>	'a title'	84.2
-ī-	<i>kī<u>r</u>a<u>ṇ</u></i>	'a personal name'	65.4.a
-u-	<i>ku<u>ṇ</u>ru</i>	'hill'	73.5
-ū-	<i>nū<u>ṛ</u>u</i>	'hundred'	16.3
-e-	<i>ne<u>l</u></i>	'paddy'	16.5
-ē-	<i>vē<u>ḷ</u></i>	'a title'	32.1.c
-ai-	<i>ta<u>ḷ</u>(t)ta</i>	'which was made'	101.2
-o-	<i>po<u>ṇ</u></i>	'gold'	36.2.a
-ō-	<i>kō<u>ṇ</u></i>	'chief'	73.4

### 7.4.3 Final

All vowels can occur word-finally in Tamil (*Tol. Eḷu.* 69-70). This general rule is, however, subject to restrictions in respect of some consonant-vowels occurring word-finally (*Tol. Eḷu.* 71-77) considered below in section 7.6.2.2. Only the following 7 vowels occur in final position in the Corpus:

-a	<i>aṟutta</i>	'which was carved'	61.14
-ā	<i>ittā</i>	'behold!'	2.4
-i	<i>aṇṇi</i>	'honorific (fem.)'	83.4.c
-u	<i>koḷu</i>	'ploughshare'	43.1.a
-ē	<i>kuv-aṇkē</i>	'to Kuvaṇ'	1.2.c
-ai	<i>aṟuvai</i>	'cloth'	46.2.a
-ō	<i>kō</i>	'king'	61.6

*ī* occurs word-finally in *visākī* 'a personal name' in a Tamil-Brāhmī inscription on pottery from Kodumanal (K. Rajan 1994: p. 76, Pl. 26).

### 7.4.4 Vowel clusters

Vowel clusters occur in Old Tamil as further elongation (*aḷapeṭai*) of a long vowel by adding the corresponding short vowel in some grammatical forms or to meet prosodic requirements (*Tol. Eḷu.* 6). There is only one instance of an *aḷapeṭai* in the Corpus in the interjection *ittā-a* 'behold!' (1.4).

However, there is a relative abundance of vowel clusters in the Corpus as mere juxtaposition of vowels. This phenomenon is due to the marked preference, especially in the earlier inscriptions, for the separation of word-segments and grammatical suffixes commencing with vowels (see section 6.18.2).

There are 13 types of clusters with two vowels each in the Corpus as illustrated below:

a-a	<i>cēnta-a</i>	'of Cēntaṇ'	28.1.b
a-u	<i>muḷa-ukai</i>	'cave'	17.3.b
ā-a	<i>ittā-a</i>	'behold!'	1.4
ā-i	<i>(ā)-iṇa</i>	'who is'	41.2
i-i	<i>ti(ṭ)ti-il-</i>	'a place name'	33.1
i-ū	<i>kā(p)pi-ūr</i>	'a place name' (only in sandhi)	74.1
i-ō	<i>ko(ṭ)ti-ōr</i>	'they who carved'	6.3
u-a	<i>ku-aṇ</i>	'a personal name'	2.2.c

<i>u-i</i>	<i>karu-iyā</i>	'which was carved'	17.2
<i>u-ū</i>	<i>karu-ūr</i>	'a place name' (only in sandhi)	69.1
<i>e-i</i>	<i>e-iyī</i>	'a place name' (-iy- error for -yi-)	18.1
<i>ē-i</i>	<i>cē-iyā</i>	'which was made'	2.10
<i>ai-ū</i>	<i>vintai-ūr</i>	'a place name' (only in sandhi)	57.1

The only instance of a cluster of three vowels seems to be due to scribal error:

<i>iru-a-ar</i> (for <i>iru-ar</i> )	'two persons'	45.3.b
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## 7.5 Distribution of consonants

### 7.5.1 In the Corpus

The distribution of consonants including clusters in the Corpus is summarised in Table 7.1. Examples of the distribution are listed below. Brief explanatory remarks on exceptional cases are added within brackets to the relevant entries.

<i>k-</i>	<i>kal</i>	'stone'	48.7
<i>-k-</i>	<i>makāṇ</i>	'son'	20.2
<i>-kk-</i>	<i>vaṇṇakkaṇ</i>	'a clan name'	85.3.b
<i>-ñk-</i>	<i>peruṇkaṭuṇkōṇ</i>	'a personal name' (only in sandhi)	61.9
<i>c-</i>	<i>cunai</i>	'spring'	84.6
<i>-c-</i>	<i>muciṇi</i>	'a place name'	56.3
<i>-cc-</i>	<i>kaccavanu</i>	'a personal name' (loanword)	119.2.a
<i>-ñc-</i>	<i>añci</i>	'a personal name'	59.2.d
<i>-ṭ-</i>	<i>koṭu</i>	'given'	10.4
<i>-ṭṭ-</i>	<i>koṭṭupi(t)tōṇ</i>	'he who caused to be carved'	8.3
<i>ṇ-</i>	<i>ṇākaṇ</i>	'a personal name'	
		( <i>ṇ-</i> due to influence of Pkt.)	72.1
<i>-ṇ-</i>	<i>amaṇaṇ</i>	'Jaina monk'	24.1
<i>-ṇ</i>	<i>veṇ-</i>	'pure, bright' (only in sandhi)	14.1.a
<i>-ṇṇ-</i>	<i>aṇṇi</i>	'honorific (fem.)'	83.4.c
<i>-ṇṭ-</i>	<i>karaṇṭai</i>	'cave'	51.1
<i>-ṇk-</i>	<i>veṇkāsiṇaṇ</i>	'a personal name' (only in sandhi)	14.1
<i>-ṇp-</i>	<i>veṇpa(l)li</i>	'a place name' (only in sandhi)	46.1
<i>t-</i>	<i>tanta</i>	'who took (in battle)'	73.3

-t-	<i>mutā</i>	'elder, senior'	61.1
-tt-	<i>eḷuttu</i>	'letter (of the alphabet)'	85.1
-n-	<i>nūṟu</i>	'hundred'	16.3
-n-	<i>veni</i>	'a personal name' (-n- error for -ṇ(ṇ)-)	70.2.a
-n	<i>atiyan</i>	'a personal name' (-n error for -ṇ)	59.2.a
-nn-	<i>aṇacaṇan-nōṟṟa</i>	'who observed the penance of fasting' (only in sandhi)	116.2-3
-nt-	<i>tantai</i>	'father'	2.8
-nm-	<i>tanmaṇ</i>	'a personal name' (only in a loanword; -n- probably error for -ṇ-)	45.1
-p-	<i>piṟanta</i>	'who was born'	49.3
-p-	<i>ceyipi(t)ta</i>	'which was caused to be made'	65.5
-(p)p-	<i>u(p)pu</i>	'salt' (-p- not doubled in original)	39.1.a
-m-	<i>malai</i>	'mountain'	85.3.a
-m-	<i>ama</i>	'who abide'	48.6
-m	<i>pēr-ay-am</i>	'large tank'	35.2
-mm-	<i>kuṟummaḱa!</i>	'young daughter' (exceptional doubling; alternatively, <i>kuṟum maḱa!</i> )	65.3
-mp-	<i>vēmp(u)-</i>	lit., 'neem'; part of a place name	35.1.a
-y-	<i>yāṟṟu</i>	lit., 'of the river'; a place name	62.3
-y-	<i>iḷayar</i>	'a clan name'	49.6
-y	<i>matiray</i>	'a place name'	36.1
-(y)y-	<i>a(y)yaṇ</i>	'honorific' (-y- not doubled in original)	55.5.b
-yk-	<i>poykai</i>	'pond'	102.2
-y(c)c-	<i>āy(c)ca-</i>	'part of a personal name' (-c- not doubled in original)	55.5.a
-yt-	<i>ceyta</i>	'which was made'	49.7
-yl	<i>e-iyḷ</i>	'a place name' (-iy- error for -yi-)	18.1
-yv-	<i>kāyvaṇ</i>	'a personal name' (-y- error for -yi-)	104.2
-r-	<i>ēri</i>	lit., 'lake'; a place name	60.4
-r	<i>iruvar</i>	'two persons'	48.5

-l-	<i>kala-</i>	'a measure'	16.4
-l	<i>nel</i>	'paddy'	16.5
-ll-	<i>nalli-</i>	'a personal name' (part of a place name)	66.1.a
-lk-	<i>ko(t)alku</i>	'for carving'	12.2
-lp-	<i>palpuli</i>	'a place name' (only in sandhi)	118.1
-lm-	<i>nalmuḷa-ukai</i>	'auspicious cave' (only in sandhi)	17.3
-lv-	<i>poṇ-kolvaṇ</i>	'goldsmith'	36.2
v-	<i>vai(k)ka</i>	'to endow'	16.2
-v-	<i>kavi</i>	'cave'	57.3
-v	<i>av-</i>	'those' (only in sandhi)	45.3.a
-vv-	<i>avv-iru-a-ar-um</i>	'those two persons also' (only in sandhi)	45.3
-l̥-	<i>kiḷār</i>	'a title'	84.2
-l̥	<i>perumpokaḷ</i>	'a place name'	83.1
-l̥-	<i>iḷa-</i>	'young'	17.1.a
-l̥	<i>makaḷ</i>	'daughter'	66.3
-ll̥-	<i>paḷḷi</i>	'hermitage'	83.6
-r̥-	<i>aṟai</i>	'rock'; part of a place name	6.1.b
-rr̥-	<i>koṟṟi</i>	'a personal name' (fem.)	66.4.b
-rk-	<i>poṟkoṟṟi</i>	'pet name of a cock' (only in sandhi)	113.3
-rc-	<i>mērcēri</i>	'a place name' (only in sandhi)	112.2
ṇ-	<i>ṇākaṇ</i>	'a personal name' (ṇ- error for n-)	37.1
-ṇ-	<i>paṇai</i>	'palmyra palm'; (part of a place name)	50.1.a
-ṇ	<i>poṇ</i>	'gold'	36.2.a
-ṇṇ-	<i>kuṟṟaṇṇ-aṟu(p)pitta</i>	'caused to be carved by Kuṟṟaṇ' (in sandhi)	63.4.b-5
-ṇr̥-	<i>kuṇṇu</i>	'hill'	73.5
-ṇk-	<i>teṇku</i>	'south'	49.5.a
-ṇv-	<i>poṇ-vāṇikaṇ</i>	'gold merchant' (only in sandhi)	69.2

Initial	Medial	Final	Homorganic		
			Geminates	nasal+ stop	Other clusters
<i>k-</i>	<i>-k-</i>		<i>-kk-</i>	<i>-ñk-</i>	
<i>c-</i>	<i>-c-</i>		<i>-cc-</i>	<i>-ñc-</i>	
	<i>-t-</i>		<i>-tt-</i>		
<i>ṇ-</i>	<i>-ṇ-</i>	<i>-ṇ</i>	<i>-ṇṇ-</i>	<i>-ṇt-</i>	<i>-ṇk- -ṇp-</i>
<i>t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>		<i>-tt-</i>		
<i>n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-nn-</i>	<i>-nt-</i>	<i>-nm-</i>
<i>p-</i>	<i>-p-</i>		<i>-(p)p-</i>		
<i>m-</i>	<i>-m-</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-mm-</i>	<i>-mp-</i>	
<i>y-</i>	<i>-y-</i>	<i>-y</i>	<i>-(y)y-</i>		<i>-yk- -y(c)c- -yt- -yl -yv-</i>
	<i>-r-</i>	<i>-r</i>			
	<i>-l-</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-ll-</i>		<i>-lk- -lp- -lm- -lv-</i>
<i>v-</i>	<i>-v-</i>	<i>-v</i>	<i>-vv-</i>		
	<i>-ḷ-</i>	<i>-ḷ</i>			
	<i>-ḷ-</i>	<i>-ḷ</i>	<i>-ḷḷ-</i>		
	<i>-ṟ-</i>		<i>-ṟṟ-</i>		<i>-ṟk- -ṟc-</i>
<i>ṇ-</i>	<i>-ṇ-</i>	<i>-ṇ</i>	<i>-ṇṇ-</i>	<i>-ṇr-</i>	<i>-ṇk- -ṇv-</i>

Table 7.1. Distribution of consonants in the Early Tamil inscriptions in the Corpus.

### 7.5.2 Comparison with *Tolkāppiyam*

#### 7.5.2.1 Initial consonants

Only the following 9 consonants can occur initially (*Tol. Eḷu.* 61-65):

*k c ñ t n p m y v*

All the above consonants except *ñ*- occur initially in the Corpus. Additionally, *ṇ*- and *ṇ*- also occur initially in the exceptional circumstances noted in the examples.

#### 7.5.2.2 Final consonants

Only the following 11 consonants can occur finally (*Tol. Eḷu.* 78):

*ñ ṇ n m y r l v l ṇ*

Among them, 4 consonants, viz., *-ñ* *-n* *-v* and *-ṇ* can occur finally subject to some restrictions (*Tol. Eḷu.* 79-82).

All except *-ñ* occur finally in the Corpus. However, *-ṇ* *-n* and *-v* occur finally only in the exceptional circumstances noted in the examples.

#### 7.5.2.3 Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters can occur only medially except *-nm* once in the final position as in *pōṇm* (*Tol. Eḷu.* 51).

All consonant clusters in the Corpus occur only medially except *-yl* once finally in a case of scribal error; *-nm*- occurs once medially in a loanword. (See examples.)

#### 7.5.2.4 Geminates

All consonants except *r* and *l* can occur as geminates (*Tol. Eḷu.* 30).

In addition to the two exceptions, the geminates *-ññ*- and *-ññ*- are also not found in the Corpus. Further, the geminates *-nn*- *-pp*- *-mm*- *-yy*- and *-vv*- occur only in the exceptional circumstances noted in the examples.

#### 7.5.2.5 Use of single for double consonants in the inscriptions

As the orthography of the inscriptions permits the use of single consonants in writing to represent the long (doubled) consonants in the language, the number of geminates recorded in the Corpus is correspondingly less. (The basic consonant of the geminates not occurring in the original inscriptions is shown within brackets. e.g., *u(p)pu* for *upu*'salt'.) See section 6.17 for discussion.

#### 7.5.2.6 Homorganic nasals plus stops

All the six possible clusters of homorganic nasals with stops can occur (*Tol. Eḷu.* 25):

*-ñk-* *-ñc-* *-ṇṭ-* *-nt-* *-mp-* *-ṇṛ*

All of them occur in the Corpus. However, *-ñk-* occurs in the Corpus only in sandhi as noted in the example.

	-a	-ā	-i	-ī	-u	-ū	-e	-ē	-ai	-o	-ō
k-	ka	kā	ki	kī	ku	kū	—	kē	kai	ko	kō
ñ-	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
c-	ca	cā	ci	cī	cu	—	ce	cē	cai	—	—
ñ-	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ṭ-	ṭa	ṭā	ṭi	—	ṭu	ṭū	—	—	ṭai	—	—
ṇ-	ṇa	ṇā	ṇi	—	—	—	—	—	ṇai	—	—
t-	ta	tā	ti	—	tu	—	te	tē	tai	to	tō
n-	na	nā	ni	nī	nu	nū	ne	—	—	—	nō
p-	pa	pā	pi	—	pu	pū	pe	pē	—	po	pō
m-	ma	mā	mi	—	mu	mū	—	mē	—	—	mō
y-	ya	yā	yi	—	yu	—	—	—	—	—	—
r-	ra	rā	ri	—	ru	rū	—	—	rai	—	—
l-	la	lā	li	—	—	—	—	—	lai	—	—
v-	va	vā	vi	—	vu	—	ve	vē	vai	—	vō
ḷ-	ḷa	ḷā	ḷi	—	ḷu	—	—	—	ḷai	—	—
ḷ-	ḷa	ḷā	ḷi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ṟ-	ṟa	—	ṟi	—	ṟu	ṟū	—	—	ṟai	—	—
ṇ-	ṇa	ṇā	ṇi	—	—	ṇū	—	—	ṇai	—	—

Table 7.2. Distribution of consonant-vowels in the Early Tamil inscriptions in the Corpus.

### 7.5.2.7 Other consonantal clusters

64 other clusters of two consonants each (other than geminates and homorganic nasal-stop clusters) can also occur (*Tol. Eju.* 23, 24, 26-29).

Only 14 of these clusters are attested in the Corpus as noted in Table 7.1 and the examples thereunder. However, excepting *-yk-*, *-yt-*, *-lk-*, *-lv-* and *-ŋk-*, the rest occur in the Corpus only in the exceptional circumstances noted in the examples.

Further, 2 clusters viz., *-yl* and *-lm-* not mentioned in *Tol.* occur in the Corpus. However, these clusters occur only in the exceptional circumstances noted in the examples.

### 7.5.2.8 Clusters of three consonants

24 clusters of three consonants each can occur (*Tol. Eju.* 48).

None of these is attested in the Corpus. However, *-ycc-* can be reconstructed in *āycayan* (*āycca* + *ayyan*) 'part of a personal name'.

## 7.6 Distribution of consonant-vowels

### 7.6.1 In the Corpus

The Tamil script is an alpha-syllabic writing system in which not only vowels and consonants but also consonant-vowels (*uyirmey*), open syllables of the CV type, are graphically represented as single letters (*Tol. Eju.* 17-18). In theory, 216 consonant-vowels are possible by the combination of 18 consonants with 12 vowels. However, the actual number is less as some of the combinations do not occur in the language.

101 consonant-vowels are attested in the Corpus out of a possible total of 198 (combinations of 18 consonants with 11 vowels). The distribution of consonant-vowels in the Corpus is summarised in Table 7.2.

### 7.6.2 Comparison with *Tolkāppiyam*

#### 7.6.2.1 Initial

- (i) The 5 consonants *k t n p* and *m* may be followed by any of the 12 vowels initially (*Tol. Eju.* 61).

Only 36 out of these 60 consonant-vowels occur initially in the Corpus (See Etymological Index: Dravidian in Appendix IV). The smaller number appears to be due to the limited size of the Corpus, apart from the absence of the vowel *au*.

- (ii) *ca*, *cai* and *cau* do not occur initially (*Tol. Eju.* 62).

The following exceptions are found in the Corpus:

*caṭikaṇ* 'a personal name' (2.7.b, 2.9). The name is not attested elsewhere.

*caḷiyaṇ* 'part of a personal name' as in *neṭiñ-caḷiyaṇ* (2.5) and *neṭuñ-caḷiyaṇ* (1.5). The corresponding LT form is *ceḷiyaṇ*.

*cam-* 'good, beautiful' as in *cam-pokal* (105.1) and *cam-poykai-pētu* (101.1) 'place names'. The corresponding LT form *cem-* also occurs as in *ceṅkāyapaṇ* (61.4), *ceṅkuviraṇ* (22.1) and *centaṇṇaṇ* (109.1) 'personal names'.

*caiy-aḷaṇ* (*caiyaḷaṇ*) 'a personal name' (57.2), probably a loanword. See Commentary for discussion.

- (iii) *ñ-* occurs initially only with *-ā -e* and *-o* (*Tol. Eḷu.* 64).

*ñ-* does not occur word-initially in the Corpus. However, *nāḷaḷ* 'place named after a flowering tree' (77.1) is a variant of LT *ñāḷaḷ* (*-ḷ* error for *-ḷ*).

- (iv) *y-* can occur initially only with *-ā* (*Tol. Eḷu.* 65).

This restriction is observed in the Corpus. Cf. *yāḷḷu* (62.3) and *yāḷḷūr* (61.3) 'place names'.

- (v) *v-* does not occur initially with *-u -ū -o* and *-ō* (*Tol. Eḷu.* 63).

There are no examples to the contrary in the Corpus.

#### 7.6.2.2 Final

- (i) No consonant-vowel ending in *-e* or *-o* can occur finally except *-no* (*Tol. Eḷu.* 71-72).

- (ii) *-ñē / -ñō* and *-nu / -nū* do not occur finally (*Tol. Eḷu.* 73-74).

There are no examples to the contrary in the Corpus except *kaccavanu* 'a personal name' (119.2.a) in an Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription where *-nu* is an error for *-ṇu*.

- (iii) *-vu / -vū* do not occur finally (*Tol. Eḷu.* 74).

There are no examples to the contrary in the Corpus. *-u* is added directly to the stems without the glide *-v-* in *piṇa-u* 'cleft (cave)' (3.8) and *muḷa-u-kai* 'cave' (17.3.b).

- (iv) *-cu* occurs finally only in 2 words (*Tol. Eḷu.* 75), which are identified as *ucu* and *mucu* in the commentaries.

*-cu* occurs word-finally in the Corpus once in *par-acu* (*paracu*) 'a personal name' (9.2), probably derived from *paracu* 'to praise'. See Commentary for discussion.

- (v) *-pu* occurs finally in only one word with active or causative meaning (*Tol. Eḷu.* 76).

The commentators identify the word as *tapu* 'to die, destroy'. From the examples in the commentaries, it appears that the rule relates only to words of more than one syllable and ending in short *-u*.

The common word *u(p)pu* 'salt' (39.1.a) occurs in the Corpus. This word is monosyllabic, ending in the shortened *-u* and hence presumably does not contradict the rule in *Tolkāppiyam*.

## 7.7 Sound variations

The same words are sometimes written differently when compared with the corresponding words in Literary Tamil and also within the Corpus itself. These differences may be due to dialectal or regional variations or evolution over a period of time or different environments of the sounds in the texts or merely scribal errors. The sound variations found in the Corpus are listed below. (Sound variations in loanwords caused by adaptation to the Tamil phonetic pattern have been discussed in section 6.21.)

Variation	LT	Corpus	Ref. No.
<i>a ~ ā</i>	<i>vaṇikaṇ</i>	<i>vaṇikaṇ</i>	43.1.b, 46.2.b
	<i>vāṇikaṇ</i>	<i>vāṇikaṇ</i>	39.1.b, 42.1.b, 69.2.b
<i>a ~ i</i>	<i>atikaṇ</i>	<i>kāḷ=itikaṇ</i> ( <i>i</i> - error for <i>a</i> -)	3.6.b
<i>a ~ u</i>	<i>atta-</i>	<i>attuvāyi</i> ( <i>u</i> - error for <i>a</i> -)	60.6.a
<i>ā ~ a</i>	<i>atiṭṭāṇam</i>	<i>atiṭ-aṇam</i> ( <i>a</i> - error for <i>-ā</i> )	49.8
<i>i ~ a</i>	<i>atiṭṭāṇam</i>	<i>ataṭ-aṇam</i> ( <i>a</i> - error for <i>-i</i> -; <i>a</i> - error for <i>-ā</i> )	50.3
<i>i ~ u</i>	<i>kumiḷ</i>	<i>kumuḷ</i>	49.2.a
<i>i ~ e</i>	<i>iṭai</i>	<i>eḷai</i>	34.1.a
	<i>iḷa-</i>	<i>iḷa-</i>	2.7.a, 17.1.a, 49.6, 61.11.a, 61.12.a, 62.11.c, 62.12.a, 67.1.c, 76.1.a
<i>i ~ iy</i>		<i>eḷa</i>	43.2.a, 46.3.a, 56.5.a
		<i>ar-itaṇ (aritaṇ)</i>	8.2
		<i>ar-iytaṇ (ariytaṇ)</i>	18.2
		<i>ariti</i>	34.2
		<i>ariyti</i>	25.1.b
<i>i ~ y</i>		<i>cē-i-ya</i>	2.10
		<i>cē-y-a</i>	31.2

Variation	LT	Corpus	Ref. No.
$\bar{i} \sim i$	$\bar{i}la-$	$i a-$ ( $i-$ error for $\bar{i}-$ )	55.2.a
	$\bar{v}ira-$	$vira-$ ( $-i-$ error for $-\bar{i}-$ )	79.1.c, 81.2.b
$u \sim i$	$maturai$	$matira$	27.1
		$matiray$	36.1
		$matirai$	24.2
		$mattirai$ ( $-tt-$ error for $-t-$ )	38.1
	$\bar{a}cu$	$\bar{a}ci$	73.6
$u \sim o$	$pukal$	$pokal$	105.1.b
	$puka]$	$poka]$	83.1.b
$\bar{u} \sim u$	$\bar{u}r$	$\bar{u}r$	13.1.b, 19.2, 30.1.b, 34.1.b, 35.1.c, 49.2.b, 56.1.c, 57.1.b, 61.3.b, 63.1.b, 63.3.b, 65.1.b, 66.1.b, 69.1.b, 73.2.b, 74.1.b, 76.3.b, 84.1.c
		$ur$ ( $u-$ error for $\bar{u}-$ )	55.1.c, 121.1.b
		$uru$ ( $u-$ error for $\bar{u}-$ )	112.1.b
$e \sim a$	$cem-$	$cem-$	22.1.a, 61.4.a, 62.4.a, 63.2.a, 109.1.a, 110.1.a
		$cam-$	101.1.a, 105.1.a
	$kevi$	$kavi$	57.3
$ey \sim \bar{e}$	$cey$	$cey$	49.7, 55.4
		$c\bar{e}$	2.10, 18.3, 31.2, 35.3
$ai \sim a$	$a\eta ai$	$a\eta a$	120.2. b
	$amai$	$ama$	48.6
	$ittai$	$itta$	13.3
	$ku\eta ai$	$ku\eta a$	11.1
	$matirai$	$matira$	27.1
$ai \sim i$	$\bar{a}r\bar{a}ta\eta ai$	$\bar{a}r\bar{a}ta\eta i$	115.6
$ai \sim e$	$vai$	$vai(k)ka$	16.2
		$ve(p)p\bar{o}\eta$	13.4

Variation	LT	Corpus	Ref. No.
<i>ai ~ ay</i>	<i>-(a)ntai</i>	<i>antai</i>	3.7.a, 20.1.a, 25.1.a, 26.1.a, 27.2.a, 28.1.a, 29.1.b, 31.1.b, 32.1.b, 66.2.b, 67.1.b
		<i>(a)ntay</i>	77.2.b
	<i>aiyaṇ</i>	<i>aiyaṇ</i>	55.3.b
	<i>ayyaṇ</i>	<i>a(y)yaṇ</i>	55.5.b
	<i>matirai</i>	<i>matirai</i>	24.2
<i>o ~ u</i>		<i>matiray</i>	36.1
	<i>īlaiyar</i>	<i>īlayar</i>	49.6
	<i>koṭu</i>	<i>koṭu</i>	3.9, 5.2, 7.4, 10.4, 11.2, 15.2, 44.3, 53.2
		<i>kuṭu</i>	14.2, 45.4
	<i>poṛai</i>	<i>-poṛai</i> <i>-puṛai</i>	61.7.d 62.7.d

## 7.7.2 Consonants

<i>k ~ ∅</i>	<i>makaṇ</i>	<i>makaṇ</i>	20.2, 40.4, 56.5.b, 61.8, 61.10, 62.8, 62.10, 72.2, 84.3, 88.5
	<i>-māṇ</i>	<i>-mān</i> (- <i>n</i> error for - <i>ṇ</i> ) <i>-māṇ</i>	59.2.c 73.1.b
<i>ñ ~ n</i>	<i>ñā]a], nā]a]</i>	<i>nā]a]</i> (- <i>l</i> error for - <i>l</i> )	77.1
<i>ṭ ~ l</i>	<i>ṭtai</i>	<i>e]ai</i>	34.1.a
	<i>kaṭu-</i>	<i>kaṭu-</i> <i>ka]u-</i>	61.9.b, 61.11.b, 62.9.b, 62.11.a, 62.11.d, 80.1.a 44.1.a
<i>n ~ ṇ</i>	<i>nanti</i>	<i>nanti</i> <i>ṇanti</i> ( <i>ṇ</i> - due to Pkt. influence)	116.4.b 115.3.b

Variation	LT	Corpus	Ref. No.
	<i>nākaṇ</i>	<i>nāka-</i>	56.1.a
		<i>nākaṇ</i>	48.2
		<i>ṇākaṇ</i> (ṇ- due to Pkt. influence)	72.1
<i>n ~ ṇ</i>	<i>nākaṇ</i>	<i>ṇākaṇ</i> (ṇ- error for <i>n</i> -)	37.1
<i>p ~ v</i>	<i>ipam</i>	<i>iva-</i>	60.1.a
<i>y ~ i</i>		<i>kaṇi-y</i>	1.1, 2.1, 4.1
		<i>kaṇi-i</i>	3.1
		<i>pa(l)li-y</i>	2.11, 15.1, 52.4, 77.3
		<i>pa(l)li-i</i>	10.5, 46.1.b
<i>y ~ iy</i>		<i>pa(l)li-y</i>	2.11, 15.1, 52.4, 77.3
		<i>pa(l)li-iy</i>	1.9
<i>y ~ yi</i>	<i>cey</i>	<i>cey</i>	49.7, 55.4
		<i>ceyi</i>	65.5, 73.7, 76.6, 83.5
		<i>siri-y</i>	2.2.b, 3.2.b
		<i>siri-y-i</i>	1.2.b
<i>ya ~ yi</i>		<i>kāyapaṇ</i>	61.4.b, 62.4.b, 63.2.b
		<i>kāyipaṇ</i>	60.7.b, 76.1.b
<i>yi ~ iy</i>	<i>eyil</i>	<i>e-iy</i> (-iy- error for -yi-)	18.1
<i>yi ~ y</i>		<i>kāyvaṇ</i> (-y- error for -yi-)	104.2
<i>vi ~ pi</i>	<i>koṭṭuvitta</i>	<i>koṭṭupitta-a</i>	1.8
		<i>koṭṭupi(t)tōṇ</i>	8.3, 9.4
	<i>ceyvitta</i>	<i>ceyipi(t)ta</i>	65.5
		<i>ceyvitta</i>	83.5
		<i>cēvi(t)t-ōṇ</i>	18.3
<i>ṇ ~ n</i>	<i>atiyaṇ neṭumāṇ</i>	<i>atiyan neṭumān</i>	59.2.a-c
	<i>veṇ</i>	<i>ven</i>	20.3

The use of the dental *n* for the alveolar *ṇ* is one of the commonest errors in inscriptional Tamil. See A. Velu Pillai (1976: pp. 11-12, p. 24, n. 5) for examples from early medieval inscriptions and for discussion. It is interesting that the falling together of *n* and *ṇ* had started even in the Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions as attested by 20.3.

## 7.8 Some phonological processes

### 7.8.1 Addition of paragogic suffixes (-y ~ -i, -iy, -yi) to noun-stems ending with -i or -ai

The addition of -i or -y at the end of words is provided for in *Tolkāppiyam* (Eḷu. 58). While the traditional example that *nāy* 'dog' may be written as *nāi* or *nāyi* is not supported by literary evidence, there is inscriptional evidence for the addition of the paragogic suffixes -i or -y after nouns ending in -i or -ai. This seems to be the true import of the rule cited above.

LT	Corpus	Ref. No.
<b>7.8.1.1 -y after stems ending in -i</b>		
<i>kaṇi</i>	<i>kaṇi-y</i>	1.1, 2.1, 4.1
<i>kevi</i>	<i>kavi-y</i>	57.3
	<i>natti-y</i>	4.2
<i>paḷli</i>	<i>pa(!)li-y</i>	2.11, 15.1, 52.4, 77.3
<i>vaḷuti</i>	<i>vaḷutti-y</i>	1.7.b
	<i>siri-y</i>	2.2.b, 3.2.b
<b>7.8.1.2 -y after stems ending in -ai</b>		
	<i>atai-y</i>	56.2
<i>-(a)ntai</i>	<i>antai-y</i>	20.1.a
<i>uṛai</i>	<i>uṛai-y</i>	61.5, 62.5
<i>tantai</i>	<i>tantai-y</i>	2.8
<i>malai</i>	<i>malai-y</i>	85.3.a
<i>veḷḷarai</i>	<i>veḷ-aṛai-y</i>	3.3
<b>7.8.1.3 -i after stems ending in -i</b>		
<i>kaṇi</i>	<i>kaṇi-i</i>	3.1
	<i>kavuṭi-i</i>	49.4
	<i>tāra-aṇi-i</i>	44.2
<i>paḷli</i>	<i>pa(!)li-i</i>	10.5, 89.4
	<i>veṇ-pa(!)li-i</i>	46.1
<b>7.8.1.4 -iy after stems ending in -i</b>		
<i>kāviti</i>	<i>kāviti-iy</i>	3.5
	<i>nelveḷi-iy</i>	7.1
<i>paḷli</i>	<i>pa(!)li-iy</i>	1.9

LT	Corpus	Ref. No.
<b>7.8.1.5 -y-i after stems ending in -i</b>		
	<i>siri-y-i</i>	1.2.b
<b>7.8.2 Addition of the euphonic vowel -u to stems ending in liquid consonants</b>		
<b>7.8.2.1 After noun-stems</b>		
<i>ācīriyar</i>	<i>ācīrikaru</i>	116.5
<i>erukkāṭṭūr</i>	<i>ekkāṭṭūru</i>	117.1
	<i>eru(k)kā(ṭ)ṭu-ūru</i>	52.1
	<i>kaccavanu</i>	119.2.a
	<i>tāyiyaru</i>	83.3
<i>mukaiyūr</i>	<i>mukaiyuru</i>	112.1
<b>7.8.2.2 After verb-stems</b>		
<i>ār</i>	<i>āru</i>	114.2.b
<i>puṇar</i>	<i>puṇaru-</i>	85.2
<b>7.8.3 Addition of the prothetic vowel i- before a loanword commencing with a liquid consonant</b>		
<i>irācar</i> (< Skt. <i>rāja</i> -)	<i>irācar</i>	111.1
<b>7.8.4 Contraction</b>		
<i>pem-</i> (< <i>perum-</i> ) as in <i>pemmāṇ</i>	<i>pentōṭaṇ</i> ( <i>pem</i> + <i>tōṭaṇ</i> )	102.1
<i>erukkāṭṭūr</i>	<i>ekkāṭṭūru</i> ( <i>eru-k-&gt; ek-</i> ) (cf. <i>eru(k)kā(ṭ)ṭu-ūru</i> )	117.1
<b>7.8.5 Loss of initial palatal c-</b>		
<i>camaṇa-</i> (< Pkt. <i>samaṇa</i> )	<i>amaṇaṇ</i>	24.1
	<i>amaṇṇaṇ</i>	61.2, 62.2
<b>7.8.6 Elision of nasal n</b>		
<i>-(a)ntai</i>	<i>atai</i>	30.2, 56.2
<i>nantaṇ</i>	<i>nataṇ</i>	17.1.b, 44.1.c, 48.4
	<i>nata-</i>	3.2.a
<b>7.8.7 Elision of nasal n with doubling of the succeeding consonant</b>		
<i>nanti</i>	<i>natti</i>	4.2, 69.3
<b>7.8.8 Elision of nasal ṇ (probably with nasalisation of the previous vowel)</b>		
<i>ceytāṇ</i>	<i>ceytā[ṇ*]</i>	55.4

## II. MORPHOPHONEMICS

## 7.9 Definition

Morphophonemics is the study of changes which occur in the process of joining morphemes in a word or words in a sentence, known respectively as internal and external sandhi (*puṇarcci*). In this study, both categories are treated together as the rules governing them are virtually the same. However, while internal sandhi occurs from the earliest inscriptions, cases of external sandhi tend to occur more in the later inscriptions. (Citations from the Corpus, for which meanings are not given, refer to personal or place names.)

## 7.10 Sandhi without change

Sandhi may take place without any change. This is known as 'natural sandhi' (*iyalpu-p-puṇarcci*) in traditional grammar. In the Corpus, sandhi without change occurs mostly at the junction of a stem-final vowel followed by a consonant (nasal or liquid) as illustrated below.

<i>aṟuvai-vaṇikaṇ</i>	'cloth merchant'	46.2.a-b
<i>iḷanataṇ</i>		17.1.a-b
<i>u(p)pu-vāṇikaṇ</i>	'salt merchant'	39.1.a-b
<i>eṇṇai-vāṇṇikaṇ (-vāṇikaṇ)</i>	'oil merchant'	70.1.a-c
<i>eruminātu</i>		49.1.a-b
<i>eḷamakaṇ</i>	'a clan name'	56.5.a-b
<i>kaṇimāṇ</i>		73.1.a-b
<i>koḷu-vaṇikaṇ</i>	'ironmonger'	43.1.a-b
<i>ciṟuceṇṇaṇ</i>		106.1.a-b
<i>neṭuma(l)laṇ</i>		42.2.a-b
<i>poṇ-vāṇikaṇ</i>	'gold merchant'	69.2.a-b

## 7.11 Sandhi of consonant and vowel

When a final consonant is followed by a vowel, they join to form the corresponding consonant-vowel (*uyirmey*). This process is also called natural sandhi (*iyalpu-p-puṇarcci*) in traditional grammar.

<i>ūratai-(ūr+ atai)</i>	'the a(n)tai of the village'	56.1.c-2
<i>uraṟam(ūr+ aṟam)</i>	'charity by the village'	76.3.b-4
<i>ēḷur(ēḷ+ ur(ūr))</i>		121.1.a-b
<i>o(p)paṇa(p)pa-(oppaṇ+ appa-)</i>		79.1.a-b
<i>kāḷitika-(kāḷ+ itika(-atika-))</i>	'superintendent of pearls'	3.6.a-b

<i>tēṇūr</i> ( <i>tēṇ</i> + <i>ūr</i> )		73.2.a-b
<i>nīraṇa</i> ( <i>nīr</i> + <i>aṇa</i> -)	'dam across the river'	120.2.a-b
<i>māṇākkarārātāṇi</i> ( <i>māṇākkar</i> + <i>ārātāṇi</i> )		
	'penance of fast by the disciple'	115.5-6

### Exceptions

There are many exceptions to the above rule in the Corpus due to the orthographic style of writing separately words and suffixes commencing with a vowel. The following list of exceptions is confined to 'inscriptional words' (as listed in the Inscriptional Glossary) including composite names, noun phrases, compound verbs, etc. There are more exceptions if a sentence is taken as the unit.

#### 7.11.1 In personal names

<i>ataṇ ataṇ</i>	36.3.a-b
<i>kaṭal-aṇ</i>	1.7.a
<i>kuv-aṇ</i>	1.2.c
<i>ciḷivaṇ atīṇaṇ</i>	7.2.a-b
<i>ceṇ-ataṇ-ōṇ</i>	12.4
<i>neṭumān</i> (- <i>māṇ</i> ) <i>añci</i>	59.2.c-d

#### 7.11.2 In place names

<i>akaḷ-ūr</i>	76.3.a-b
<i>eḷai-y-ūr</i>	34.1.a-b
<i>kumuḷ-ūr</i>	49.2.a-b
<i>tāvaṇ-ūr</i>	63.3.a-b
<i>nalli-y-ūr</i>	66.1.a-b
<i>patiṇ-ūr</i>	30.1.a-b
<i>pākaṇ-ūr</i>	13.1.a-b
<i>veḷ-aṇai</i>	6.1.a-b
<i>vēmpir-ūr</i>	35.1.b-c

#### 7.12 Mutation of initial stem in sandhi

When the adjectival stem *peru-* is followed by a vowel, the final *-u* is elided with compensatory lengthening of the included vowel in the preceding syllable.

<i>pēratāṇ</i> ( <i>peru</i> > <i>pēr</i> + <i>atāṇ</i> )	13.2.a-b
<i>pēr-ay-am</i> ( <i>peru</i> > <i>pēr</i> + <i>ayam</i> ) 'large tank'	35.2.a-b
<i>pērūr</i> ( <i>peru</i> > <i>pēr</i> + <i>ūr</i> )	56.1.b-c

### 7.13 Changes in sandhi

The changes which take place in sandhi involving the final sound of the preceding part and the initial sound of the succeeding part (*vikāra-p-puṇarcci*) may be studied under the following heads :

- (1) Assimilation (*tiritāḥ*)
- (2) Addition (*tōṇṇāḥ*)
- (3) Elision (*keṭutāḥ*)

### 7.14 Assimilation

#### 7.14.1 Regressive assimilation (of the preceding to the succeeding consonant)

##### 7.14.1.1 nasal + stop

<i>m + k</i> > - <i>ṅk</i> -	<i>[i*]ḷaṅkaṭuṅkō</i> ( <i>iḷam</i> + <i>kaṭum</i> + <i>kō</i> )	61.11.a-b-c
	<i>iḷaṅkāyipaṇ</i> ( <i>iḷam</i> + <i>kāyipaṇ</i> )	76.1.a-b
	<i>[i*]ḷaṅkō</i> ( <i>iḷam</i> + <i>kō</i> ) 'heir apparent'	61.12.a-b
	<i>kaṭuṅkōṇ</i> ( <i>kaṭum</i> + <i>kōṇ</i> )	62.11.a-b
	<i>ceṅkāyapaṇ</i> ( <i>cem</i> + <i>kāyapaṇ</i> )	61.4.a-b
	<i>ceṅkuviraṇ</i> ( <i>cem</i> + <i>kuviraṇ</i> )	22.1.a-b
	<i>peruṅkaṭuṅkōṇ</i> ( <i>perum</i> + <i>kaṭum</i> + <i>kōṇ</i> )	61.9.a-b-c
	<i>peruṅkīraṇ</i> ( <i>perum</i> + <i>kīraṇ</i> )	72.3.a-b
	<i>peruṅkūriraṇ</i> ( <i>perum</i> + <i>kūriraṇ</i> )	88.6.a-b
	<i>veṅkōmalai</i> ( <i>vem</i> + <i>kō</i> + <i>malai</i> )	119.1.a-b
<i>m + c</i> > - <i>ṅc</i> -	<i>iḷaṅcaṭikaṇ</i> ( <i>iḷam</i> + <i>caṭikaṇ</i> )	2.7. a-b
	<i>neṭiṅcaḷiyaṇ</i> ( <i>neṭim</i> + <i>caḷiyaṇ</i> )	2.5.a-b
	<i>neṭuṅcaḷiyaṇ</i> ( <i>neṭum</i> + <i>caḷiyaṇ</i> )	1.5.a-b
<i>m + t</i> > - <i>nt</i> -	<i>centaṇṭaṇ</i> ( <i>cem</i> + <i>taṇṭaṇ</i> )	109.1.a-b
	<i>pentōṭaṇ</i> ( <i>perum</i> > <i>pem</i> + <i>tōṭaṇ</i> )	102.1.a-b
	<i>perunta(c)caṇ</i> ( <i>perum</i> + <i>taccaṇ</i> ) 'master mason'	117.3.a-b

† $m + p > -mp-$	<i>aimpattēl-</i> ( <i>aim + pattu + ēl</i> ) 'fifty-seven'	116.1.a-b
	<i>irumpoṟai</i> ( <i>irum + poṟai</i> )	61.7.c-d
	<i>campokaḷ</i> ( <i>cam + pokaḷ</i> )	105.1.a-b
	<i>campoykaipēṭu</i> ( <i>cam + poykai + pēṭu</i> )	101.1.a-b
	<i>perumpokaḷ</i> ( <i>perum + pokaḷ</i> )	83.1.a-b

† Listed here for the reason that *m* is the homorganic nasal for *p*; the items may also be regarded as sandhi without change.

$\eta + k > -rk-$	<i>poṟkoṟṟi</i> ( <i>poṟ + koṟṟi</i> )	113.3.a-b
$\eta + c > -ñc-$	<i>mōnalañ-cāttan</i> ( <i>mōnalan + cāttan</i> )	121.2.a-b

This sandhi is also a semantic indicator of father-son relationship (*Tol. Eḷu.* 350). The situation is uncertain when the change does not occur, as in

<i>ātan cāttān</i> ( <i>cāttan</i> )	74.2.a-b
<i>tiyan cantan</i>	47.1.a-b
<i>tēvan cāttan</i>	85.4.a-b

#### 7.14.1.2 nasal + nasal

$m + n > -nn-$	<i>aṇacaṇan-nōṟṟa</i> ( <i>aṇacaṇam + nōṟṟa</i> ) 'who observed the penance of fasting'	116.2-3
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#### 7.14.1.3 liquid + stop

$l + c > -rc-$	<i>mērcēri</i> ( <i>mēl + cēri</i> )	112.2.a-b
$l + k > -ṅk-$	<i>veṅkāsipan</i> ( <i>veḷ + kāsipan</i> )	14.1.a-b
$l + p > -ṇp-$	<i>veṇpa(l)li</i> ( <i>veḷ + paḷli</i> )	46.1.a-b

#### 7.14.1.4 liquid + nasal

$l + \eta > -ṇṇ-$	<i>eṇṇai</i> ( <i>eḷ + nai (ney)</i> 'gingily oil')	70.1.a-b
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#### Exceptions

$l + k$	<i>kaḷ kañcaṇam</i> 'a stone structure'	14.3.a-b
$l + m$	<i>nalmuḷa-ukai</i> 'auspicious cave'	17.3.a-b
$\eta + k$	<i>poṇ-kolvan</i> 'goldsmith'	36.2.a-b

#### 7.14.2 Progressive assimilation (of the succeeding to the preceding consonant)

##### *nasal + nasal*

$\eta + n > -ṇ-$	<i>pāṇāṭṭu</i> ( <i>pāṇ + nāṭṭu</i> )	115.2.a-b
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(In this case there is also elision of the preceding -ṇ-. See discussion in the Commentary.)

## 7.14.3 Mutual assimilation (of preceding and succeeding consonants)

liquid + stop

<i>l + tt &gt; -ll-</i>	<i>nōlla</i> ( <i>nōl + tt + a</i> ) 'who observed the penance'	116.3
	<i>nōllu</i> ( <i>nōl + tt + u</i> ) 'having observed the penance'	115.7
	<i>vēmpil-ūr</i> ( <i>vēmpil + tt + ūr</i> ) (-f- not doubled in original.)	35.1.b-c

## 7.15 Addition

## 7.15.1 Addition of glide -y-

The glide -y- is inserted between two vowels when the preceding one is a front vowel or the diphthong -ai.

@ <i>karu-ia</i>	'which was carved'	17.2
<i>karu(k)kiya</i>	'which was carved'	112.4
<i>ko(t)ṭiy-avaṇ</i>	'he who engraved'	4.3
@ <i>cē-ia</i>	'which was made'	2.10
<i>tāyiyaru</i>	'mother' (honorific singular)	83.3
† <i>na(l)li-y-ūr</i>		65.1.a-b
† <i>nalli-y-ūr</i>		66.1.a-b
<i>uraiyul</i>	'(in) the abode (of ascetics)'	60.2.a-b
† <i>eḷai-y-ūr</i>		34.1.a-b
† <i>mukaiyuru</i>		112.1.a-b

@ In these cases, the glide does not occur after the stem, but occurs after the past tense marker.

† In these cases, -y- may also be considered as the paragogic suffix added to nouns ending in -i or -ai.

## Exceptions

In the following 2 items, addition of the glide -y- is exceptional in the place of the glide -v- prescribed by traditional grammar.

<i>īlayar</i>	'a clan name' (Cf. LT <i>īlaiyar</i> )	49.6
<i>mērcēriku-y=āṭi</i>	'having fought for Mērcēri'	112.2.b-3
In this case the preceding dative suffix -ku was probably pronounced -ki being influenced by the front vowel preceding it, leading to the use of the glide -y-.		

There are also cases where the glide -y- is absent resulting in a vowel-cluster at the junction.

(ā)-iṇa (cf. LT āyiṇa) 'who is'	41.2
veni (venṇi) ātaṇ	70.2.a-b
ti(t)ṭi-il	33.1.a-b
kā(p)pi-ūr	74.1.a-b
ko(t)ṭi-ōr	'they who carved' 6.3
cē-iya	'which was made' 2.10
antai ariyti	25.1. a-b
antai a(s)sutaṇ	3.7.a-b
antai irāvataṇ	26.1.a-b
vintai-ūr	57.1.a-b

#### 7.15.2 Addition of glide -v-

The glide -v- is inserted between two vowels when the preceding one is a central or back vowel.

(il)lavōṇ	10.3
[i*]lavaṇ	67.1.c
īttavaṇ	'he who gave' 12.3
kuṇāviṇ	'of Kuṇā ' 89.1
ko(t)ṭiy-avaṇ	'he who carved' 4.3
koṭu(p)pi(t)ta-avaṇ	'he who caused to be given' 44.3
koṭu(p)pi(t)tavaṇ	'he who caused to be given' 11.2
cētavar	'they who made' 35.3
iruvar	'two persons' 48.5
kōvātāṇ (-ātaṇ)	'King Ātaṇ' 82.1-2
[kō*]viṇ	'of the chief' 88.4

#### Exceptions

There are also several cases where the glide -v- is absent, resulting in a vowel-cluster at the junction.

eḷa-a	(attributive form of eḷa(v)aṇ)	46.3.a
paṇa-aṇ	'servant'	1.6
piṇa-u	'cleft (cave)'	3.8

<i>muḷa-ukai</i>	'cave'	17.3.b
<i>avviru-a-ar-um</i>	'those two persons also'	45.3
<i>karu-iyā</i>	'which was carved'	17.2
<i>karu-ūr</i>		69.1.a-b
<i>ku-aṇ</i>		2.2.c

### 7.15.3 Doubling of the final consonant

The final consonant (nasal or liquid) of a monosyllabic stem with a short vowel is doubled (*iraṭṭittaḷ*) when followed by a vowel.

<i>avviru-a-ar-um</i> ( <i>av+iru-</i> ) 'those two persons also'	45.3.a-b
<i>uḷḷāru</i> ( <i>uḷ + āru</i> ) 'fitted inside'	114.2.a-b
<i>[ce*]llirumpurai</i> ( <i>cel + irumpurai</i> )	62.7.b-c
<i>cellirumporai</i> ( <i>cel + irumporai</i> )	61.7.b-c

### Exceptions

Words are written separately without joining or consequent doubling of the final nasal or liquid consonant of a monosyllabic stem.

<i>veḷ-araḷ</i>	(cf. LT <i>veḷḷaraḷ</i> )	6.1.a-b
<i>piṇ-aṇ</i>	(cf. LT <i>piṇṇaṇ</i> )	63.4.a

Another interesting category of exceptions to this rule is the doubling of the word-final consonant of a stem which is not monosyllabic. Such exceptions are also numerous in later Tamil inscriptions. (see Commentary on 63.4 for discussion and citations).

<i>amaṇṇaṇ</i> ( <i>amaṇ + aṇ</i> ) 'Jaina monk'	61.2
<i>kaṭummi</i> ( <i>kaṭum + i</i> )	80.1.a
<i>kuṛraṇṇ - aṛu(p)pitta</i> ( <i>kuṛraṇ + aṛuppitta</i> ) 'caused to be carved by Kuṛraṇ'	63.4.b-5
<i>tuṛukayyuḷḷāru</i> ( <i>tuṛukay + uḷ + āru</i> ) 'fitted inside the vent of a sluice'	114.1-2.a

### 7.15.4 Doubling of the initial consonant

The initial consonant (*k- c- t- or p-*) of the succeeding part is doubled in various environments. The rules governing this usage (*mikutaḷ*) in traditional grammar are numerous and rather complex with many exceptions. The actual occurrences in the Corpus are listed below.

## 7.15.4.1 After a vowel

<i>āṭi-kkaru(k)kiya</i>	'engraved after fighting'	112.3-4
<i>e-kkāṭṭūru-kkōṇ</i>	'chieftain of Ekkāṭṭūru'	117.1-2
<i>kiḷ (kiḷ)-ccēri-kkōḷi</i>	'(fighting) cock of Kiḷccēri'	113.1.b-2
<i>cē-kkanti</i>		83.2.a-b
<i>ti (ṭi) ṭi-kkāttāṇ</i>	'Kāttāṇ of Tiṭṭi'	58.1-2

## 7.15.4.2 After a consonant (liquid)

<i>kiḷ (kiḷ)-ccēri</i>		113.1.a-b
<i>tāvaṇ-ūr-ppiṇ-aṇ-</i>	'Piṇṇaṇ- of Tāvaṇūr'	63.3.b-4.a

## 7.15.4.3 Exceptional doubling

<i>kuṟu-mmakaḷ</i> (cf. LT <i>kuṟumakaḷ</i> )	'young daughter'	65.3. a-b
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Alternatively, this may be regarded as two words *kuṟum makaḷ* in sandhi without change.

## Exceptions

In the following cases the initial consonant (*k- c- t- or p-*) of the succeeding part is not doubled.

<i>kāviti-kōṇ</i>	'chief <i>kāviti</i> '	52.2.a-b
<i>campoykaipētu</i>		101.1.b-c
<i>teṇku-ciṟupōcil</i>		49.5.a-b
<i>nākapērūr</i>		56.1.a-b
<i>paṇaituṟai</i>		50.1.a-b
<i>pētalai</i>		21.1.a-b
<i>mattiraikē</i>	'of Matirai'	38.1
<i>mācakōṭu</i>		120.1.a-b
<i>mērcēriku</i>	'for Mērcēri'	112.2.b

## 7.15.4.4 Addition of -m- &gt; -ñ- in sandhi

<i>pāñkā(ṭ)ṭa</i> ( <i>pā + m + kāṭu + a</i> )	'of Pāñkāṭu'	8.1.a-b
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## 7.16 Elision

## 7.16.1 Elision of a stem-final vowel before a succeeding vowel

<i>kaṇatikaṇ</i> ( <i>kaṇa + atikaṇ</i> )	'chief of scribes'	40.1.a-b
<i>sa(p)pami(t)tā-iṇa</i> ( <i>sappamittā + ā-iṇa</i> )	'who is Sappamittā'	41.1.b-2

<i>cēkkantaṇṇi</i> ( <i>cēkkanti</i> + <i>aṇṇi</i> )	83.4.b-c
<i>tonṭi(l)lavōṇ</i> ( <i>tonṭi</i> + <i>illavōṇ</i> ) 'Illavōṇ of Tonṭi '	10.2-3
<i>aritiṇ</i> ( <i>ariti</i> + <i>iṇ</i> ) 'of Ariti '	34.2

In the following exceptional case the succeeding vowel is elided:

<i>mūtāmaṇṇaṇ</i> ( <i>mūtā</i> + <i>amaṇṇaṇ</i> ) 'the senior Jaina monk'	62.1-2
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7.16.2 *Elision of the stem-final shortened -u before a vowel*

<i>aimpattēḷaṇacaṇa(m)</i> ( <i>aimpattēḷu</i> + <i>aṇacaṇam</i> ) 'fasting for fifty-seven (days) '	116.1.c-2
<i>kuv-aṇkē</i> ( <i>kuvāṇku</i> + <i>ē</i> ) 'to Kuvāṇ'	1.2.c
<i>kōkūr</i> ( <i>kōku</i> + <i>ūr</i> )	84.1.b-c
<i>nikama(t)tōr</i> ( <i>nikamattu</i> + <i>ōr</i> ) 'members of the merchant guild'	6.2
<i>mattiraiḷē</i> ( <i>matiraiku</i> + <i>ē</i> ) 'of Matirai '	38.1
<i>mācakōṭu</i> ( <i>mācu</i> + <i>a</i> + <i>kōṭu</i> )	120.1.a
<i>vēmpir-ūr</i> ( <i>vēmpu</i> + <i>il</i> + <i>tt</i> + <i>ūr</i> )	35.1.a-b

7.16.3 *Elision of the stem-final shortened -u (with doubling of the preceding consonant before a vowel)*

<i>ekkāṭṭūru</i> ( <i>ekkāṭu</i> + <i>ūru</i> )	117.1.b-c
<i>aimpattēḷ(u)</i> ( <i>aimpatu</i> + <i>ēḷu</i> )	116.1.b-c
<i>kuṇṇaṇ</i> ( <i>kuṇu</i> + <i>aṇ</i> )	63.4.b
<i>yāṇṇūr</i> ( <i>yāṇu</i> + <i>ūr</i> )	61.3.a-b

In some cases doubling is represented orthographically by a single consonant.

<i>erukāṭur</i> ( <i>erukkāṭṭur</i> < <i>eru</i> + <i>kāṭu</i> + <i>ur</i> ( <i>ūr</i> ), (cf. LT <i>erukkāṭṭūr</i> )	55.1.a-b-c
<i>ceṇ-ataṇ</i> ( <i>ceṇṇataṇ</i> < <i>ceṇu</i> (LT <i>ciṇu</i> ) + <i>ataṇ</i> )	12.4.a-b
<i>pāṇkāṭa</i> ( <i>pāṇkāṭṭa</i> < <i>pāṇkāṭu</i> + <i>a</i> ) 'of Pāṇkāṭu'	8.1.b

In the following exceptional case, the stem-final shortened -u is preserved before the succeeding vowel and there is no change in sandhi:

<i>erukāṭu-ūru</i> ( <i>eru</i> + <i>kāṭu</i> + <i>ūru</i> ) (cf. LT <i>erukkāṭṭūr</i> )	52.1.b-c
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7.16.4 *Elision of the stem-final suffix -(a)m when followed by a noun*

<i>iva-kunṇa(t)tu</i> ( <i>ivam</i> + <i>kunṇattu</i> ) 'of Iva-kunṇam '	60.1.a-b
<i>īḷa-(īḷa-) kuṭumpikaṇ</i> ( <i>īḷam</i> + <i>kuṭumpikaṇ</i> ) 'īḷa- householder'	55.2.a-b
<i>kala nel</i> ( <i>kalam</i> + <i>nel</i> ) 'kalams of paddy'	16.4-5

<i>tāra-aṇi</i> ( <i>tāram</i> + <i>aṇi</i> ) 'dripline'	44.2.a-b
<i>pāṇita-vāṇikaṇ</i> ( <i>pāṇitam</i> + <i>vāṇikaṇ</i> ) 'gur merchant'	42.1.a-b

7.16.5 *Elision of the stem-final PNG suffix -(a)ṇ before a noun*

<i>araṭṭa kāyipaṇ</i> ( <i>araṭṭaṇ</i> + <i>kāyipaṇ</i> )	60.7.a-b
<i>eḷa-a a(t)ṭaṇ</i> ( <i>eḷa(v)aṇ</i> + <i>aṭṭaṇ</i> )	46.3.a-b
<i>o(p)paṇa(p)pa vira-(vīra-)</i> ( <i>oppaṇ</i> + <i>appaṇ</i> + <i>vīra-</i> )	79.1.b-c
<i>kaṇaka ataṇ</i> ( <i>kaṇakkaṇ</i> + <i>ataṇ</i> ) 'Ataṇ, the accountant'	40.2-3
<i>ka(ṇ)ṇa tēvaṇ</i> ( <i>kaṇṇaṇ</i> + <i>tēvaṇ</i> )	84.4.c-d
<i>kaḷumāra nataṇ</i> ( <i>kaḷumāraṇ</i> + <i>nataṇ</i> )	44.1.b-c
<i>kāḷitika</i> (error for <i>kāḷatika</i> ) <i>antai a(s)sutaṇ</i> ( <i>kāḷatikaṇ</i> + <i>antai assutaṇ</i> ) 'Antai Assutaṇ, the superintendent of pearls'	3.6.b-7.a
<i>kuvira-antai</i> ( <i>kuviraṇ</i> + <i>antai</i> )	32.1.a-b
<i>tāṭṭa kāri</i> ( <i>tāṭṭaṇ</i> + <i>kāri</i> )	118.2.a-b
<i>nata-siri</i> ( <i>nataṇ</i> + <i>siri</i> )	3.2.a-b
<i>nanta-siri</i> ( <i>nantaṇ</i> + <i>siri</i> )	2.2.a-b
<i>nākapērūr</i> ( <i>nākaṇ</i> + <i>pērūr</i> ; or <i>nākam</i> +)	56.1.a-b

In the following cases, the stems are joined after the elision of the stem-final suffix -(a)ṇ.

<i>āy(c)ca(y)yaṇ</i> ( <i>āyccaṇ</i> + <i>ayyaṇ</i> )	55.5.a-b
<i>cantaritaṇ</i> (or <i>cantāritaṇ</i> ) ( <i>cantaṇ</i> + <i>aritaṇ</i> / <i>āritaṇ</i> )	5.1.a-b
<i>korṇantai</i> ( <i>korṇaṇ</i> + <i>antai</i> )	67.1. a-b
<i>korṇantay</i> ( <i>korṇaṇ</i> + <i>antay</i> )	77.2.a-b
<i>cantantai</i> ( <i>cantaṇ</i> + <i>antai</i> )	29.1.a-b
<i>pi(t)ṭantai</i> ( <i>piṭṭaṇ</i> + <i>antai</i> )	66.2.a-b

The reasons for departing from the traditional interpretation (e.g., *korṇantai* < *korṇaṇ* + *antai*) are explained in section 3.2.2(v) and in the Commentary (66.2).

7.16.6 *Elision of the PNG suffix -(a)ṇ before a genitive suffix*

<i>cēntaṇ</i> + <i>a</i> > <i>cēnta-a</i>	28.1.b
<i>viraṇ</i> + <i>a</i> > <i>vira-a</i> ( <i>vīra-a</i> )	79.1.c
<i>kuviraṇ</i> + <i>ā</i> > <i>kuvirā</i>	23.1
(-ā merged with the stem after elision of -aṇ)	

### III. MORPHOLOGY

#### 7.17 Definition

Morphology is the study of forms of words in a language.

All words occurring in the Corpus are listed in alphabetical order along with their Reference Numbers in the Inscriptional Glossary (Appendix I). Native Tamil words and loanwords from Indo-Aryan are again listed separately in the Etymological Indexes (Appendices IV-VI).

#### 7.18 Syllabic structure of stems

It is now well settled that Dravidian roots are all monosyllabic. The stems are, however, extended further with the addition of derivational suffixes. Simple (indivisible) stems (excluding loanwords) in the Corpus are found to be one to three syllables in length. Simple stems with three syllables are rare. Typical examples of the syllabic structure of simple stems are illustrated in Table 7.3.

#### 7.19 Parts of speech

Words and morphemes occurring in the Corpus may be classified under the following parts of speech:

(1) Nouns (2) Pronouns (3) Verbs (4) Adjectives (5) Interjections (6) Particles

#### 7.20 Nouns

Nouns are names of people, places or things. From the grammatical point of view, nouns and pronouns are characterised by gender, number, person and especially case.

##### 7.20.1 Classification of nouns

Nouns occurring in the Corpus may be classified as proper nouns and common nouns. Proper nouns comprise personal names and place names, and the remaining are common nouns. (Participial nouns and verbal nouns are discussed in sections 7.30 & 7.31.)

##### 7.20.2 Personal names (N.)

These are listed in the Index to Personal Names (Appendix II). The Index lists personal names and segments of names in alphabetical order. Names in the feminine gender are marked (fem.), the rest being in the masculine gender.

##### 7.20.3 Place names (P.)

These are listed alphabetically in the Index to Place Names (Appendix III).

##### 7.20.4 Common nouns (n.)

These are included in the Inscriptional Glossary (Appendix I) and again in the Etymological Indexes (Appendices IV-VI).

Monosyllabic stems				VCVC:		
V:	<i>a-</i>	'that'	45.3.a	<i>akaḷ</i>	'tank, moat'	76.3.a
	<i>i-</i>	'this'	13.3	VCCVC:		
	<i>o</i>	'to be agreeable'	79.1.a	<i>antay</i>	'honorific (masc.)	77.2.b
Ṽ:	<i>ā</i>	'to be'	41.2	CVCV:		
	<i>ī</i>	'to give'	12.3	<i>piṛa</i>	'to be born'	49.3
VC:	<i>il</i>	'in, place'	33.1.b	<i>puli</i>	'tiger'	118.1.b
	<i>uḷ</i>	'inside'	60.2.b	<i>veḷi</i>	'open space'	7.1.b
	<i>em</i>	'our'	19.1	CṼCV:		
ṼC:	<i>ūr</i>	'village'	19.2	<i>kōḷi</i>	'cock'	112.5
CṼ:	<i>kā</i>	'to protect'	58.2	<i>cēri</i>	'hamlet'	112.2.b
	<i>kō</i>	'king'	61.6	CVCCV:		
CVC:	<i>kal</i>	'stone'	61.15	<i>palli</i>	'hermitage'	83.6
	<i>cey</i>	'to make'	49.7	CVCVC:		
	<i>nel</i>	'paddy'	16.5	<i>kaṭal</i>	'sea'	1.7.a
	<i>poṇ</i>	'gold'	36.2.a	<i>pokaḷ</i>	'fame'	83.1.b
CṼC:	<i>kōṇ</i>	'chief'	73.4	Stems with three syllables		
	<i>nīr</i>	'water(course)'	120.2.a	VCVCV:		
	<i>nōl</i>	'to do penance'	115.7	<i>erumi</i>	'buffalo'	49.1.a
	<i>mēl</i>	'western'	112.2.a	CVCVCV:		
Stems with two syllables				<i>muciṇi</i>	'a place name'	56.3
VCV:	<i>aṇi</i>	'that which is joined'	44.2.b	CVCVCVC:		
	<i>ila-</i>	'young'	17.1.a	<i>matiray</i>	'a place name'	36.1
ṼCV:	<i>ēri</i>	'lake'	60.4			
VCCV:						
	<i>anni</i>	'honorific (fem.)'	83.4.c			

(V: short vowel; Ṽ: long vowel; C: consonant)

Table 7.3. Syllabic structure of stems in the Early Tamil inscriptions in the Corpus.

## 7.20.5 Appellative nouns

Appellative nouns form a special category of nouns in Tamil to express various qualities or properties. They are derived from noun-, verb- or adjectival stems by the addition of pronominal (PNG) suffixes. Most of the appellative nouns in the Corpus serve as personal names (see section 4.19.1). Some of the appellative nouns occur as common nouns:

<i>iḷayar</i>	'young persons' (clan title) < <i>iḷamai</i> 'youth'	49.6
<i>kiḷār</i>	'owner (honorific singular)' < <i>kiḷa-mai</i> 'ownership'	84.2
<i>paṇa-aṇ</i>	'servant' < <i>paṇ</i> 'to work'	1.6
<i>parampaṇ</i>	'cultivator' < <i>parampu</i> 'to flatten land for cultivation, land so flattened'	84.1.a
<i>poṇ-kolvaṇ</i>	'goldsmith' < <i>kol</i> 'smith, blacksmith'	36.2
<i>ta(c)caṇ</i>	'carpenter, stonemason' < <i>taccu</i> 'carpentry, stone masonry'	73.8, 117.3.b
<i>nikama(t)tōr</i>	'members of a merchant guild' < <i>nikamam</i> 'merchant guild'	6.2.

## 7.21 Numerals

Numerals are nouns which indicate numbers. The following numerals occur in the Corpus:

Two:	<i>iru-</i>	<i>avviru-a-ar-um</i> 'those two persons also'	45.3.b
		<i>iruvar</i> 'two persons'	48.5
		(both from <i>iru-</i> bound form of <i>iraṇṭu</i> 'two')	
Three:		This number is uniquely represented by a figure comprising three short horizontal parallel strokes. (See section 5.16.)	76.7.b
Five:	<i>aim-</i>	bound form of <i>aintu</i> 'five'	116.1.a
		See 'fifty-seven' below.	
Seven:	<i>ēḷ-</i>	<i>ēḷur</i> ( <i>ēḷūr</i> ) 'a place name'	121.1.a
		bound form of <i>ēḷu</i>	
		See also 'fifty-seven' below.	
Ten:	<i>patt-</i>	bound form of <i>pattu</i> 'ten'	116.1.b
		See 'fifty-seven' below.	
	<i>patiṇ-</i>	<i>patiṇ-ūr</i> 'a place name'	30.1.a
		<i>patiṇ-</i> is a bound form of <i>pattu</i> .	
Fifty-seven:		<i>aimpattēḷ(u)</i>	116.1
Hundred:		<i>nūru</i>	16.3

## 7.22 Pronouns

Pronouns are a class of nouns which stand in for other nouns. The following categories of pronouns occur in the Corpus.

### 7.22.1 Personal pronouns

*em* 'our' (oblique form of *yām* 'we') 19.1

### 7.22.2 Demonstrative pronouns

*avviru-a-ar-um* 'those two persons also' (LT *avv- iruvar-um*) 45.3  
(from *a-* demonstrative pronominal base (remote))

*itta* 'this' in accusative case (LT *itai / ittai*) 13.3  
from *i-* demonstrative pronominal base (proximate)

### 7.22.3 Numeral pronouns

*iru-a-ar-* 'two persons' 45.3.b

*iruvar* 'two persons' 48.5  
(both from *iru-* bound form of *iraṇṭu* 'two')

## 7.23 Number and gender

Nouns (including pronouns) are classified into five categories (*pāl*) according to the composite number-gender system of traditional grammar (see Table 7.4).

1. Masculine singular (*āṇpāl*)
2. Feminine singular (*peṇpāl*)
3. Human (epicene) plural (*palarpāl*)
4. Neuter singular (*oṇṇaṇpāl*)
5. Neuter plural (*palaviṇpāl*)

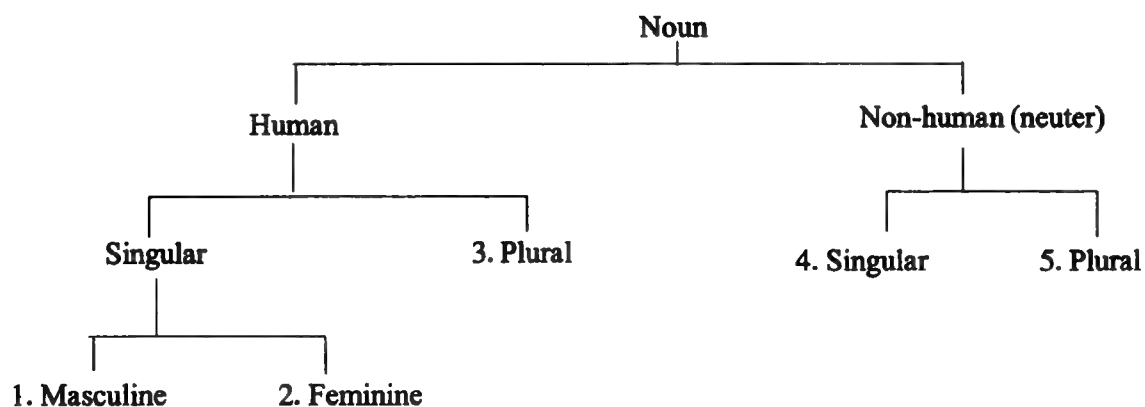


Table 7.4. Number-gender classification in Tamil.

Singular and plural numbers are called *orumai* and *paṇmai* respectively. In some cases, singular nouns and pronouns have the plural suffix *-ar / -ār* to indicate respect. This category which may be called honorific singular includes both masculine and feminine genders.

#### 7.23.1 Masculine singular

Personal names in the Corpus are mostly in masculine singular. See Index to Personal Names (Appendix II). Some common nouns in masculine singular are illustrated below.

<i>amaṇaṇ</i>	'Jaina monk'	24.1
<i>kaṇa(k)ka(ṇ)</i>	'accountant'	40.2
<i>kōṇ</i>	'chieftain'	73.4
<i>ta(c)caṇ</i>	'carpenter, stonemason'	73.8, 117.3.b
<i>tantai</i>	'father'	2.8
<i>pākaṇ</i>	'elephant-driver, charioteer'	13.1.a
<i>poṇ-kolvaṇ</i>	'goldsmith'	36.2
<i>makaṇ</i>	'son'	20.2

#### 7.23.2 Feminine singular

There are very few feminine personal names in the Corpus.

Examples of nouns in feminine singular:

<i>aṇṇi</i>	'honorific (fem.)'	83.4.c
<i>kanti</i>	'Jaina nun'	83.2.b
<i>pa(m)mitti</i>	'Jaina nun'	41.3
<i>makaḷ</i>	'daughter'	66.3

#### 7.23.3 Honorific singular

Human nouns (masculine and feminine) have the honorific singular suffix *-ar / -ār*:

<i>ācāriyar</i>	'preceptor'	115.4
<i>ācirikaru</i>	'preceptor'	116.5
<i>kiḷār</i>	'landowner or eminent person'	84.2
<i>tāyiyaru</i>	'mother'	83.3
<i>māṇākkar</i>	'disciple'	115.5

#### 7.23.4 Human (epicene) plural

<i>iḷayar</i>	'members of a martial clan'	49.6
<i>nikama(t)tōr</i>	'members of the merchant guild'	6.2

## 7.23.5 Neuter singular

Only selected examples illustrating each type are given below.

*animals*

<i>puli</i>	'tiger'	118.1.b
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<i>kōḷi</i>	'cock'	112.5
-------------	--------	-------

*plants*

<i>vēmp(u)</i>	'neem tree'	35.1.a
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*objects*

<i>ayam</i>	'tank'	35.2.b
-------------	--------	--------

*institutions*

<i>kaṭikai</i>	'assembly'	88.3
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*abstract nouns*

<i>aṛam</i>	'charity'	76.4
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## 7.23.6 Neuter plural

No plural suffix occurs in the Corpus for nouns in the neuter gender. However, in the following cases, the singular forms stand for the plural:

<i>ati(t)ṭāṇam 3</i>	'three stone beds'	76.7.a-b
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<i>kal</i>	'(two) stone beds' (from the context)	48.7
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<i>ūr</i>	'members of the village (assembly)' (from the context)	35.1.c
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## 7.24 Person

Three persons are distinguished in Tamil:

First person (*taṇmai*): 'I' and 'we'

Second person (*muṇṇilai*): 'thou' and 'you'

Third person (*paṭarkkai*): 'he/she/it' and 'they'; and all nouns.

Gender is not distinguished in the first and second persons. In the first person plural, a distinction is made between the 'inclusive' form which includes the listener and the 'exclusive' form which excludes the listener. The following word (the only one in the first person in the Corpus) is a case of first person plural (exclusive):

<i>em</i>	'our' oblique form of <i>yām</i> 'we' (exclusive)	19.1
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There are no examples of personal pronouns in the second or third persons in the Corpus.

## 7.24.1 Person-Number-Gender (PNG) suffixes

A remarkable grammatical feature of Tamil is the integration of the notions of person, number and gender in the pronominal suffixes (which are referred to as PNG suffixes in this study). The following PNG suffixes are added to nouns and pronouns in the Corpus.

## 7.24.2 Masculine singular

<b>-aṇ</b> (in free form)		
<b>upa(c)ca-aṇ</b>	'preceptor'	11.3
<b>paṇa-aṇ</b>	'servant'	1.6
<b>-aṇ</b> (in bound form)		
<b>amaṇaṇ</b>	'Jaina monk'	24.1
<b>upa(c)caṇ</b>	'preceptor'	9.1
<b>eḷamakaṇ</b>	'member of a martial clan'	56.5
<b>ta(c)caṇ</b>	'carpenter'	73.8
<b>patantaṇ</b>	'the venerable one'	60.3
<b>pākaṇ</b>	'elephant driver or charioteer'	13.1.a
<b>poṇ-kolvaṇ</b>	'goldsmith'	36.2
<b>makaṇ</b>	'son'	20.2
<b>vaṇikaṇ</b>	'trader'	43.1.b

Note: Most masculine personal names also end with **-aṇ**.  
See Index to Personal Names (Appendix II).

<b>-ōṇ</b> (in free form)		
<b>ceṇ-ataṇ-ōṇ</b>	'a personal name' (lit., 'he, Cerratan')	12.4
<b>-ōṇ</b> (in bound form)		
<b>(i)lavōṇ</b>	'a personal name' (lit., 'householder')	10.3

## 7.24.3 Feminine singular

<b>-aḷ</b>	<b>makaḷ</b>	'daughter'	66.3
<b>-i</b>	<b>aṇṇi</b>	'honorific (fem.)'	83.4.c
	<b>koṇṇi</b>	'a personal name (fem.)'	66.4.b
	<b>pa(m)mitti</b>	'Jaina nun'	41.3

7.24.4 *Honorific singular*

-ar	ācāriyar	'preceptor'	115.4
	ācirikaru	'preceptor'	116.5
	tāyiyaru	'mother'	83.3
	māṇākkar	'disciple'	115.5
-ār	kijār	'landowner or eminent person'	84.2

7.24.5 *Epicene plural*

-ar	avviru-a-ar-um	'those two persons also'	45.3
	iruvar	'two persons'	48.5
	iḷayar	'members of a martial clan'	49.6
-ōr	nikama(t)tōr	'members of a merchant guild'	6.2

7.25 *Noun stems as attributes*

Nouns which perform an adjectival function by qualifying other nouns which follow them may be called attributes to distinguish them from true adjectives. Noun stems occur in the attributive position as follows:

## (a) without any change

(e.g.)	poṇ-vāṇikaṇ	'gold merchant'	69.2.a-b
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## (b) as bare stem after elision of the neuter suffix -am

(e.g.)	kala nel	'kalams of paddy'	16.4-5
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## (c) as bare stem after elision of the PNG suffix -aṇ

(e.g.)	kaṇa(k)ka ataṇ	'Ataṇ, the accountant'	40.2-3
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## (d) with the attributive suffix -a

(e.g.)	nanta-a-siri-	'a personal name'	1.2
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	mācakōṭu (mācu + a-)	lit., 'misty peak', a place name	120.1
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7.26 *The oblique stem*

Personal pronouns and some nouns have oblique stems which express case relations or serve as the base for suffixation. The following types of oblique stems occur in the Corpus:

7.26.1 *Nouns ending in -am form the oblique stem by replacing the ending with -a(t)tu.*

	kuṇṇa(t)tu (< kuṇṇam)	'of the hill'	60.1.b
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	nikama(t)tu (< nikamam)	'of the merchant guild'	3.4
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<i>nikama(t)tōr</i> (< <i>nikamam</i> + <i>attu</i> + <i>ōr</i> )	
'members of the merchant guild'	6.2
<i>mārayatu</i> ( <i>mārāyattu</i> ) (< <i>mārāyam</i> , a title)	54.1

7.26.2 Nouns ending in -*tu* or -*ru* form the oblique stem by doubling the final consonant.

<i>kāṭṭu</i> (< <i>kāṭu</i> )	'of the forest'	117.1.b
<i>nāṭṭu</i> (< <i>nāṭu</i> )	'of the country'	115.2.b
<i>yāṭṭu</i> (< <i>yāṭu</i> )	'of the river'	62.3

7.26.3 Oblique pronominal stem

Oblique pronominal stems of the first and second persons are formed by stem mutation. The only example available in the Corpus is:

<i>em</i> (< <i>yām</i> )	'our (exclusive)'	19.1
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7.27 Case

Case expresses the semantic relation of a noun or a pronoun to the other words in the sentence. There are eight cases (*vēṭṭumai*) in Tamil numbered first to eighth. Case relations are indicated by the addition of suffixes (*urupu*) or postpositions. The first, second, fourth, sixth and seventh cases occur in the Corpus.

7.27.1 First case (nominative)

The stem without any case-marker is deemed to be in the nominative case. The vast majority of nouns in the Corpus are in the nominative case; e.g.,

<i>makaṇ</i>	'son'	20.2
<i>makaḷ</i>	'daughter'	66.3
<i>kaḷ</i>	'stone'	61.15
<i>aṇam</i>	'charity'	76.4

7.27.2 Second case (accusative)

There is only one occurrence of the accusative, which has -*a* as the case-suffix:

<i>itta</i>	'this' (in accusative case)	13.3
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Cf. LT *itai* / *ittai* < *itu* / *iḥtu* 'this one'

-*ai* is the accusative suffix in LT, though -*a* is also mentioned as such in *Tol.* (Col. 109-110). See Commentary for discussion.

7.27.3 Fourth case (dative)

The dative case suffix is -*ku* with the meanings 'to, for'. The following are the occurrences in the Corpus:

<i>kuv-aṇ-kē</i>	'to Kuvaṇ' (-kē < ku + ē, emphatic particle).	1.2.c
<i>ko(t)tal-ku</i>	'for carving'	12.2
<i>mērcēri-ku</i>	'for Mērcēri'	112.2
<i>teṇ-ku</i>	'southern' (lit., 'to the south')	49.5.a
<i>mattirai-kē</i>	'of Matirai'	38.1

Cf. *teṇku* 'south' where the dative suffix *-ku* denoting direction gets fused with the stem.

The dative suffix *-ku* occurs in the possessive-locative sense; the emphatic particle *-ē* indicates that all the persons belong to the same place. See Commentary (38.1).

Tamil legends on the Sātavāhana portrait coins employ the dative suffix *-ku* for the genitive. See section 5.15.3 for discussion.

#### 7.27.4 Sixth case (genitive)

Three suffixes of the genitive case occur in the Corpus: *-a*, *-ā* and *-iṇ*.

**-a:** This is the most frequent genitive suffix in the Corpus occurring seven times. It is also attested in LT, but with much less relative frequency. See Commentary (19.3).

<i>ciḷivaṇ-a</i>	'of Ciḷivaṇ'	19.3
<i>cēnta-a</i>	'of Cēntaṇ'	28.1.b
<i>ti(t)ti-il-a</i>	'of Tiṭṭi-il'	33.1
<i>pāṅkā(t)ṭa (pāṅkāṭu + a)</i>	'of Pāṅkāṭu'	8.1
<i>vira(vīra)-a</i>	'of Vīraṇ'	79.1.c
<i>ven(veṇ) -a</i>	'of Veṇ'	20.3
<i>vēḷ-a</i>	'of Vēḷ'	32.1.c

Cf. also *nanta-a-siri-* (1.2.a-b) and *mācakōṭu (mācu + a-)* (120.1) where *-a* appears to be an attributive suffix.

**-ā:** This genitive suffix occurs thrice in the Corpus

<i>kuvirā (kuviraṇ + ā)</i>	'of Kuviraṇ'	23.1
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The PNG suffix *-aṇ* is elided and the genitive suffix *-ā* is joined to the stem.

<i>na(l)li-y-ūr-ā</i>	'of Nalliyūr'	65.1
<i>nalli-y-ūr-ā</i>	'of Nalliyūr'	66.1

The genitive suffix *-ā* is not attested in LT. However, it occurs in Old Kannada where it is considered to be older than *-a*. See Commentary (66.1).

Cf. also *mutā* (61.1) and *mūtā* (62.1) (*mutu* / *mūtu* + *ā*) 'senior, elder' where *-ā* appears to be an adjectival suffix.

**-iṇ**: This occurs as the genitive suffix thrice.

*aritiṇ* (*ariti* + *iṇ*) 'of Ariti' 34.2

*kuṇāviṇ* (*kuṇā* + *v* + *iṇ*) 'of Kuṇā' 89.1

[*kō\**]*viṇ* (*kō* + *v* + *iṇ*) 'of the chief' 88.4

Cf. also *patiṇ-ūr* (*pat-iṇ-*) (30.1) where *-iṇ* is an attributive suffix.

### 7.27.5 Zero-genitive

The so-called zero-genitive construction also occurs in the Corpus in cases where the mere juxtaposition of nouns indicates genitive or possessive case relation.

(e.g.) *neṭuñcaḷiyaṇ paṇa-aṇ* 'servant of Neṭuñcaḷiyaṇ' 1.5-6

*neṭiñcaḷiyaṇ sālakaṇ* 'sister-in law's husband of  
Neṭiñcaḷiyaṇ' 2.5-6

*iḷaṇcaṭikaṇ tantai-y* 'father of Iḷaṇcaṭikaṇ' 2.7-8

Place names occur before personal names mostly without an overt genitive-possessive suffix.

(e.g.) *veḷ-araḷi nikama(t)tōr* 'the members of the merchant guild of  
Veḷḷaraḷi' 6.1-2

*pākaṇ-ūr pērataṇ* 'Pērataṇ of Pākaṇūr' 13.1-2

Exceptional cases of place names followed by the genitive suffix *-ā* have been noted above.

### 7.27.6 Seventh case (locative)

There are no occurrences of locative case suffixes in the Corpus. However, nouns are added as postpositions with locative signification in the following cases:

**-il**: *tṭi(t)ti-il-a* 'of Tiṭṭi-il' 33.1.b

Even though *-il* is a locative case suffix with the meaning 'in', it is clearly a noun here as indicated by the genitive suffix *-a* following it. It is probable that *tiṭṭi-il* 'in Tiṭṭi (a place name)' coalesced into a single word *tiṭṭi-il* which then became capable of taking a case-suffix. Cf. *vēmpī(r)-ūr* (*vēmpu* + *il* + *tt* + *ūr*) 'a place name' (35.1). The place name Vēmpil is attested in later Tamil inscriptions. See Commentary (33.1 & 35.1).

**-uḷ**: *uṇaiyuḷ* 'in the abode (of ascetics)' 60.2.b

Cf. *uṇai* (n.) 'abode'; *uḷ* (n.) 'in, inside'. The compound coalesces into a single word *uṇaiyuḷ* 'abode of ascetics' in LT.

## 7.28 Verbs

### 7.28.1 Verb stems in the Corpus

Verbs are words denoting action. They are characterised in grammar by their capacity to express tense. The following verb stems occur in the Corpus:

- |     |   |  |                  |
|-----|---|--|------------------|
| 1.  | <i>ama</i> (LT <i>amai</i> )  | 'to abide, remain'   | 48.6             |
| 2.  | <i>aṟu</i>  | 'to cut (> carve)'   | 61.14            |
| 3.  | <i>ā, āku</i>   | 'to be, become'  | 41.2, 61.13      |
| 4.  | <i>āṭu</i>  | 'to fight, play, win'                                      | 112.3            |
| 5.  | <i>āru</i> (LT <i>ār</i> )  | 'to be filled'   | 114.2.b          |
| 6.  | <i>ī</i>  | 'to give'  | 12.3             |
| 7.  | <i>ēvu</i>  | 'to command'   | 76.2             |
| 8.  | <i>karu(v)u, karu(k)ku</i>  | 'to carve, engrave'  | 17.2, 112.4      |
|     | Not attested in LT as verbs; See Commentary.  |  |                  |
| 9.  | <i>koṭṭu</i>  | 'to hammer (> carve)'                                      | 1.8              |
| 10. | <i>koṭu, kuṭu</i>   | 'to give'  | 3.9, 14.2        |
|     | <i>kuṭu</i> : inscriptional form not attested in LT.  |  |                  |
| 11. | <i>ko(r)ṟu</i>  | 'to carve'   | 52.3             |
|     | Inscriptional form not attested in LT as a verb.<br>See Commentary.                           |  |                  |
| 12. | <i>cey, ceyi, cē</i>  | 'to make'  | 49.7, 65.5, 2.10 |
|     | <i>ceyi</i> and <i>cē</i> : inscriptional forms not attested in LT.<br>See Commentary (2.10). |  |                  |
| 13. | <i>tā</i>   | 'to bring > to capture' ( <i>TL</i> )<br>(See Commentary ) | 73.3             |
| 14. | <i>tai</i>  | 'to make ' ( <i>TL</i> )<br>(See Commentary )              | 101.2            |
| 15. | <i>toṭu</i>   | 'to dig, excavate'   | 84.5             |
| 16. | <i>nōl</i>  | 'to do penance'  | 115.7            |
| 17. | <i>piṟa</i>   | 'to be born'   | 49.3             |
| 18. | <i>puṇaru</i> (LT <i>puṇar</i> )  | 'to combine (> compose)'                                   | 85.2             |
| 19. | <i>muṭi</i>   | 'to complete > to end one's life'<br>(See Commentary )     | 115.8            |
| 20. | <i>ve, vai</i> (LT <i>vai</i> )   | 'to put (> endow)'   | 13.4, 16.2       |

### 7.28.2 Transitive and intransitive verbs

Transitive verbs can have objects, intransitive verbs cannot. The verb stems occurring in the Corpus may be classified accordingly as follows:

#### 7.28.2.1 Transitive verbs

*aṛu, ī, ēvu, karu(v)u / karu(k)ku, koṭṭu, koṭu / kuṭu, ko(r)ru,*  
*cey / ceyi / cē, tā, tai, toṭu, nōl, puṇaru, muṭi, ve / vai*

#### 7.28.2.2 Intransitive verbs

*ama, ā / āku, āṭu, āru, piṛa*

The preponderance of transitive verbs in the Corpus is apparently due to the votive context of the inscriptions which mostly record the giving or making of gifts or performing religious or charitable acts.

### 7.28.3 Causative verbs

A characteristic feature of the verbs in the Corpus is the relative abundance of the causative forms of transitive verbs, which signify that someone gets something done by someone else ('cause to be done'). A typical case is when the donor of a cave gets the stonemason to carve the stone beds. While causative verbs occur in LT, their higher relative frequency in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions appears to be the result of the influence of inscriptional Prakrit.

#### 7.28.4 Causative suffixes

The causative suffixes occurring in the Corpus are *-(p)pi-* and *-vi-*.

##### 7.28.4.1 Causative verbs with the suffix *-(p)pi-*

<i>aṛu-(p)pi-</i>	62.14, 63.5
<i>kuṭu-(p)pi-</i>	14.2, 45.4
<i>koṭu-(p)pi-</i>	3.9, 5.2, 7.4, 11.2, 15.2, 44.3, 53.2
<i>koṭṭu-pi-</i>	1.8, 8.3, 9.4
<i>cey-pi</i>	89.3
<i>ceyi-pi</i>	65.5

##### 7.28.4.2 Causative verbs with the suffix *-vi-*

<i>cey-vi</i>	88.2
<i>ceyi-vi-</i>	83.5
<i>cē-vi-</i>	18.3

7.28.5 The frequency and distribution of causative suffixes in the Corpus point to the following conclusions:

- (a) Causative forms are more frequent in the earlier inscriptions (Nos. 1-59), less frequent in the later inscriptions (Nos. 60-89) and completely absent from the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions (Nos. 101-121). This pattern is consistent with the surmise that the relative abundance of the causative verbs in the earlier inscriptions is due to the influence of inscriptional Prakrit, which must have waned with time.
- (b) The causative suffix *-(p)pi-* is much more frequent (16 times) than *-vi-* (3 times). The form *ceyi-vi* has an earlier alternant *ceyi-pi*. The evidence appears to indicate that the causative suffix *-pi-* is more ancient than *-vi-*.

## 7.29 Tense

Modern Tamil has three tenses, past, present and future. Old Tamil distinguished only two tenses, past and non-past (present-future). The Corpus reflects the pattern of tense in Old Tamil. Specifically, the present tense suffixes *-kir-* and *-kir-* are absent from the Corpus.

### 7.29.1 Past tense

Verbs in the past tense may be classified on the basis of the past tense markers, *-t-*, *-tt-*, *-nt-* and *i* (*~ -iṅ-*, *-y-*):

<i>-t-</i>	<i>-tt-</i>	<i>-nt-</i>	<i>-i-</i> ( <i>~ -iṅ-</i> , <i>-y-</i> ):
<i>cey / ceyi / cē</i>	<i>aṟu</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>ā / āku</i>
<i>toṭu (&gt; to(t)ṭ-)</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>āru</i>	<i>āṭu</i>
	<i>koṭu / kuṭu</i>	<i>tā (&gt; tant-)</i>	<i>karu(v)u / karu(k)ku</i>
	<i>tai</i>	<i>pīra</i>	<i>koṭṭu</i>
	<i>nōl (&gt; nōḷṭ-)</i>		<i>ēvu</i>
	<i>puṇaru</i>		<i>ko(r)ru</i>
	<i>muṭi</i>		<i>cē</i> (variant of <i>cey</i> )
	<i>ve / vai</i>		

The distribution is as in LT except for *cē* (a variant of *cey* attested only in inscriptions) taking not only the past tense marker *-t-* as in *cētavar* 'they who made' (35.3), but also *-i-* as in *cē-i-ya* 'which was made' (2.10) and *-y-* as in *cē-y-a* 'which was made' (31.2). See Commentary (2.10, 31.2) for discussion.

### 7.29.2 Non-past (present-future) tense

There is only one occurrence of a verb form in the non-past tense in the Corpus:

*ve(p)pōṇ* (LT *vaippōṇ*) 'he who has endowed' (13.4)

The non-past suffix here is *-(p)p-* (not doubled in the original).

### 7.29.3 Absence of finite verbs

A remarkable feature of the inscriptions in the Corpus is the absence of finite verb forms. Their place is taken by participial nouns and adjectival participles.

### 7.30 Participial nouns

Participial nouns (*viṇaiyāl aṇaiyum peyar*) are formed by the successive additions of tense markers (past or non-past) and pronominal (PNG) suffixes to verb stems. A participial noun can function like a noun or a verb. It is a noun as it can be inflected for case, though such inflected forms do not occur in the Corpus; it is a verb as it has tense and can take the place of a finite verb in a sentence. However, *kāttāṇ* (58.2), formally a participial noun, 'he who protected' from *kā* 'to protect', occurs in the Corpus as a personal name.

A characteristic feature of the inscriptions in the Corpus is the employment of participial nouns as finite verbs. Such participial nouns have been translated as finite verbs in the Corpus. e.g.,

*antuvaṇ koṭupitavaṇ* (No. 53)

lit., 'Antuvaṇ who caused to be given'

translated as: 'Antuvaṇ caused to be given'.

#### 7.30.1 PNG suffixes of participial nouns

PNG suffixes are added to participial nouns to indicate person, number and gender as in the case of nouns and pronouns. The addition of PNG suffixes to the participial nouns in the Corpus is illustrated below.

##### 7.30.1.1 Third person masculine singular

-avaṇ	īttavaṇ	'he who gave'	12.3
-āṇ	ceyvittāṇ	'he who caused to be made'	88.2
	ceyitāṇ	'he who made'	73.7
-ōṇ	koṭṭupi(t)tōṇ	'he who caused to be carved'	8.3
	ve(p)pōṇ (LT vaippōṇ)	'he who has endowed'	13.4

##### 7.30.1.2 Third person human (epicene) plural

-avar	cētavar	'they who made'	35.3
-ōr	ko(t)ṭi-ōr	'they who carved'	6.3

### 7.30.2 Past participial nouns

#### 7.30.2.1 Transitive

īttavaṇ	'he who gave'	12.3
ko(t)ṭi-ōr	'they who carved'	6.3

<i>ko(t)ti-y-avaṇ</i>	'he who engraved'	4.3
<i>ceytā[ṇ*]</i>	'he who made'	55.4
<i>ceyitāṇ</i>	'he who made'	73.7
<i>cētavar</i>	'they who made'	35.3
<i>puṇaruttāṇ</i>	'he who composed'	85.2

### 7.30.2.2 Causative

<i>koṭu(p)pi(t)tō(r)</i>	'they who caused to be given'	45.4
<i>koṭṭupi(t)tōṇ</i>	'he who caused to be carved'	8.3, 9.4
<i>koṭu(p)pi . . .</i>	' . . . caused to be given' (fragmentary)	15.2
<i>koṭu(p)pi(t)ta-avaṇ</i>	'he who caused to be given'	44.3
<i>koṭu(p)pi(t)tavaṇ</i>	'he who caused to be given'	11.2, 53.2
<i>koṭu(p)pi(t)tōṇ</i>	'he who caused to be given'	3.9, 5.2, 7.4
<i>ceyvittāṇ</i>	'he who caused to be made'	88.2
<i>cēvi(t)t-ōṇ</i>	'he who caused to be made'	18.3

### 7.30.3 Non-past participial noun

<i>ve(p)pōṇ</i> (LT <i>vaippōṇ</i> )	'he who has endowed'	13.4
--------------------------------------	----------------------	------

### 7.31 Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns (*tolil peyar*) are formed from verb stems. They function like nouns and can have case-markers. The following verbal nouns occur in the Corpus:

<i>ko(t)tal-ku</i> ( <i>koṭṭu + al + ku</i> ) 'for carving' (with dative case suffix)	12.2
--	------

*pokal* (LT *pukal*) 'refuge' (105.1.b) and *turukay* 'vent (in sluice)' (114.1) are formally verbal nouns; but they do not signify action and occur as nouns in the Corpus.

### 7.32 Adjectival participles

Adjectival participles (*peyar eccam*) are derived from verb stems by suffixation and qualify nouns, either the subject or the object or any other noun, in a sentence. They have tense and function like verbs.

The adjectival past participle is derived by suffixing a past tense marker (*-t-*, *-tt-*, *-nt-* or *-i-*) and thereafter the participial suffix *-a*. The causative participle is formed with the further addition of the causative suffix *-(p)pi-* or *-vi-* immediately after the verb stem.

The adjectival participle is formally non-finite; however, when it stands for a finite verb, it has been translated as such in the Corpus. Further, if the subject of an action denoted by a

participle does not coincide with the word it qualifies, the former is generally in the nominative case and the participle (of a transitive verb) has a passive meaning (Andronov 1969: p. 179). Such adjectival participles, though not formally in the passive voice, are generally translated with passive construction in epigraphical publications (cf. Velu Pillai 1976: pp. 85-88).

(e.g.) . . . *añci ītta paḷi* (No. 59)  
lit., 'the hermitage which Añci gave'  
translated as: 'the hermitage was given by Añci'.

Adjectival non-past participles do not occur in the Corpus.

### 7.32.1 Adjectival past participles

#### 7.32.1.1 Qualifying the subject (form: '(who) did')

(ā)-iṇa	'who is'	41.2
tanta	'who captured'	73.3
nōḥṇa	'who observed the penance'	116.3
piṇanta	'who was born'	49.3
muṭṭita	'who completed'	115.8

#### 7.32.1.2 Qualifying the object (form: '(which was) done')

arutta	'which was carved'	61.14
ītta	'which was given'	59.3
*karu(v)iya	'which was carved'	17.2
*karu(k)kiya	'which was carved'	112.4
*ko(r)ṇiya	'which was carved'	52.3
ceyta	'which was made'	49.7
ceyita (LT ceyta)	'which was made'	76.6
*cē-īya	'which was made'	2.10
*cē-y-a	'which was made'	31.2
tai(t)ta	'which was made'	101.2
to(t)ta	'which was excavated'	84.5

\* Not attested in LT. See Commentary (on the respective words) for discussion.

#### 7.32.1.3 Causative (form: '(which was) caused to be done')

aru(p)pitta	'which was caused to be carved'	63.5
aru(p)pi(t)ta	'which was caused to be carved'	62.14

<i>kuṭu(p)pi(t)ta</i>	'which was caused to be given'	14.2
<i>koṭṭupitta-a</i>	'which was caused to be carved'	1.8
<i>ceypi(t)ta</i>	'which was caused to be made'	89.3
<i>ceyipi(t)ta</i>	'which was caused to be made'	65.5
<i>ceyivitta</i>	'which was caused to be made'	83.5

### 7.32.2 Adjectival aorist participles

The adjectival aorist participle (*viṇaittokai*) is the bare verb stem without the addition of a tense marker or the participial suffix.

<i>ama</i> (LT <i>amai</i> )	'who abide'	48.6
<i>āru</i> (LT <i>ār</i> )	'(which is) filled (fitted)'	114.2.b
<i>koṭu</i>	'(which was) given'	10.4

### 7.33 Adverbial participles

Adverbial participles (*viṇai eccam*) are derived from verb stems and qualify the verbs following them. They are formed by the addition of the suffix *-i* directly to the stem or the suffix *-u* after a completive tense marker (*-t-*, *-tt-* or *-nt-*). Each type is attested once in the Corpus:

<i>āṭi</i> ( <i>āṭu + i</i> )	'having fought' (in absolute construction)	112.3
<i>nōṭṭu</i> ( <i>nōl + tt + u</i> )	'having observed the penance'	115.7

Verbs occurring in the Corpus may be divided into two groups according to the type of the adverbial participial suffix.

Verbs capable of taking the adverbial participial suffix *-u*:

*ama*, *aṟu*, *āru*, *ī*, *koṭu* / *kuṭu*, *cey* / *ceyi* / *cē*, *tā*, *tai*, *toṭu*, *nōl*, *piṛa*, *puṇaru*, *muṭi*, *ve* / *vai*

Verbs capable of taking the adverbial participial suffix *-i*:

*ā* / *āku*, *āṭu*, *ēvu*, *karu(v)u* / *karu(k)ku*, *koṭṭu*, *ko(r)ru*

### 7.34 The infinitive

The infinitive conveys various senses like 'to do, having done, when (one) did', etc. It is formed by the addition of the suffix *-a* directly to the verb stem or after a non-completive tense marker *-(k)k-*.

<i>āka</i>	'when (he) became; having become'	61.13, 62.13
<i>ēva</i>	'when (he) commanded; at the bidding of'	76.2
<i>vai(k)ka</i>	'to endow'	16.2

### 7.35 Adjectives

Adjectives are modifiers of nouns expressing qualities or properties. The adjective always precedes the noun it qualifies. Unlike nouns, the adjective has no person, number, gender or case; it does not vary its form to accord with the person, number, gender or case of the noun it qualifies. Unlike verbs, it has no tense. Appellative nouns are formed from adjectival stems with the addition of pronominal (PNG) suffixes. However, adjectives themselves do not occur as independent words (with a couple of exceptions noticed below). The adjectival stems in the Corpus occur invariably combined with personal names or place names:

- |     |   |                                |   |
|-----|---|--------------------------------|---|
| 1.  | <i>iru(m)-</i>  | 'great'                        | 61.7.c, 62.7.c  |
| 2.  | <i>iġa(m)-</i>  | 'young, junior'                | 2.7.a, 17.1.a, 61.11.a,<br>61.12.a, 62.11.c,<br>62.12.a, 76.1.a, 89.2.a |
|     | <i>eġa-</i>   | 'young, junior'                | 43.2.a, 56.5.a  |
| 3.  | <i>kaṭu(m)-</i>   | 'ferocious'                    | 61.9.b, 61.11.b, 62.9.b,<br>62.11.a, 62.11.d                            |
|     | <i>kaḷu-</i> (LT <i>kaṭu-</i> )   | 'ferocious'                    | 44.1.a  |
| 4.  | <i>kiġ-</i> ( <i>kiġ-</i> )   | 'eastern'                      | 113.1.a.  |
| 5.  | <i>kuṛu(m)-</i>   | 'short, young, little'         | 65.3.a  |
| 6.  | <i>ciṛu-</i>  | 'small, little, young, junior' | 49.5.b, 73.9.a, 106.1.a   |
|     | <i>ce(ɾ)ɾ-</i> (LT <i>ciɾɾ-</i> )<br>(before a vowel)   | 'small, little, young, junior' | 12.4.a  |
| 7.  | <i>cem-</i>   | 'good, straight, beautiful'    | 22.1.a, 61.4.a, 62.4.a,<br>63.2.a, 109.1.a, 110.1.a                     |
|     | <i>cam-</i> (LT <i>cem-</i> )   | 'good, straight, beautiful'    | 101.1.a, 105.1.a  |
| 8.  | <i>naġ-</i>   | 'good, auspicious'             | 17.3.a  |
| 9.  | <i>neṭu(m)-</i>   | 'tall, great, senior'          | 1.5.a, 42.2.a, 55.5.c,<br>59.2.b  |
|     | <i>neṭi(m)-</i> (LT <i>neṭum-</i> )   | 'tall, great, senior'          | 2.5.a   |
| 10. | <i>paġ-</i>   | 'many'                         | 118.1.a   |
| 11. | <i>piṇ-</i>   | 'subsequent, afterwards'       | 63.4.a  |
|     | (occurs in the appellative noun <i>piṇ-aṇ</i><br>( <i>piṇṇaṇ</i> ) 'a personal name' lit., 'younger brother'. |                                |   |

12.	<i>peru(m)-</i>	'great, senior, large'	61.9.a, 62.9.a, 72.3.a 83.1.a, 88.6.a, 117.3.a
	<i>pe(m)-</i> (contraction of <i>perum-</i> )	'great, senior, large'	102.1.a
	<i>pēr-</i> (before a vowel)	'great, senior, large'	13.2.a, 35.2.a, 56.1.b
†13.	<i>mutā (mutu + ā)</i>	'senior, elder'	61.1
	<i>mūtā (mūtu + ā)</i>	'senior, elder'	62.1
† These are the only exceptional cases of adjectives occurring as independent words in the Corpus. They are formed from the stems <i>mutu</i> / <i>mūtu</i> with the addition of the adjectival suffix <i>-ā</i> ; cf. the genitive suffix <i>-ā</i> (23.1, 65.1, 66.1). Neither of these suffixes is attested in LT. See Commentary (61.1, 62.1).			
14.	<i>mē(l)-</i>	'western'	112.2.a
15.	<i>ve(m)-</i>	'hot'	119.1.a
16.	<i>veḷ-, veṇ-</i>	'white, bright, pure'	3.3.a, 6.1.a, 14.1.a, 46.1.a

### 7.36 Interjections

Interjections are exclamatory words expressing strong emotions like wonder, surprise, etc. The following interjections occur in the Corpus:

<i>ittā-a</i>	'lo, behold, look here !'	1.4
<i>ītā</i>	'lo, behold, look here !'	2.4, 16.1

The interjections *itā* and *ītā* occur in Literary Tamil in the same sense; the latter is regarded as more ancient. While *ittā* is not attested elsewhere, it may be regarded as a variant of *itā*. The two forms recorded in the Corpus seem to be derived from the proximate demonstrative pronoun *iḥtu* 'this':

$$iḥtu + ā > ittā / ītā.$$

The loss of *h* is compensated by the doubling of the following consonant in *ittā-*, and by the elongation of the preceding vowel in *ītā*. The elongation *-ā-a* in *ittā-a* to further emphasise the sense of wonder seems to be a case of *uyir aḷapeṭai* (vowel elongation). See Commentary (1.4 & 2.4) for further discussion.

### 7.37 Particles

Particles are auxiliary morphemes added to the main words to impart various shades of meanings. The following two particles occur in the Corpus:

-um:	occurs as an intensifying particle in the sense 'too, also'.	
<i>avviru-a-ar-um</i>	'those two persons also'	45.3.b

The reference is to two donors who also joined the others named in the inscriptions in making the gift. The particle occurs here in free form.

*eḷuttum* 'the letters also' 85.1

The reference is to the scribe engraving not only this inscription (No. 85) but also the adjoining charts of musical notations (Nos. 86 & 87).

**-ē:** occurs as the emphatic particle added to the dative case suffix *-ku*:

*kuv-aṇ-kē* 'to Kuvan' 1.2.c.

In the following case the emphatic particle *-ē* is added to the dative case suffix *-ku* (used here in the locative-possessive sense) to signify inclusiveness:

*mattirai-kē* 'of Matirai' 38.1

The particle emphasises that all the donors mentioned in the succeeding inscriptions (Nos. 39-45) hailed from the same place.

### 7.38 Grammatical morphemes

Grammatical morphemes (as distinguished from lexical items) have no meanings, but signify various grammatical functions by affixation. This category includes items like PNG suffixes, case and tense markers, etc. An alphabetical list of grammatical morphemes occurring in the Corpus is provided in Appendix VII (Index to Grammatical Morphemes).

## IV. SYNTAX

### 7.39 Definition

Syntax is the arrangement of words in forming a sentence according to the rules of grammar of the language.

The main principles governing syntax in Tamil may be briefly summarised as follows:

- (1) The normal word order in a sentence is subject-object-verb (SOV). This order may, however, change in special circumstances.
- (2) The attribute precedes the word it qualifies.
- (3) There is agreement between the subject and the verbal predicate in person, number and gender.
- (4) The predicate is generally a verb, but may also be a noun.
- (5) The subject or the object or even the verb are not obligatory elements in a sentence.

### 7.40 Syntax in Early Tamil inscriptions

The Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions included in the Corpus are all very brief records. The two longest inscriptions (Nos. 61 & 62) have only 15 words each. The average length of an inscription is 3 to 4 words only. Only a few inscriptions have two sentences each (Nos. 1, 2, 24, 49, 55, 61, 62, 63, 73, 76 & 115). At the other extreme, there are several inscriptions with only a single word (e.g., Nos. 109-111) or a string of nouns and attributes without structural features (e.g., No. 56). These inscriptions are excluded from the following discussion.

It is convenient to classify the sentences in the Corpus on the basis of verbs as follows.

- (1) Sentences with participial nouns as verbs.
- (2) Sentences with adjectival participles as verbs.
- (3) Sentences without verbs.
- (4) Adverbial clauses.

#### 7.41 Sentences with participial nouns as verbs

No.	Subject	Object	Verb
7.41.1 In subject-object-verb order			
7. . . .	<i>veḷiyaṇ</i> veḷiyaṇ '... Veḷiyaṇ . . . caused to be given the cave.'	<i>muḷākai</i> cave	<i>koṭupitōṇ</i> he who caused to be given
9. . . .	<i>par-acu</i> paracu 'Paracu . . . caused to be carved the abode . . .'	<i>urāi</i> abode	<i>koṭṭupitōṇ</i> he who caused to be carved
13. . . .	<i>piṭṭaṇ</i> piṭṭaṇ '... Piṭṭaṇ . . . has endowed this.'	<i>itta</i> this -accusative	<i>vepōṇ</i> he who endows

#### 7.41.2 In object-verb-subject order

No.	Object	Verb	Subject
73.	<i>āci</i> prop '... the carpenter made the props.'	<i>ceyitāṇ</i> he who made	<i>tacaṇ</i> . . . carpenter
85.	<i>eḷuttum</i> letters-also 'Tēvaṇ Cāttāṇ . . . composed the letters also.'	<i>puṇaruttāṇ</i> . . . he who composed	<i>tēvaṇ cāttāṇ</i> tēvaṇ cāttāṇ
88.	<i>paḷḷi</i> hermitage 'Perunkūṟraṇ . . . caused to be made the hermitage.'	<i>ceyvittāṇ</i> . . . he who caused to be made	<i>perunkūṟraṇ</i> perunkūṟraṇ

## 7.41.3 In subject-verb order (object to be inferred from the context)

No.	Subject	Verb
18. . . .	<i>ar-iytaṇ</i> ariytaṇ 'Ariytaṇ . . . caused to be made.'	<i>cēvit-ōṇ</i> he who caused to be made
53.	<i>antuvaṇ</i> antuvaṇ 'Antuvaṇ caused to be given.'	<i>koṭupitavaṇ</i> he who caused to be given

## 7.41.4 In verb-subject order (object to be inferred from the context)

No.	Verb	Subject
55.	<i>ceytā[ṇ*]</i> he who made 'Āyccayyaṇ . . . made.'	<i>āycaṇ . . .</i> āyccayyaṇ

## 7.42 Sentences with adjectival participles as verbs

## 7.42.1 Qualifying the subject

No.	Predicate	Subject
41.	<i>sapamitā(ā)-iṇa</i> sappamittā who is 'The Jaina nun who is Sappamittā.'	<i>pamitti</i> jaina nun
48. . . .	<i>iruvar ama</i> two persons who abide 'The stone(-beds) where the two persons . . . abide.'	<i>kaḷ</i> stone
49. . . .	<i>kumuḷ-ūr piṇanta</i> kumuḷūr who was born 'Kavuṭi born at Kumuḷūr . . . '	<i>kavuṭi-i</i> kavuṭi
114.	<i>tuṭukay-y- uḷḷāru</i> vent of sluice filled-in 'The stone (-stopper) fitted in the vent of the sluice.'	<i>kaḷ</i> stone

## 7.42.2 Qualifying the object

No.	Subject	Verb	Object
1. . . .	<i>kaṭalaṇ vaḷutti-y</i> kaṭalaṇ vaḷuti	<i>koṭṭupitta-a</i> (which was) caused to be carved	<i>paḷi-iy</i> hermitage
	'The hermitage was caused to be carved by Kaṭalaṇ Vaḷuti . . . '		

No.	Subject	Verb	Object
10.	... (i)lavōṇ illavōṇ 'The hermitage given by ... Illavōṇ ...'	koṭu given	paḷi-i hermitage
59.	... aṇci aṇci 'The hermitage was given by ... Aṇci ...'	ītta (which was) given	paḷi hermitage
84.	... kaṇṇatēvaṇ kaṇṇatēvaṇ 'the mountain pool was excavated by ... Kaṇṇatēvaṇ ...'	toṭa (which was) excavated	cuṇai mountain pool
89.	... [i*]laṅkō (i)laṅkō 'The hermitage was caused to be made by (I)laṅkō.'	ceyipita (which was) caused to be made	paḷi-i hermitage
101.	campoykaipētu campoykaipētu 'The rock (-shelter) was made by Campoykaipētu.'	taita (which was) made	kal stone

#### 7.43 Sentences without verbs

2. kaṇi-y nanta-siri-y ku-aṇ dhamam  
kaṇi nanta-siri ku(v)aṇ charity  
'charity (is) (to) Nanta-siri Ku(v)aṇ, the kaṇi.'
24. ... attiraṇ urai  
attiraṇ abode  
'The abode (is) of Attiraṇ ...'
19. ... ciḷivaṇ-a tāṇa  
ciḷivaṇ-of gift  
'The gift (is) of Ciḷivaṇ ...'
34. ... aritiṇ paḷi  
ariti-of hermitage  
'The hermitage (is) (the gift) of Ariti ...'
54. mārayatu kaya[m\*]  
mārāyam-of pool  
'The pool (is) (the gift) of the mārāyam(a title).'

## 7.44 Adverbial clauses

### 7.44.1 With the verbal participle (of cause) in absolute construction

112.... mērcēri-ku	-y- āṭi	-k-karukiya	kōḷi
for mērcēri	having fought	(which was) carved	cock
'(The image of) the cock was engraved after it had fought on behalf of Mērcēri . . . '			

### 7.44.2 With the infinitive (of cause) in absolute construction

61. . . . [i*]ḷaṅkaṭuṅkō	[i*]ḷaṅkō	āka	
(i)ḷaṅkaṭuṅkō	heir apparent	having become	
aṛutta	kal		
(which was) carved	stone		
'The rock (-shelter) was carved when (I)ḷaṅkaṭuṅkō . . . became the heir apparent.'			
76. iḷaṅkāyipaṇ	ēva	akaḷ-ūr	aṛam
iḷaṅkāyipaṇ	when he commanded	akaḷūr	charity
'The charity by Akaḷūr (was endowed) at the bidding of Iḷaṅkāyipaṇ.'			

## 7.45 Agreement between subject and predicate

No.	Subject	Predicate
5.	cantaritaṇ cantaritaṇ (3rd person, singular, masculine)	koṭupitōṇ he who caused to be given (3rd person, singular, masculine)
'Cantaritaṇ caused to be given.'		
6. . . . nikamatōr	they of the merchant guild (3rd person, epicene pl.)	koṭi-ōr they who carved (3rd person, epicene pl.)
'The members of the merchant guild . . . carved.'		
45. . . . avvīru-a-ar-um	those two persons also (3rd person, epicene pl.)	kuṭupitō[r*] they who caused to be given (3rd person, epicene pl.)
' . . . those two persons also caused to be given.'		
35.	vēmpir-ūr vēmpirūr (inferred pl.)	pēr-ay-am large tank cētavar they who made (3rd person, epicene pl.)
'(The Assembly of) Vēmpirūr constructed the large tank.'		
See Commentary (35.1) for discussion.		



**PART THREE**  
**CORPUS OF EARLY TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS**

Early Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions  
Late Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions  
Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Inscriptions  
Tracings of Inscriptions (Figures)  
Estampages of Inscriptions (Plates)  
Commentary on Inscriptions  
Appendices



## CORPUS OF EARLY TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS

### CORPUS

The Corpus comprises 110 inscriptions arranged in an approximate chronological sequence. The first 89 inscriptions from 30 sites are in the Tamil-Brāhmī script; the remaining 21 inscriptions from 12 sites are in the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu script. The Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions are arranged in separate sections with serial numbers *1-89* and *101-121* respectively. Inscriptions from the same site are grouped together and numbered serially in each site; however, where Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions occur at the same site, they are included in the respective sections, and the sites in such cases are marked with the suffixes A and B respectively. Names and serial numbers (in roman numerals) of the sites and the serial numbers of inscriptions (in each site) are printed at the top of each page. The name of the site is also repeated in the Tamil script as guide to pronunciation. The consecutive serial numbers of inscriptions in the Corpus (Nos. *1-89* and *101-121*) are in bold italics at top left of each inscription. For more particulars on sites and inscriptions, see catalogues of Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu Inscriptions (Tables 1.2 and 1.3 respectively).

### TEXTS

The texts are arranged in a special format designed to explicate the unfamiliar features of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions.

**Literal transcript:** Each inscription is first presented in a literal transcription (marked **A** and printed in **bold**) to record what is actually engraved on the stone. The transcription is given *akshara* by *akshara* (with spaces in between) without any correction, emendation or restoration. The *aksharas* are read according to Brāhmī orthography; the 'inherent'-*a* medial vowel is made explicit in every case, and the vowel-lengths are transcribed as in Brāhmī inscriptions. However, the length of *e* and *o* is considered indeterminate at this stage.

The objectives of the literal transcription are to record the original inscriptions with fidelity, to provide a point of departure from the more familiar Brāhmī script and to demonstrate the differences between the Brāhmī and Tamil-Brāhmī orthographic systems.

**Text:** At the next stage, the *aksharas* are combined into words, and the text (marked **B** and printed in *italics*) is constituted in accordance with the orthographic norms applicable to the inscriptions. The 'inherent' -*a* is omitted from basic consonants, and the correct vowel-lengths are adopted. Thus, for example, *tā na tai ya* is read as *tantai-y* 'father', *mā kā ṇa* as *makaṇ* 'son', *ū rai* as *urai* 'abode', *ne la* as *nel* 'paddy', *ko ṇa* as *kōṇ* 'chieftain', etc. Again, the word *kal* 'stone' occurs as *kā la* or *ka la* or *ka l* in the successive (but marginally overlapping) orthographic systems (TB I-III). It is necessary to emphasise that these emendations are not 'corrections' but the intended readings of the original inscriptions. See Chapter 6 (Orthography) for details.

Also at this stage, the lost *aksharas* are restored and the missing *aksharas* supplied, wherever possible, from the evidence of parallel texts or from the context as explained in the footnotes. The restored or supplied *aksharas* are enclosed in square brackets and marked with asterisks [\* ].

The employment of a single consonant to represent doubled consonants is regarded as an orthographic variation and is not emended in the text; however, the corresponding linguistic forms with doubled consonants are pointed out in the footnotes (e.g., *pā ḷi* > *paḷi* > *paḷḷi* 'hermitage').

Scribal errors are also left uncorrected in the text, but the corrected forms are given in the footnotes, which commence with the code 'Read' in order to distinguish corrections from emendations (e.g., *atiyan neṭumān*: Read *atiyaṇ neṭumāṇ*). The text constituted in the manner described above forms the basis for all further studies in this work.

**Text in Tamil script:** As the language of the inscriptions is Tamil, the text is also reproduced in the Tamil script. The medial signs for short and long *e* and *o* are differentiated and basic consonants are marked with the *puḷḷi*.

#### TRANSLATION

The text is translated into English keeping as close to the original as possible. Personal and place names occurring in translation are written with doubled consonants and without the paragogic suffixes (-i, -y, etc.) in accordance with literary usage.

#### DATA

Essential background information in respect of each inscription is given below the text on the same page as follows.

1. **Illustrations:** The inscriptions are illustrated with tracings (made direct from the stone), estampages and, in a few cases, with direct photographs. Serial numbers of Figures (tracings) and Plates (estampages and direct photographs) are given under this head. Tracings are printed on the left hand pages facing or near the pages with the corresponding inscriptions. Plates with estampages and direct photographs are placed in a separate section at the end of the Corpus. See List of Tracings of Inscriptions (Figures) and List of Estampages of Inscriptions (Plates).
2. **Locus:** The exact location of each inscription in a site is given. (See Map I and catalogues in Tables 1.2 and 1.3 for the location of sites.) Brief comments are also added on the state of preservation of the inscription.
3. **No. of lines:** The number of lines in the original of each inscription is specified. Longer inscriptions engraved in one line are reproduced in segments for convenience of printing.
4. **Length:** The actual length (in cms.) of each line as measured *in situ* is given except for No. 71 (too fragmentary), Nos. 78, 81-82 (which are no longer extant and are edited from earlier estampages) and No. 120 (partly submerged in water). Scale is indicated for each tracing. Scale for estampages was not available for the photographs obtained from the ASI and TNSA.

**5. Date:** The inscriptions are arranged chronologically in three periods, namely Early Tamil-Brāhmī (ca. 2nd century B.C.-1st century A.D.), Late Tamil-Brāhmī (ca. 2nd-4th centuries A.D.) and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu (ca. 5th and 6th centuries A.D.). Within each period, an attempt has been made to indicate approximately the date of the inscription to the nearest century. See section 2.16 and Tables 2.1 and 2.2 on the chronology of the inscriptions.

**6. Publications:** Previous publications on each inscription are listed in an abbreviated form commencing with the official publications of the ASI (*ARE*, *IAR* and *SII*) and my earlier work *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions 1966* (1968) which forms the nucleus for the present study. Thereafter, references to the major compilations of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions are arranged alphabetically in the order of the initials of the authors or the abbreviated titles of the publications. Finally, references to occasional papers on individual inscriptions are given with the names of authors and the year of publication arranged chronologically. Abbreviations for the major compilations of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions published earlier are given below. (These abbreviations are used only in the Corpus. See Bibliography for details.)

CNR: C. Narayana Rao 1938-39

KZ: Kamil Zvelebil 1964 (1966)

HKS: H. Krishna Sastri 1919

MSV: M.S. Venkataswamy 1981 (in Tamil)

HTS: *History of Tamil Nadu:*

RN: R. Nagaswamy 1972d (in Tamil)

*Sangam Age—Political* 1983

RPS: R. Panneerselvam 1972

IM/66: I. Mahadevan 1966 (1968)

TVM: T.V. Mahalingam 1967 (1974)

KVS: K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1924

## NOTES

Footnotes appearing on the same page under each inscription deal with variant readings, state of preservation of individual *aksharas*, comparison of inscriptional forms with those of Literary Tamil (LT) and minimal additional explanations considered necessary for an understanding of the inscriptions. Literary and inscriptional citations and further detailed studies of the inscriptions will be found in the Commentary. References are also made to sections in Chapters 1-7 for discussion on significant items.



**EARLY TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS (1-59)**  
**(ca. 2nd Century B.C.-1st Century A.D.)**



## I. MANGULAM (மரங்குளம்) - 1

1. A. *kā ṇi ya nā na tā a si ri ya ī*  
*ku va a ṇa ke dha ma mā ma*  
*ī ta tā a ne ṭu nā cā ḷi yā ṇa*  
*pā ṇā a ṇa kā ṭā la a ṇa vā ḷu ta ti ya*  
*ko ṭa ṭū pi ta tā a pā ḷi ī ya*

B. *kaṇi-y<sup>1</sup> nanta-a-siri-y-i<sup>2</sup>*  
*kuv-aṇkē dhammam<sup>3</sup> [/\*]*  
*ittā-a<sup>4</sup> neṭuñcaḷiyaṇ<sup>5</sup>*  
*paṇa-aṇ<sup>6</sup> kaṭaḷ-aṇ<sup>7</sup> vaḷutti-y<sup>8</sup>*  
*koṭṭupitta-a<sup>9</sup> paḷi-iy<sup>10</sup>*

கணிய் நந்தஅஸிரியிஇ  
 குவஅன்கே தம்மம் [/\*]  
 இத்தாஅ நெடுஞ்சுழியன்  
 பணஅன் கடல்அன் வழுத்திய்  
 கொட்டுபித்தஅ பளிஇய்

Charity to Nanta-siri Kuvaṇ, the *kaṇi*. Behold! The hermitage was caused to be carved by Kaṭalaṇ Vaḷuti, the servant of Neṭuñcaḷiyaṇ.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.1. Direct photograph (computer-enhanced): Pl. 1.

Locus On the brow of the upper southern cave known as the 'kitchen' on the Kaḷukumalai hill; too weather-worn and faint to produce a legible estampage, but clearly visible to the naked eye. See section 1.2.1 (iii) and Fig. 1.2.

No. of lines 1

Length 564 cm.

Date ca. 2nd century B.C.

Publ. ARE 465/1906. IM:1/1966.

HTS:1.1 (pp. 43-44, 69-73); MSV:9.3 (pp. 87-91); RN:1.1 (pp. 48-53); RPS:1(pp. 163-197).

K.V. Ramesh (in A. Chakravarti 1974):No. 1. J. Sundaram 1984:No. 4.

## Notes

1. *kaṇi*- < *gaṇi* (Pkt.) < *gaṇin* (Skt.), title of a senior Jaina monk heading a *gaṇa*.
2. Word-division as in RPS, but treating *-siri-y-i* as a suffix.
3. *nanta-a-siri*- < *naṇḍa -siri* (Pkt.) < *nanda-śrī* (Skt.). Cf. *nanta-siri*- (No. 2) and *nata-siri*- (No. 3).
4. *dhammam* < *dhamma* (Pkt.) < *dharma* (Skt.). Cf. *dhamam* (No. 2).
5. Cf. LT *ittā* 'behold!' See Commentary on the form *ittā-a*. Cf. *ittā* (No. 2).
6. Cf. *paṇavaṇ* 'servant' (TL).
7. *kaṭalaṇ*. Cf. *Kaṭalaṇ*, N. of a chieftain.
8. Read *vaḷuti*-. Cf. *Vaḷuti*, a Pāṇṭiya dynastic name.
9. *koṭṭupitta*- < *koṭṭu* 'to hammer'. Cf. (inscr.) *koṭṭuvittāṇ* 'he caused to be carved' (so in RN).
10. *paḷli*-. Cf. LT *paḷli* 'hermitage'. See section 6.17 on the omission of doubling of consonants.



## MANGULAM (மாங்குளம்) - 2

2. A. *kā ṇi ya nā na tā si ri ya ku a ṇa*<sup>1</sup>  
*dha*<sup>2</sup> *mā ma ī tā ne ṭi ṇa cā ṭi*<sup>3</sup> *yā ṇa sā lā kā ṇa*  
*ī ḷā ṇa cā ṭi*<sup>4</sup> *kā ṇa tā na tai ya cā ṭi*<sup>4</sup> *kā ṇa*  
*ce ī yā*<sup>5</sup> *pā ḷi ya*

B. *kaṇi-y nanta-siri-y ku-aṇ*  
*dhamam*<sup>6</sup> [*/\**] *itā neṭiñcaḷiyaṇ*<sup>7</sup> *sālakaṇ*<sup>8</sup>  
*ḷaṇṇaṭikaṇ tantai-y caṭikaṇ*  
*cē-iyā*<sup>9</sup> *paḷi-y*<sup>10</sup>

கணிய் நந்தஸிரிய் குஅன்  
தமம் [*/\**] ஈதா நெடிஞ்சழியன் ஸாலகன்  
இளஞ்சடிகன் தந்தைய் சடிகன்  
சேஇய பளிய்

Charity (to) Nanta-siri Ku(v)aṇ, the *kaṇi*. Behold! The hermitage was made by  
Caṭikaṇ, the father of ḷaṇṇaṭikaṇ, the husband of the sister-in-law of Neṭiñcaḷiyaṇ.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.2. Estampage (photograph computer-enhanced): Pl. 2.

Locus On the rear wall of the lower cave. See section 1.2.1 (iii).

No. of lines 1

Length 478 cm.

Date ca. 2nd century B.C.

Publ. ARE 460/1906; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:2/1966.  
CNR:IV-A (pp. 367-370); HKS:IV-A (pp. 336-339); HTS:1.2 (pp. 43-44, 69-73);  
KVS:III (pp. 289-294); KZ:3-I (p. 20); MSV:9.2 (pp. 81-87); RN:1.2 (pp. 48-53);  
RPS:2 (pp. 163-197); TVM:1-A (pp. 201-211, Pl. 1 & 2).  
K.V. Ramesh (in A. Chakravarti 1974):No. 2. J. Sundaram 1984:No. 6.

## Notes

1. The character *ṇ* is consistently read as 'nā of the Bhattiprolu type' by HKS. See section 2.3.2.
2. HKS and KVS also read *dha*. TVM prefers to read *ē*.
3. HKS reads *ṭhi* and KVS *ṭi*.
4. HKS reads *ṭi* and KVS *ṭi*.
5. There is no evidence *in situ* of correction or overwriting of the letter as stated by TVM.
6. *dhammam*. See n.3, No. 1.
7. Cf. Neṭiñcaḷiyaṇ. See n.5, No. 1.
8. Cf. *sālaka* (Pāli) < *syālaka* (Skt.). Cf. *cālakaṇ* 'sister-in-law's husband' (TL).
9. *cē-iyā* 'which was made' < *cē* (LT *cey*). See Commentary on the form *cē* for *cey*.
10. *paḷi*-. See n.10, No. 1.

**3.**

$\neq I \cdot L_{\text{L}} + K_{\text{W}} + b$

የሕዝብ አባል

ቶጋኒዘን ሕግ

ሃሳብ ስብከትና ስ

Figure 8.3. MANGULAM 3  
Inscription No. 3  
Tracing (in four segments). Scale: one-tenth.

## MANGULAM (மாங்குளம்) - 3

3. A. *kā ṇi ī nā tā si ri ya ku vā ...<sup>1</sup>*  
*ve la a ṛai<sup>2</sup> ya ni kā mā tū*  
*kā vi ti ī ya kā ḷi<sup>3</sup> ti kā a na tai*  
*a sū tā ṇa pi ṇā ū ko ṭu pi to ṇa*

B. *kaṇi-i nata-siri-y<sup>4</sup> kuva [ṇ\*]<sup>5</sup> . . .*  
*veḷ-ara-y nikamatu<sup>6</sup>*  
*kāviti-iy<sup>7</sup> kāḷitika<sup>8</sup> antai<sup>9</sup>*  
*asutaṇ<sup>10</sup> piṇa-u<sup>11</sup> koṭupittōṇ<sup>12</sup>*

கணிஇ நதஸிரிய் குவ[ன்\*] . . .

வெள்அறைய் நிகமது

காவிதிஇய் காழிதிக அந்தை

அஸ = தன் பிணை கொடுபிடுதான்

(To) Na(n)ta-siri Kuva(ṇ), the *kaṇi*. Antai Assutaṇ, the superintendent of pearls and *kāviti* of the merchant guild of Veḷḷarai, caused to be given the cave(?).

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.3. Estampage: Pl. 3.

Locus On the brow of the upper northern cave; weather-worn and faint. HKS and KVS (and others following their lead) have mixed up segments of this inscription with two other inscriptions (Nos. 5 & 6) in another cave. See section 1.2.1(ii).

No. of lines 1

Length 515 cm.

Date ca. 2nd century B.C.

Publ. ARE 463-464/1906; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6 (463 only). IM:3/1966.  
 CNR:IV-B & E (pp. 367-370); HKS:IV-B & E (pp. 336-339); HTS:1.3 (pp. 43-44, 69-73);  
 KVS:IV-A & C (pp. 289-294); KZ:3-II A & C (p. 20); MSV:9.1 (pp. 70-73); RN:1.3 (pp. 48-53);  
 RPS:3 (pp. 163-197); TVM:1-B & E (pp. 201-211, Pl. 3 & 5).  
 K.V. Ramesh (in A. Chakravarti 1974):No. 3. J. Sundaram 1984:No. 5.

## Notes

1. There is a gap of about 30 cm. here due to flaking of the stone.
2. HKS and KVS read *ḍai*. KZ and TVM read *ṭai*.
3. HKS, KVS and KZ read *ṣī*. TVM reads *si*.
4. *nata* - < *nada* (*namda*) (Pkt.). See also n.2, No. 1.
5. [ṇ\*] restored from the near-identical passages in Nos. 1 & 2.
6. *nikamattu*. Cf. LT *nikamam*.
7. *kāviti*-, an ancient title bestowed on officials and merchants. See section 4.6.9.
8. Read *kāḷitika*. Cf. LT *kāl* 'pearl'; *atikaṇ* < *adhika* (Pkt.) 'superintendent, chief'. Cf. *kaṇatikaṇ* (No. 40).
9. *antai*, an honorific suffix (masc.) for an elder or senior person. See section 3.2.2 (v).
10. *assutaṇ*. Cf. *assuta* (Pāli), *assuda* (AMg.) < *aśruta* (Skt.). 'A personal name' (RPS).
11. Cf. LT *piḷavu* 'cleft'. "*piṇa-u* might have meant a partition or cleft" (Sundaram).
12. *koṭupittōṇ* < *koṭu* 'to give'. See Commentary on the distinction between *koṭu* and *koṭṭu*.

4.  $f: \mathbb{R} \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$  by  $f(x) = x^2$

5.  $\delta \perp K^{\perp} K \perp \# \subseteq E K \perp$

6. ከሕዝብ ላይ ተሰጥቶ የሚገኝበት

Figure 8.4. MANGULAM 4-6  
Inscriptions Nos. 4-6  
Tracings. Scale: one-sixth.

## MANGULAM (மாங்குளம்) - 4

4. A.      *kā ṇi ya nā ta ti<sup>1</sup> ya ko ṭi ya a vā<sup>2</sup> ṇa*

B.      *kaṇi-y natti-y koṭiy-avaṇ<sup>3</sup>*

கணிய் நத்திய் கொடிய்அவன்

Natti, the *kaṇi*, engraved.<sup>4</sup>

**ILL.**      Tracing: Fig. 8.4. Estampage: Pl. 4.

**Locus**      On the brow of the upper southern cave; engraved at a higher level above and to the left of the long inscription (No. 1).

**No. of lines**    1

**Length**      97 cm.

**Date**      ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.**      *ARE* B. 242/1963-64. *IAR* 1963-64: p. 71. IM:4/1966.

*HTS*:1.4 (pp. 43-44, 69-73).

I. Mahadevan 1965c. J. Sundaram 1984:No. 3.

**Notes**

1. The short horizontal line cutting across the vertical of this letter is a fissure in the rock as verified *in situ*.
2. The letter looks like *cā* and has been read as such in *ARE*. However, it appears to be *vā* in this context. There are several such instances of confusing similarity between *c* and *v*. (Cf. Nos. 28, 29, 31, 35, 43, 49, 101, 119.). See section 5.11: *v*.
3. *koṭṭiyavaṇ* < *koṭṭu*. Cf. *koṭi-ōr* (*koṭṭi-ōr*) (No. 6) and *koṭal-* (*koṭṭal-*) (No. 12). See also n.9, No. 1.
4. 'the inscription' is understood from the context. The reference is to the engraving of the main inscription (No. 1) in this cave. See Commentary for discussion.

## MANGULAM (மாங்குளம்) - 5

5. A. cā na tā ri tā ṇa ko<sup>1</sup> tū pi to ṇa

B. *cantaritaṇ<sup>2</sup> koṭupitōṇ<sup>3</sup>*

சந்தரிதன் கொடுபிதோன்

**Cantaritaṇ** caused to be given.<sup>4</sup>

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.4. Estampage: Pl. 4.

**Locus** At left on the brow of the upper middle cave known as the 'school'.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 92 cm.

**Date** ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE 461/1906. IM:5/1966.

CNR:IV-C (pp. 367-370); HKS:IV-C (pp. 336-339); HTS:1.5 (pp. 43-44, 69-73);

KVS:IV-A (pp. 289-294); KZ:3-IIA (p. 20); MSV:9.5 (pp. 73-74); RN:1.4 (pp. 48-53);

RPS:4 (pp. 163-197); TVM:1-C (pp. 201-211; Pl. 4 top).

J. Sundaram 1984:No. 1.

**Notes**

1. The left medial stroke of *ko* is attached at a slightly higher level than the right, though both appear continuous due to the scale of reduction of the illustrations.
2. A composite personal name *cantaṇ* + *aritaṇ*. The name may also be read *cantāritaṇ*. Cf. *ar-itaṇ* (No. 8) and *āritaṇ* (No. 60).
3. *koṭuppittōṇ*.
4. 'the cave' is understood from the context.

## MANGULAM (மாங்குளம்) - 6

6. A. ve ḷa a rai<sup>1</sup> ni kā mā to ra ko<sup>2</sup> ṭi o ra

B. veḷ-arai nikamatōr<sup>3</sup> koṭi-ōr<sup>4</sup>

வெள் அறை நிகமதோர் கொடிஓர்

The members of the merchant guild of **Vellārai** carved.<sup>5</sup>

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.4. Estampage: Pl. 4.

**Locus** At right on the brow of the upper middle cave.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 93 cm.

**Date** ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE 462/1906; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:6/1966.

CNR:IV-D (pp. 367-370); HKS:IV-D (pp. 336-339); HTS:1.6 (pp. 43-44, 69-73);

KVS:IV-B (pp. 289-294); KZ:3. II-B (p. 20); MSV:9.6 (pp. 74-76); RN:1.5 (pp. 48-53);

RPS:5 (pp. 163-197); TVM:1-D (pp. 201-211, Pl. 4 bottom).

J. Sundaram 1984:No. 2.

**Notes**

1. HKS and KVS read *ḍai* and TVM *ṭai*.
2. The left medial stroke of *ko* is attached at a slightly lower level than the right, though both appear continuous due to the scale of reduction of the illustrations.
3. *nikamattōr*.
4. *koṭṭi-ōr*. KVS compares with LT *koṭṭiṇōr*. See also n.3, No. 4.
5. 'the stone beds' is understood from the context. The cave contains a large number of stone beds collectively gifted by the members of the merchant guild.



## II. ARITTAPATTI (அரிட்டாபட்டி)

7. A. ne la ve ḷi ī ya ci ḷi vā ṇa a ti ṇā ṇa  
ve ḷi ya ṇa mu ḷā<sup>1</sup> kai ko ṭu pi<sup>2</sup> to ṇa

B. nelveḷi-iy ciḷivaṇ atinṇaṇ<sup>3</sup>  
veḷiyaṇ muḷākai<sup>4</sup> koṭupitōṇ<sup>5</sup>

நெல்வெளிஇய் சிழிவன் அதினன்  
வெளியன் முழாகை கொடுபிதோன்

Ciḷivaṇ Atinṇaṇ Veḷiyaṇ of Nelveḷi caused to be given the cave.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.5. Estampage: Pls. 5 & 6.

Locus On the brow of the cave on the Kaḷiṇcamalai hill.

No. of lines 1

Length 240 cm.

Date ca. 2nd century B.C.

Publ. ARE B. 264/1978-79.

HTS:23 (p. 64); MSV:9.7 (pp. 76-79).

K.V. Raman and Y. Subbarayalu 1971:pp. 229-232 (with eye copy).

## Notes

1. Raman and Subbarayalu read *śā*. The letter was later found to be *ḷā* when the thin plaster coating was scraped off by our team in 1992.
2. This letter was found (and the readings of some others improved) after the plaster was removed.
3. *atinṇaṇ*. Cf. *atinṇaṇ*, N. of a chieftain in a coin-legend (K.G. Krishnan 1973-74c: pp. 139-140). See section 4.5.4.
4. Cf. *muḷa-ukai* (No. 17); LT *muḷai* 'cave'.
5. *koṭuppittōṇ*.

٢٠٢٢

Figure 8.6. III. TIRUVADAVUR 1  
Inscription No. 8  
Tracing. Scale: one-eighth.

## III. TIRUVADAVUR (திருவாதவூர்) - 1

8. A. pā nā<sup>1</sup> kā ṭā a ra ī tā<sup>2</sup> ṇa ko ṭa ṭū pi to ṇa

B. pāṅkāṭa<sup>3</sup> ar-itaṇ<sup>4</sup> koṭṭupittōṇ<sup>5</sup>

பாங்காட அர்இதன் கொட்டுபிதோன்

Aritaṇ of Pāṅkāṭ(u) caused to be carved.<sup>6</sup>

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.6. Estampage: Pl. 7.

**Locus** On the brow of the lower cave, above the drip ledge on the Uvāmalai hill. (See Fig. 1.13.)

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 132 cm.

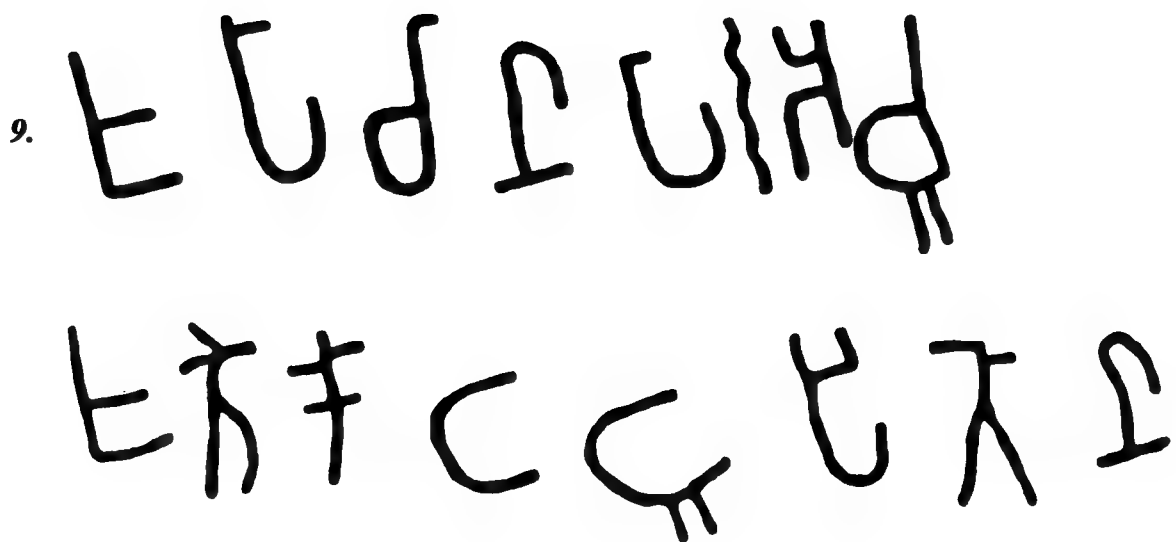
**Date** ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE B. 276/1965-66 (with Pl.). IM:7/1966.

HTS:2.1 (pp. 44-45); RN:2.1 (pp. 53-54); RPS:6 (pp. 163-197).

**Notes**

1. ṇā in ARE. A small cleft in the rock cuts across the letter horizontally.
2. nā in ARE.
3. pāṅkāṭa; construed as pāṅkāṭu + a 'of Pāṅkāṭ(u)'. Cf. LT kāṭṭa (kāṭu + a) 'of the forest'.
4. aritaṇ. Cf. harita (Skt.), harīta (Pkt. inscr.). See section 6.19.2 on the pause between *r* and *i*.
5. koṭṭupittōṇ. See n.9, No. 1. and n.3, No. 4.
6. 'the drip ledge' is understood from the context.

9. 

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Figure 8.7. TIRUVADAVUR 2  
Inscription No. 9  
Tracing (in two segments). Scale: one-eighth.

## TIRUVADAVUR (திருவாதவூர்) - 2

9. A.      ū pā cā ṇa pā ra a cū  
             ū ṛai ko ṭa ṭū pi to ṇa

B.      *upaccaṇ*<sup>1</sup> *par-acu*<sup>2</sup>  
             *uṛai koṭṭupittōṇ*<sup>3</sup>

உபசன் பர்அசு  
உறை கொட்டுபிதோன்

**Paracu**, the preceptor, caused to be carved the abode (of ascetics).

**ILL.**      Tracing: Fig. 8.7. Estampage: Pl. 7.

**Locus**      On the brow of the lower cave, below the drip ledge. (See Fig. 1.13.)

**No. of lines** 1

**Length**      229 cm.

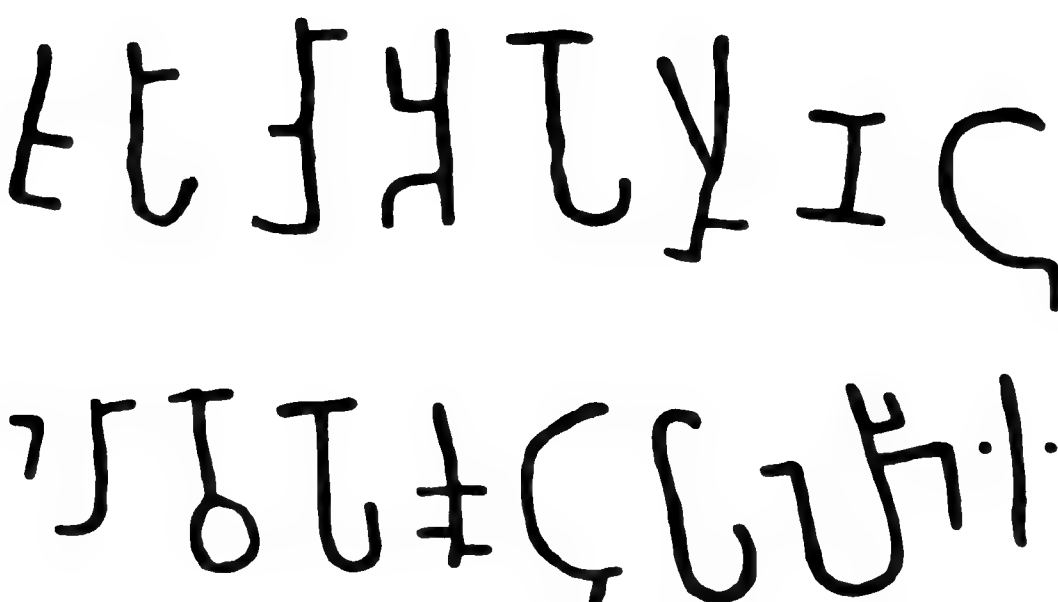
**Date**      ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.**      ARE B. 275/1965-66. IM:8/1966.

HTS:2.2 (pp. 44-45); RN:2.2 (pp. 53-54); RPS:7 (pp. 163-197).

**Notes**

1. *upaccaṇ*. Cf. *upaca-aṇ* (*upaccaṇ*) (Nos. 10 & 11). Cf. LT *uvaccaṇ*, *upajjha*, *upajjhāya* (Pāli); *upajhaya*, *uvajha* (Pkt. inscr.) < *upādhyāya* (Skt.). See Commentary on the derivation and section 4.9.3 (iii) on the role of the *upādhyāya* in Tamil Jaina tradition. See also n.3, No. 10.
2. *paracu*. See section 6.19.2 on the pause between *r* and *a*, and the Commentary for the traditional connection between the Uvaccar and the Paracavar.
3. *koṭṭupittōṇ*. See n.9, No. 1 and n.3, No. 4.

10. 

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Figure 8.8. IV. KILAVALLAVU  
 Inscription No. 10  
 Tracing (in two segments). Scale: one-eighth.

## IV. KILAVALAVU (கீழவளவு)

10. A.      ū pā [c]ā<sup>1</sup> a ṇa to ṇa ṭi<sup>2</sup>  
               [l]ā<sup>1</sup> vo ṇa ko ṭu<sup>2</sup> pā ḷi ī

B.            upa[c]a-aṇ<sup>3</sup> tonṭi=  
               [l]avōṇ<sup>4</sup> koṭu paḷi-i<sup>5</sup>

உப[ச]அன் தொண்டி  
               [ல]வோன் கொடு பளிஇ

The hermitage given by the preceptor, (I)llavōṇ of Tonṭi.

**ILL.**            Tracing: Fig. 8.8. Estampage: Pl. 8.

**Locus**        On the brow of the cave called the 'school' on the Pañcapāṇṭavarmalai hill. See section 1.2.3 and Fig. 1.4. The inscription is engraved from right to left and upside down. The illustrations are printed in the normal orientation; however, some of the letters (Nos. 5 to 8, and 11 & 12 from left) still appear upside down due to careless engraving. Cf. Nos. 53, 54, 56 & 74. See section 5.8 on direction of writing.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length**       239 cm.

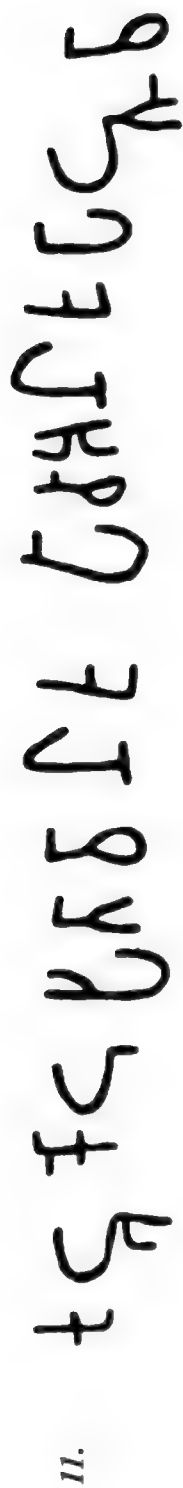
**Date**          ca. 2nd century B.C.

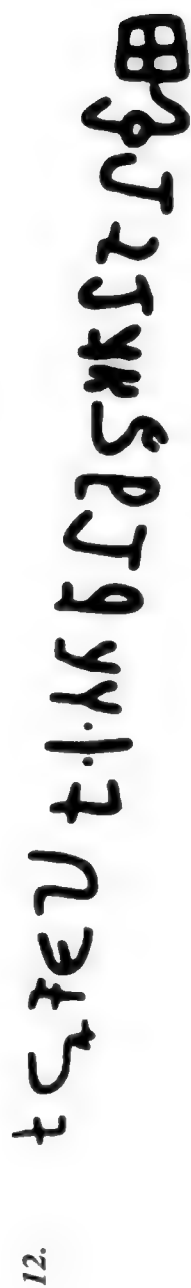
**Publ.**         ARE 135/1903. *SIL* VIII:No. 422. IM:9/1966.

CNR:V (p. 370); HKS:V (pp. 339-340); HTS:3 (pp. 45, 73-74); KVS:V (p. 294); KZ:4 (p. 21); MSV:13 (pp. 110-113); RN:10 (p. 61); RPS:11(pp. 163-197); TVM:3 (pp. 214-217, Pl. 7).  
 E. Jebarajan 1994.

**Notes**

1. These two letters are partly damaged by the later cutting of post holes on the brow of the cave.
2. The different points of attachment of the medial strokes in these two letters clearly indicate that the 8th letter (reversed and inverted) is to be read as *ṭi* and the 13th letter (normal) as *ṭu*.
3. *upaccaṇ*. Cf. *upādhyāya* (Skt.) 'preceptor'. I now prefer this interpretation by HKS to *upāsaka* 'lay devotee' by KVS followed by me earlier. See n.1, No. 9. See also 4.9.3 (iii).
4. *tonṭilavōṇ* is construed as *tonṭi* + (*i*)*lavōṇ* (*illavōṇ*) 'Illavōṇ of Tonṭi'. See Commentary for discussion.
5. *paḷi*-.

11. 

12. 

13. 

Figure 8.9. V. KONGARPULIYANKULAM 1-3  
Inscriptions Nos. 11-13  
Tracings. Scale: one-tenth.

## V. KONGARPULIYANKULAM (கொங்கர்புளியங்குளம்) - 1

11. A. ku ra<sup>1</sup> ko ũ pi tā vā ũ pā cā a ũ pā ru<sup>2</sup> vā<sup>3</sup>...<sup>4</sup>

B. kuṛa<sup>5</sup> koṭupitavaṇ<sup>6</sup> upaca-aṇ<sup>7</sup> upaṛuva[ṇ\*]<sup>8</sup>. . .

குற கொடுபிதவன் உபசஅன் உபறுவ[ன்\*] . . .

Uppaṛuva(ṇ), the preceptor, caused to be given (this) cutting.<sup>9</sup>

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.9. Estampage: Pl. 9.

Locus The first inscription (from left) on the brow of the cave on the Perumāḷkōvilmalai hill; incomplete at the end.

No. of lines 1

Length Approximately 186 cm. (extant).

Date ca. 2nd century B.C.

Publ. ARE 55/1910; ARE 1911-12: Pl. facing p. 50. IM:10/1966.

CNR:IX-A (pp. 372-373); HKS:IX-A (pp. 343-344); HTS:4.1 (pp. 46-47, 74-77);

KVS:VIII-A (pp. 295-296); KZ:9-A (p. 22); MSV:2.1 (pp. 33-39); RN:3.1 (pp. 54-55);

RPS:8 (pp. 163-197); TVM:5-I (pp. 224-231, Pl. 9 top).

## Notes

1. HKS reads *ṛu*, KVS *ṛu* and TVM *ṛu*. The -u medial sign is not present.
2. HKS reads *ṛu* and KVS and TVM *ṛu*.
3. According to TVM, "two horizontal strokes indicative of the *ā* long symbol appear to be added to the right of this letter, thus making it *vā ā*". Rechecking of the inscription *in situ* has not confirmed the feature. See also n.4, No. 55.
4. The stone has flaked off here resulting in the loss of at least one letter.
5. Cf. LT *kuṛai* 'cutting' (so HTS). Cf. also *kuṛu* (*kūru*) 'section' (No. 12).
6. *koṭuppittavaṇ*.
7. *upaccaṇ*. See n.1, No. 9 and n.3, No. 10.
8. *uppaṛuvaṇ*. [ṇ\*] is restored from the evidence of the -aṇ endings of the antecedent nouns.
9. 'of the section of the drip ledge' is understood from the context. See Nos. 12 & 13 also.

## KONGARPULIYANKULAM (கொங்கர்புளியங்குளம்) - 2

12. A. ku ru<sup>1</sup> ko ṭā la ku ī ta tā vā ṇa ce<sup>2</sup> ṛa<sup>1</sup> a tā ṇa [o]<sup>3</sup> ṇa \$ \$<sup>4</sup>

B. kuru<sup>5</sup> koṭalku<sup>6</sup> itṭavaṇ ceṛ-ataṇ-[ō]ṇ<sup>7</sup>

குறு கொடல்கு ஈத்தவன் செறுதன்[ஓ]ன்

Ceṛṛataṇ gave for carving (this ) section.<sup>8</sup>

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.9. Estampage: Pl. 9.

Locus The second (middle) inscription on the brow of the cave. This is read as the third inscription by HKS, KVS and others following their lead.

No. of lines 1

Length 158 cm.

Date ca. 2nd century B.C.

Publ. ARE 56/1910; ARE 1911-12:Pl. facing p. 50. IM:11/1966.

CNR:IX-C (pp. 372-373); HKS:IX-C (pp. 343-344); HTS: 4.2 (pp. 46-47, 74-77);

KVS: VIII-C (pp. 295-296); KZ: 9-C (p. 22); MSV: 2.2 (pp. 33-39); RN:3.2 (pp. 54-55);

RPS:9 (pp. 163-197); TVM:5-III (pp. 224-231, Pl. 9 bottom).

#### Notes

1. HKS reads ṭū, KVS ṭu and TVM ṛu.
2. The slanting chisel cut across the vertical of the letter does not appear to belong to it.
3. HKS and KVS read lē, TVM pō, and e by me earlier. Addition of double strokes at the top of the vowel o is a noteworthy feature.
4. A pair of symbols, also repeated at the end of No. 13. (The symbols were probably added at the end of No. 11 also, but now lost.) The symbol at left is found at other sites also. See section 5.18.
5. Read kūru 'section, division, part, share'. Cf. also kuṛa (LT kuṛai) (No. 11).
6. koṭṭal-, verbal noun from LT koṭṭu. See also n.3, No. 4.
7. ceṛṛ-ataṇ-. Cf. LT ciṛu > ciṛ- before a vowel; ceṛru (Ma.). Cf. pē[r]ataṇ in No. 13.
8. 'of the cutting (of the drip ledge)' is understood from the context. See also Nos. 11 & 13.

## KONGARPULIYANKULAM (கொங்கர்புளியங்குளம்) - 3

13. A.      *pā kā ṇa ū ra pe [r]ā<sup>1</sup> tā ṇa pi tā ṇa ī ta tā ve po<sup>2</sup> ṇa \$ \$<sup>3</sup>*

B.      *pākaṇ-ūr pē[r]ataṇ<sup>4</sup> piṭaṇ<sup>5</sup> itta<sup>6</sup> vepōṇ<sup>7</sup>*

பாகன்ஊர் பே[ர]தன் பிடன் இத்த வெபோன்

**Pērataṇ Piṭṭaṇ of Pākaṇūr has endowed this.<sup>8</sup>**

**ILL.**      Tracing: Fig. 8.9. Estampage: Pl. 9.

**Locus**      The third inscription (from left) on the brow of the cave. This is read as the middle inscription by HKS, KVS and others following their lead.

**No. of lines**      1

**Length**      183 cm.

**Date**      ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.**      ARE 57/1910; ARE 1911-12:Pl. facing p. 50. IM:12/1966.

CNR:IX-B (pp. 372-373); HKS:IX-B (pp. 343-344); HTS:4.3 (pp. 46-47,74-77);

KVS:VIII-B (pp. 295-296); KZ: 9-B (p. 22); MSV:2.3 (pp. 33-39); RN:3.3 (pp. 54-55);

RPS:10 (pp. 163-197); TVM:5-II (pp. 224-231, Pl. 9 middle).

**Notes**

1. This letter looks like a misshapen *tā*. The engraver had anticipated the next letter *tā* here and, realising his mistake, discontinued the superfluous lower right stroke, as seen from its very short length. Compare with the next letter *tā*.
2. HKS reads *pō* and KVS *lē*.
3. A pair of symbols as in the previous inscription. See n.4, No. 12. See section 5.18.
4. Cf. *ceṛ-ataṇ* (*ceṛrataṇ*) (No. 12).
5. *piṭṭaṇ*. Cf. *Piṭṭaṇ*, N. of a chieftain.
6. Cf. LT *itai/ittai* (*itu + ai*), 'this' (in accusative case).
7. *veppōṇ*. Cf. LT *vaippōṇ*. Cf. *vaika* (*vaikka*) (No. 16).
8. 'section (of the cutting of the drip ledge)' is understood from the context. See Nos. 11 & 12 also.

14. 𐌲𐌹𐌰 𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌰 𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌰 𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌰  
 𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌰 𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌰 𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌰 𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌰  
 𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌰 𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌰 𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌰

Figure 8.10. VI. MARUKALTALAI  
 Inscription No. 14  
 Tracing (in three segments). Scale: one-tenth.

## VI. MARUKALTALAI (மறுகால்தலை)

14. A.      ve ṇa kāk<sup>1</sup> si pā ṇa  
              ku ṭu pi tā kāk<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup>  
              kāk<sup>3</sup> ṇa cā<sup>3</sup> ṇa ma

B.          *venkāsipaṇ*  
              *kuṭupita<sup>4</sup> kal*  
              *kañcaṇam<sup>5</sup>*

வெண்காஸிபன்  
 குடுபித கல்  
 கஞ்சணம்

The stone structure (?) was caused to be given by *Venkāsipaṇ*.

ILL.        Tracing: Fig. 8.10. Estampage: Pl. 10.

Locus      On the brow of the cave on the Pūviluṭaiyārmalai hill; engraved in exceptionally large-sized letters (reaching almost 40 cm. in height).

No. of lines    1

Length        426 cm.

Date          ca. 2nd century B.C.

Publ.        ARE 407/1906. IM:29/1966.

CNR:I (pp. 364-365); HKS:I (pp. 332-333); HTS:9 (pp. 50, 84);

KVS:I (pp. 287-288); KZ:1 (pp. 19-20); MSV:14 (pp. 114-120);

RN:8 (p. 59); TVM:4 (pp. 218-223; Pl. 8).

## Notes

1. HKS and KVS read *kō*. There is an angular chisel cut like inverted L just above, but not touching the letter, which was probably made when the drip ledge was carved.
2. HKS and KVS read *ja*.
3. The medial -ā stroke of this letter lies along a natural groove in the rock.
4. *kuṭuppitta*. Cf. LT *koṭuppitta*.
5. The meaning of *kañcaṇam* is uncertain; the context indicates some kind of a stone structure.

15. ካህተር

16. ሃይ ጸሐይ 2 ነ ረከታህረር

17. ስህተት የተሰጠ ነበር

Figure 8.11. VII. VARICHIYUR 1-3  
Inscriptions Nos. 15-17  
Tracings. Scale: one-tenth.

## VII. VARICHIYUR (வரிச்சியூர்) - 1

15. A.        *pā<sup>1</sup> !<sup>2</sup>[i]<sup>2</sup> ya ko tu pi . . .<sup>3</sup>*

B.        *pa !<sup>2</sup>[i]-y<sup>4</sup> koṭupī<sup>5</sup> . . .*

ப[ளி]ய் கொடுபி . . .

The hermitage was caused to be given by . . .<sup>6</sup>

**ILL.**        Tracing: Fig. 8.11. Estampage: Pl. 11.

**Locus**        On the brow of the smaller cave facing north on the Udayagiri (Subrahmanyamalai) hill. The rock has disintegrated and the surface badly fissured. Only a fragment has survived.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length**        Approximately 54 cm. (extant).

**Date**        ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.**        ARE 38A/1908. IM 45/1966.

*HTS*:11.1 (p. 54); *RN*:13.1 (p. 64); *TVM*:12A (pp. 272-273, Pl. 20 bottom).

**Notes**

1.    The apparent joining of the first two or three letters may be due to the badly fissured rock surface.
2.    The letter is damaged.
3.    The rest of the inscription is lost.
4.    *paḷli-*.
5.    *koṭuppi* . . . (fragmentary).
6.    Name of the donor is lost.

## VARICHIYUR (வரிச்சியூர்) - 2

16. A. a ṭā ... rai ī tā vai kā ... o ṇa nū ru kā lā ne la ...

B. aṭā ... rai ītā vaika' ... ōṇ nūru kala<sup>2</sup> nel ...

அடா ... றை ஈதா வைக ... ஒன் நூறு கல நெல் ...

... behold ... to endow ... hundred *kalams* of paddy ...<sup>3</sup>

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.11. Estampage: Pl. 11.

**Locus** On the brow of the main cave facing east, above the drip ledge. The rock has disintegrated and the surface badly fissured. The inscription has survived only in disjointed fragments.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** Approximately 158 cm. (extant).

**Date** ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE 38B/1908 (also in B.374/1985-86); ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:46/1966.  
HTS:11. 2 (p. 54); RN:13.2 (p. 64); TVM:12-B (pp. 272-273, Pl. 20 top. ).

**Notes**

1. *vaikka*. Cf. *vepōṇ* (*veppōṇ*) (LT *vaippōṇ*) (No. 13).
2. From *kalam* 'a grain measure'.
3. Words of the fragmentary inscription, which could be made out, have been translated.

## VARICHIYUR (வரிச்சியூர்) - 3

17. A. i ḷā nā tā ṇa kā ru ī ya nā la mu ḷa u kai

B. iḷanataṇ<sup>1</sup> karu-iyā<sup>2</sup> nalmuḷa-ukai<sup>3</sup>

இளநதன் கருஇய நல்முழுகை

The auspicious cave was carved by Iḷanataṇ.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.11. Estampage: Pl. 11.

**Locus** On the brow of the main cave, below the drip ledge. Even though the rock is badly disintegrated and the inscription weather-worn, it is relatively better preserved, protected by the drip ledge.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 162 cm.

**Date** ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE 38C/1908. IM: 47/1966.

HTS:11.3 (p. 54); TVM:12-CI & C2 (pp. 272-273, Pl. 21 top & bottom).

**Notes**

1. -nataṇ from nantaṇ with the omission of the nasal. Cf. nata-siri- (No. 3) and nataṇ (Nos. 44 & 48). Cf. LT nantaṇ, a personal name.
2. Cf. karukiya (karukkiya) (No. 112). Cf. LT karukku (n.) 'engraving, carving'.
3. Cf. muḷākai (No. 7). Cf. LT muḷai 'cave'.



## VIII. VIKKIRAMANGALAM (விக்கிரமங்கலம்) - 1

18. A. e<sup>1</sup> i<sup>2</sup> ya la a ra ī ya tā ṇa ce<sup>3</sup> vi ta o ṇa

B. e-iyil<sup>4</sup> ar-iytaṇ<sup>5</sup> cēvit-ōṇ<sup>6</sup>

எஇயில் அர்இய்தன் சேவித்ஓன்

Ariytaṇ of Eyil caused to be made.<sup>7</sup>

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.12. Estampage: Pl. 12.

Locus On the low ceiling of a small cave to the left of the main cave on the Uṇṭāṇkallu hill.

No. of lines 1

Length 67 cm.

Date ca. 2nd century B.C.

Publ. IAR 1988-89:p. 94; IAR 1990-91:p. 84.

G. Siromoney and E. Jebarajan 1978 (with eye copy). M. D. Sampath 1977-78: pp. 146-148 (with Pl. ). Natana Kasinathan 1994: No. 1.

## Notes

1. The top right corner of the letter appears incomplete as it is engraved over a cleft in the rock.
2. Siromoney & Jebarajan read *i*; Sampath and Natana Kasinathan read *ra*.
3. Siromoney & Jebarajan read *ḍhe*; Sampath and Natana Kasinathan read *ce*.
4. Read *eyil*. Cf. LT *eyil* 'fortified place, a place name'.
5. *ariytaṇ*. Cf. *harita* (Skt.), *harīta* (Pkt. inscr.). Cf. *ar-itaṇ* (No. 8). See section 6.19.2 on the pause.
6. *cēvittōṇ*. Cf. (inscr.) *cēvittāṇ*; LT *ceyvittāṇ*. See also n.9, No. 2.
7. 'the cave' is understood from the context.

## VIKKIRAMANGALAM (விக்கிரமங்கலம்) - 2

19. A. e ma ū ra ci li vā ṇa a tā ṇa \$<sup>1</sup>

B. em ū<sup>2</sup> ciḷivaṇ-a<sup>3</sup> tāṇa<sup>4</sup>

எம் ஊர் சிழிவன் அ தான

The gift<sup>5</sup> of Ciḷivaṇ of our village.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.12. Estampage: Pl. 12.

**Locus** On the brow of the main cave; engraved in large-sized letters; weather-worn and faint.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 173 cm.

**Date** ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE B.285/1963-64. IAR 1963-64:p. 71. IM:17/1966.

HTS:5.5 (pp. 47-48, 77-78); MSV: 8.4 (pp. 68-69); RN:4.5 (pp. 55-56); RPS:13 (pp. 163-197).

**Notes**

1. A symbol (discovered by our team in 1992). See section 5.18.
2. The alternative reading *ēma-ūr* as a place name is possible.
3. The alternative reading *ciḷivaṇ ataṇ* as a composite personal name is possible but less likely, as we would then have many inscriptions ending with the same name *Ataṇ* (Nos. 19, 20, 28, 31-33). It is much more likely that these votive inscriptions end with *tāṇa* 'gift' (of so-and-so) as in similar label inscriptions at Bharhut, Mathura, Sanchi, etc. However, the name *Ataṇ* also occurs in the Corpus (e.g., Nos. 36 & 40).
4. Cf. LT *tāṇam* 'gift, charity'; *dāna(m)* (Pkt.).
5. 'of the cave' is understood from the context.

## VIKKIRAMANGALAM (விக்கிரமங்கலம்) - 3

20. A. a na tai ya<sup>1</sup> pi k̄a ṇa mā k̄a ṇa ve<sup>2</sup> na<sup>3</sup> a tā ṇa

B. antai-y pikaṇ<sup>4</sup> makaṇ ven-a<sup>5</sup> tāṇa

அந்தைய் பிகன் மகன் வெந்அ தான

The gift<sup>6</sup> of Veṇ, the son of Antai Pikaṇ.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.12. Estampage: Pl. 13.

Locus At the head of the upper row of stone beds in the main cave.

No. of lines 1

Length 102 cm.

Date ca. 2nd century B.C.

Publ. ARE 621/1926. IM:13/1966.

CNR:XII-1 (p. 375); HTS:5.1 (pp. 47-48, 77-78);

KVS:XII-1 (p. 299); KZ:12.1 (p. 22); MSV:8.1 (pp. 65-69);

RN:4.1 (pp. 55-56); RPS:12 (pp. 163-197); TVM:6-I (pp. 232-235, Pl. 10 top).

G. Siromoney and E. Jebarajan 1978.

## Notes

1. A short perpendicular line above and to the right of this letter is identified as a *puḷḷi* by Siromoney and Jebarajan. On close examination *in situ*, it is seen to be a thin scratch on the rock surface.
2. I had read this letter earlier as *ce*. I now read it as *ve*. KVS reads *vē*.
3. I had read this letter earlier as *ya*. I now read it as *na* following KVS.
4. *pikkaṇ*.
5. Read *veṇ*-. Cf. LT *veṇ* 'victory'. Cf. *veni* (*veṇi/veṇṇi*) (No. 70). See section 7.7.2 on the incorrect use of the dental *n* for the alveolar *ṇ* in Tamil inscriptions.
6. 'of the stone bed' is understood from the context.

21. ṭkṣṭṭṭṭ

22. ṭṭṭṭṭṭ

23. ṭ ṭṭṭ

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Figure 8.13. VIKKIRAMANGALAM 4-6  
Inscriptions Nos. 21-23  
Tracings. Scale: one-fifth.

## VIKKIRAMANGALAM (விக்கிரமங்கலம்) - 4

21. A.        *pe<sup>1</sup> tā lai ku vi rā ṇa*B.        *pēṭalai<sup>2</sup> kuviraṇ<sup>3</sup>**பேதலை குவிரன்***Kuviraṇ of Pēṭṭalai.<sup>4</sup>****ILL.**        Tracing: Fig. 8.13. Estampage: Pl. 13.**Locus**        On the first stone bed (from left) in the lower row in the main cave. KVS reads Nos. 21 to 23 as a single inscription even though they are engraved on three adjacent stone beds.**No. of lines** 1**Length**        36 cm.**Date**        ca. 2nd century B.C.**Publ.**        ARE 623/1926. IM:14/1966.

CNR:XII-2 (p. 375); HTS:5. 2 (pp. 47-48, 77-78);

KVS:XII-2 (p. 299); KZ:12-2a (p. 23); MSV:8.2 (pp. 65-69);

RN:4.2 (pp. 55-56); TVM:6-II (pp. 232-235, Pl. 10 middle).

**Notes**

1. *po* in ARE and KVS.
2. *pēṭṭalai*. Cf. place names like Kuḷittalai, Centalai (Sendalai), etc.
3. Cf. *kupira* (Pkt.), *kubira* (Sinh. Pkt.) < *kubēra* (Skt.).
4. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, personal names in label inscriptions are regarded in this study as those of the donors in accordance with the universal practice in votive inscriptions. The addition of the word *tāṇa* < *dāna(m)* (Pkt.) in some of the inscriptions confirms the inference. See also n.3 and 4, No. 19.

## VIKKIRAMANGALAM (விக்கிரமங்கலம்) - 5

22. A.        *ce' ña² ku vi rā ṇa*B.        *ceñkuviraṇ*

செங்குவிரன்

**Ceñkuviraṇ.****ILL.**        Tracing: Fig. 8.13. Estampage: Pl. 13.**Locus**        On the second (middle) stone bed in the lower row.**No. of lines** 1**Length**        32 cm.**Date**        ca. 2nd century B.C.**Publ.**        *ARE* 622/1926. IM:15/1966.*CNR*:XII-2 (p. 375); *HTS*:5.3 (pp. 47-48, 77-78);*KVS*:XII-2 (p. 299); *KZ*:12-2b (p. 22); *MSV*:8.3 (pp. 65-69);*RN*:4.3 (pp. 55-56); *TVM*:6-III (pp. 232-235, Pl. 10 bottom).**Notes**

1.    *vē* in *ARE* and *KVS*.
2.    *ṇ* in *ARE*. *KVS* reads *n*. This is actually the earliest occurrence of *ñ*.

## VIKKIRAMANGALAM (விக்கிரமங்கலம்) - 6

23. A. ku [vi]<sup>1</sup> rā tā ṇaB. ku[vi]rā<sup>2</sup> tāṇa<sup>3</sup>

கு[வி]ரா தான

The gift<sup>4</sup> of Kuviraṇ.**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.13. Estampage: Pl. 13.**Locus** On the third stone bed (from left) in the lower row.**No. of lines** 1**Length** 24 cm.**Date** ca. 2nd century B.C.**Publ.** ARE B. 286/1963-64 (copied earlier in 1923 but not catalogued). IM:16/1966.

CNR:XII-2 (p. 375); HTS:5.4 (pp. 47-48, 77-78);

KVS:XII-2 (p. 299); KZ:12.2b (p. 23); RN:4.4 (pp. 55-56).

**Notes**

1. The second letter is too badly damaged to be copied; but appears to be *vi* as seen *in situ*.
2. *kuvirā* construed as *kuviraṇ* + *ā* 'of Kuviraṇ'. The PNG suffix *-aṇ* is elided when the genitive suffix *-ā* is added. See section 7.16.6.
3. KVS reads the inscription *koṭupitāṇ*.
4. 'of the stone bed' is understood from the context.



## IX. METTUPPATTI (மேட்டுப்பட்டி) - 1

24. A. a ma ṇā ṇa mā ti rai a ta ti rā ṇa ū rai ū tā yā ṇa sa

B. amañṇa<sup>1</sup> matirai<sup>2</sup> attiraṇ uṛai [/\*] utayaṇasa<sup>3</sup>

அமாணன் மதிரை அத்திரன் உறை [/\*] உதயனஸ

The abode of Attiraṇ, the Jaina monk from Matirai. (The gift) of Utayaṇa(ṇ).<sup>4</sup>

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.14. Estampage: Pl. 14.

Locus On the brow of the cave on the southern face of the Siddharmalai hill facing Mettuppatti; weather-worn and faint, but legible.

No. of lines 1

Length 99 cm.

Date ca. 2nd century B.C.

Publ. ARE B. 373/1985-86 (with Pl.). IAR 1985-86:p. 98.

I. Mahadevan 1994a: pp. 116-134 (with Pl.).

## Notes

1. amañṇa < camañṇa < samaṇa (Pkt.) < śramaṇa (Skt.). Cf. amañṇa (Nos. 61 & 62). The expression denotes exclusively a Jaina monk in Tamil tradition. See section 4.9.3 (ii).
2. Cf. (inscr.) matirai, LT maturai, the ancient capital of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom. See section 4.20.4 (i).
3. utayaṇa(ṇ) + sa > utayaṇasa. Note the unique occurrence of -sa (-ssa), the Pkt. genitive suffix in this Tamil inscription. The PNG suffix -(a)ṇ is dropped in sandhi. Cf. cēnta-a (No. 28) and vira (vira)-a (No. 79).
4. Cf. Udayana (Skt.), Udayaṇa (AMg.); Utayaṇa (Ta.), hero of *Peruṇkatai*.

25.      አ፲፯አቶሠ

26.      ኣአ፲፯.፲.፲፩ላ፲

27.      ፎ፲ኣ አ፲፯፻፩፻፩

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Figure 8.15. METTUPPATTI 2-4  
Inscriptions Nos. 25-27  
Tracings. Scale: one-fifth.

## METTUPPATTI (மேட்டுப்பட்டி) - 2

25. A.        a na tai a ri ya ti<sup>1</sup>

B.        antai ariyti<sup>2</sup>

அந்தை அரிய்தி

**Antai Ariyti.**

**ILL.**        Tracings: Fig. 8.15. Estampages: Pl. 14. (Nos. 25 & 26.)

**Locus**        On the first stone bed (from left) in the upper row in the cave. (See Fig. 1.14.)

**No. of lines** 1

**Length**        34 cm. (excluding the last letter. See n.1 below).

**Date**        ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.**        ARE 45-a/1908; ARE 1911-12:Pl. facing p. 50. IM:18/1966.  
CNR:VIII-E (pp. 371-372); HKS:VIII-E (pp. 342-343); HTS:6.1 (pp. 48-49, 78-82);  
KVS:X1-4 (p. 298); KZ:8-D (p. 22); MSV:12.4 (pp. 102-109); RN:5.1 (pp. 56-57);  
RPS:14 (pp. 163-197); TVM:10.5 (pp. 258-266, Pl. 18 top left).

**Notes**

1.    The last letter is engraved on the adjacent stone bed to the right as recognised by KVS.
2.    Cf. *hariti* (Pkt.).

**METTUPPATTI (மேட்டுப்பட்டி) - 3**

26. A.        a na tai ī rā vā tā ṇa

B.        antai irāvataṇ¹

அந்தை இராவதன்

**Antai Irāvataṇ.**

**ILL.**        Tracing: Fig. 8.15. Estampage: Pl. 14.

**Locus**        On the second stone bed in the upper row. The inscription is disfigured by overwriting in later times.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length**        49 cm. (including the last letter of No. 25 engraved on this bed).

**Date**        ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.**        ARE 45-b/1908; ARE 1911-12:Pl. facing p. 50. IM:19/1966.

CNR:VIII-F (pp. 371-372); HKS:VIII-F (pp. 342-343); HTS:6.2 (pp. 48-49, 78-82);

KVS:X1-5 (p. 298); KZ:8-E (p. 22); MSV:12.5 (pp. 102-109); RN:5.2 (pp. 56-67);

RPS:15 (pp. 163-197); TVM:10.6 (pp. 258-266, Pl. 18 top right).

**Notes**

1. Cf. *irāvat* (Skt.).

## METTUPPATTI (மேட்டுப்பட்டி) - 4

27. A. [m]ā<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>2</sup> ra a na tai [v]i<sup>1</sup> su vā ṇa

B. [m]atira<sup>3</sup> antai [v]isuvāṇ<sup>4</sup>

[ம]திர அந்தை [வி]ஸு வன்

**Antai Vissuvāṇ of Matirai.**

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.15. Estampage: Pl. 14.

**Locus** On the third stone bed in the upper row. KVS has mixed up the order and segmentation of the inscriptions on the third to fifth beds (Nos. 27-29).

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 53 cm.

**Date** ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE 45-c/1908; ARE 1911-12:Pl. facing p. 50. IM:20/1966.

CNR:VIII-G (pp. 371-372); HKS:VIII-G (pp. 342-343); HTS:6.3 (pp. 48-49, 78-82);

KVS:X1-6 & 7 (p. 298); KZ:8-F (p. 22); MSV:12.6 (pp. 102-109); RN:5.3 (pp. 56-57);

RPS:16 (pp. 163-197); TVM:10.7 (pp. 258-266, Pl. 18 middle left).

**Notes**

1. These two letters are incompletely engraved. It is probable that the scribe who marked the letters, and the stonemason who engraved them, were different persons. See also n.6, No. 85.
2. HKS reads *dhi* and KVS *ti*.
3. Variant of *matirai*. See n.2, No. 24.
4. *vissuvāṇ*. Cf. LT *viccuvāṇ*. See Commentary for etymology.

Uykytyk

**29.**

σ 1 κ 1 ζ δ 1 κ ρ

**30.**

சுருக்கம்

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## METTUPPATTI (மேட்டிப்பட்டி) - 5

28. A. a na tai ce<sup>1</sup> na tā a tā ṇa

B. antai cēnta-a<sup>2</sup> tāṇa

அந்தை சேந்தஅ தான

The gift<sup>3</sup> of Antai Cēnta(ṇ).

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.16. Estampage: Pl. 14.

**Locus** On the fourth stone bed in the upper row. The inscription is disfigured by later overwriting. HKS reverses the order of the inscriptions on the fourth and fifth stone beds (Nos. 28 & 29).

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 49 cm.

**Date** ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE 45-d/1908; ARE 1911-12:Pl. facing p. 50. IM:21/1966.

CNR:VIII-J (pp. 371-372); HKS:VIII-J (pp. 342-343); HTS:6.4 (pp. 48-49, 78-82);

KVS:XII-8 & 9 (p. 298); KZ:8-H (p. 22); MSV:12.7 (pp. 102-109); RN:5.4 (pp. 56-57);

RPS:17 (pp. 163-197); TVM:10.9 (pp. 258-266, Pl. 18 bottom).

#### Notes

1. HKS reads *ve* and KVS *vē*. See n.2, No. 4.
2. *cēnta(ṇ)* + *a*. The PNG suffix *-aṇ* is elided when the genitive suffix *-a* is added.
3. 'of the stone bed' is understood from the context.

**METTUPPATTI (மேட்டுப்பட்டி) - 6**

29. A.      cā na tā na tai cā na tā ṇa

B.      *cantantai cantan<sup>1</sup>*

சந்தந்தை சந்தன்

**Cantantai Cantan.**

**ILL.**      Tracing: Fig. 8.16. Estampage: Pl. 14.

**Locus**      On the fifth stone bed in the upper row. The inscription is disfigured by later overwriting.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length**      49 cm.

**Date**      ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.**      *ARE* 45-e/1908; *ARE* 1911-12:Pl. facing p. 50. IM:22/1966.

CNR: VIII-H (pp. 371-372); HKS: VIII-H (pp. 342-343); *HTS*:6.5 (pp. 48-49, 78-82);

KVS: XI-7 & 8 (p. 298); KZ: 8-G (p. 22); MSV: 12.8 (pp. 102-109); RN: 5.5 (pp. 56-57);

RPS: 18 (pp. 163-197); TVM: 10.8 (pp. 258-266, Pl. 18 middle right).

**Notes**

1. The composite name signifies Cantan, son of Cantantai. Father and son had the same name, distinguished only by the addition of *-antai*, an honorific suffix to father's name. See also n.9, No. 3 and n.3, No. 66.

## METTUPPATTI (மேட்டப்பட்டி) - 7

30. A.       $pā^1 ti \eta a [\bar{u}]^2 ra a tai^3$

B.      *patiṇ-[ū]r atai<sup>4</sup>*

பதின[ஊ]ர் அதை

The *a(n)tai* of *Patiṇūr*.

**ILL.**      Tracing: Fig. 8.16. Estampage: Pl. 15A.

**Locus**      The first segment (from left) in the continuous line at the head of the lower row of stone beds in the cave.

**No. of lines**    1

**Length**      41 cm.

**Date**      ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.**      *ARE* 45-f/1908; *ARE* 865-69/1917. (Even though the four inscriptions on the lower row of stone beds (Nos. 30-33) were discovered only in 1917, they have subsequently been clubbed with *ARE* 45/1908 and cannot now be reconciled with the five numbers in 865-69/1917.)

*ARE* 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:23/1966.

CNR:VIII-A (pp. 371-372); HKS:VIII-A (pp. 342-343); *HTS*:6.7 (pp. 48-49, 78-82);

KVS:X1-1 (p. 298); KZ:8-A (p. 22); *MSV*:12.1 (pp. 102-109); *RN*:5.6 (pp. 56-57);

*RPS*:19 (pp. 163-197); *TVM*:10.1 (pp. 258-266, Pl. 17 top).

**Notes**

1. HKS reads *pō* and KVS *po*.
2. The lower part of the letter is damaged. HKS and KVS also read *ū*.
3. HKS and KVS read *tā* and then supply *nā/ṇa* after it respectively.
4. Cf. *antai*, masc. honorific suffix (with the nasal omitted). Cf. *atai-* (No. 56). See also n.9, No. 3.

31. ተፀገዛ፡ እፀሠዛና

32. ተፀገዛ፤ እፀሠዛና

33. ኦርተሠዛና

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Figure 8.17. METTUPPATTI 8-10  
Inscriptions Nos. 31-33  
Tracings. Scale: one-fifth.

## METTUPPATTI (மேட்டுப்பட்டி) - 8

31. A. ku vi rā a [na]<sup>1</sup> tai ce<sup>2</sup> ya a tā ṇa

B. kuvira-a[n]tai cēy-a<sup>3</sup> tāṇa

குவிர் அ[ந்]தை சேய்அ தான

The gift<sup>4</sup> was made by Kuvira-antai.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.17. Estampage: Pl. 15A.

**Locus** The second segment in the continuous line at the head of the lower row of stone beds.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 56 cm.

**Date** ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE 45-g/1908; ARE 865-69/1917 (see remarks in No. 30);

ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:24/1966.

CNR:VIII-B (pp. 371-372); HKS:VIII-B (pp. 342-343); HTS:6.8 (pp. 48-49,78-82);

KVS:X1-2 (p. 298); KZ:8-B (p. 22); RN:5.7 (pp. 56-57); RPS:21 (pp. 163-197);

TVM:10.2 (pp. 258-266).

**Notes**

1. The lower part of the letter is damaged.
2. The letter appears to be *ce* though it resembles *ve* and has been read as such by HKS and KVS. See n.2, No. 4.
3. *cē-y-a* 'which was made' < *cē* (LT *cey*) 'to do, make'. See also n.9, No. 2. See Commentary for discussion.
4. 'of the stone bed' is understood from the context.

**METTUPPATTI (மேட்டுப்பட்டி) - 9**

32. A.      **ku vi rā a na tai ve ḷa<sup>1</sup> a tā ṇa**

B.      *kuvira-antai vēḷ-a<sup>2</sup> tāṇa*

குவிர அந்தை வேள்அ தான

The gift<sup>3</sup> of Kuvira-antai Vēḷ.

**ILL.**      Tracing: Fig. 8.17. Estampage: Pl. 15A.

**Locus**      The third segment in the continuous line at the head of the lower row of stone beds.

**No. of lines**    1

**Length**      56 cm.

**Date**      ca. 2nd century B.C.

**Publ.**      *ARE* 45-h/1908; *ARE* 865-69/1917 (see remarks in No. 30);

*ARE* 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. *IM*:25/1966.

*CNR*:VIII-C (pp. 371-372); *HKS*:VIII-C (pp. 342-343); *MSV*:12.2 (pp. 102-109);

*RN*:5.8 (pp. 56-57); *TVM*:10.3 (pp. 258-266, Pl. 17 middle).

**Notes**

1.      The letter is clearly /a. *HKS* considers that it 'must be ya' on the basis of the mistaken assumption that Nos. 31 & 32 are identical. This is probably the reason why *KVS* omits this inscription.
2.      Cf. vēḷ, title of an ancient clan of chieftains and petty rulers. Here the expression occurs as part of a personal name.
3.      'of the stone bed' is understood from the context.

## METTUPPATTI (மேட்டுப்பட்டி) - 10

33. A.        *ti ṭi¹ ī la a tā ṇa*B.        *tiṭi-il-a² tāṇa**திடிஇல்அ தான*The gift<sup>3</sup> of Tiṭṭi-il.**ILL.**        Tracing: Fig. 8.17. Estampage: Pl. 15A.**Locus**      The fourth and last segment in the continuous line at the head of the lower row of stone beds.**No. of lines** 1**Length**    43 cm.**Date**        ca. 2nd century B.C.**Publ.**        ARE 45-j/1908; ARE 865-69/1917 (see remarks in No. 30);

ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:26/1966.

CNR:VIII-D (pp. 371-372); HKS: VIII-D (pp. 342-343); HTS: 6.6 (pp. 48-49, 78-82);

KVS:X1-3 (p. 298); KZ: 8-C (p. 22); MSV:12.3 (pp. 102-109); RN:5.9 (pp. 56-57);

RPS:21 (pp. 163-197); TVM:10.4 (pp. 258-266, Pl. 17 bottom).

**Notes**

1. HKS reads *ṭi* and KVS *ṭa*. On verification *in situ*, the letter is found to be *ṭi*.
2. *tiṭi-il*, a place name. Cf. LT *tiṭṭi* 'raised ground'. The final *-a* is the genitive suffix. Cf. *tiṭi* (*tiṭṭi*) (No. 58).
3. The inscription records the collective gift (of stone beds in the cave) by the village. See also Nos. 35, 76, and 101 for collective gifts by villages.

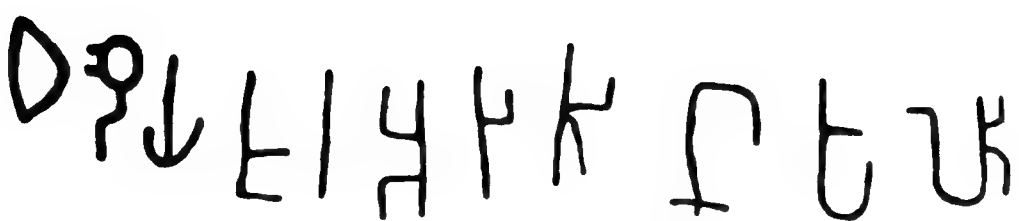
34. 

Figure 8.18. X. KARUNGALAKKUDI

Inscription No. 34

Tracing. Scale: one-tenth.

## X. KARUNGALAKKUDI (கருங்காலக்குடி)

34. A. e<sup>1</sup> lai<sup>2</sup> ya ū ra a ri ti<sup>3</sup> ṇa pā ḷiB. e<sub>lai</sub>-y-ūr<sup>4</sup> ariti=ṇ<sup>5</sup> paḷi<sup>6</sup>

எழையூர் அரிதின பளி

The hermitage (is the gift) of Ariti of E<sub>lai</sub>yūr.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.18. Estampage: Pl. 15B.

Locus On the brow of the cave on the Pañcapāṇṭavar-kuṭṭu hill; partly overwritten by a later Tamil inscription located just above.

No. of lines 1

Length 140 cm.

Date ca. 2nd century B.C.

Publ. ARE 561/19; ARE 1911-12:Pl. facing p. 50. IM:28/1966.

CNR:VI (p. 370); HKS: VI (pp. 340-341); HTS:8 (pp. 49, 83); KVS:VII (p. 295); KZ:6 (p. 21); MSV:11 (pp. 99-101); RN:7 (pp. 58-59); RPS:23 (pp. 163-197); TVM:2 (pp. 212-213; Pl. 6).

## Notes

1. The lower corner of the letter appears incomplete in the estampage due to shallower engraving.
2. HKS and KVS read *thu*.
3. What HKS described as 'the mark of interrogation' or 'a damaged Aśōkan *kha*' between the 8th and 9th letters, is in fact a part of the overwriting in modern Tamil characters.
4. *e<sub>lai</sub>-* is probably a variant of *eḷai* (LT *iṭai*). Cf. *ka<sub>l</sub>u-* (*kaṭu-*) (No. 44). See Commentary for the alternation between *ḷ* and *ḷ* in these cases.
5. *aritiṇ* is construed as *ariti* + (*i*)ṇ 'of Ariti'. Cf. *ariyṭi* (No. 25).
6. *paḷḷi*.


35. 

Figure 8.19. XI. MUDALAIAKULAM  
Inscription No. 35  
Tracing. Scale: one-tenth.

## XI. MUDALAIKULAM (முதலைகுளம்)

35. A. ve<sup>1</sup> ma pi ra<sup>2</sup> ū ra pe ra a ya a ma ce ta va ra

B. vēmpir-ūr<sup>3</sup> pēr-ay-am<sup>4</sup> cētavar<sup>5</sup>

வேம்பிற்ஊர் பேர்அய்யம் சேதவர்

(The assembly<sup>6</sup> of) Vēmpirūr constructed the large tank.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.19. Estampage: Pl. 16A.

Locus On the brow of the cave called Rākipuṭavu on the Cinna-uṇṭāṅkallu hill.

No. of lines 1

Length 164 cm.

Date ca. 2nd century B.C.

Publ. ARE B.265/1978-79. IAR 1978-79:p. 83.

G. Siromoney and E. Jebarajan 1978 (with eye copy).

## Notes

1. ce in ARE. Siromoney and Jebarajan read vē. See n.2, No. 4 for the confusing similarity between c and v in the cave inscriptions.
2. rai in ARE. Siromoney and Jebarajan read r.
3. vēmpirūr (vēmpil + tt + ūr). Cf. (inscr.) vēmpil and LT vēmpaṇṇūr, place names.
4. pērayam 'large tank'.
5. Cf. LT ceytavar. See n.9, No. 2.
6. The plural verb cētavar probably indicates that ūr here means the 'assembly' of the village. See section 4.6.12.

ህጻናት ለጥያቄዎቻቸው ይገኛሉ

**37.**

$$H = J + J_h$$

**38-40.**

ሆኑትን ሁሉም ተቀብሎ ለሀገሪቱ ስላገለገለች

Tracings (of Nos. 38-40 in two segments). Scale: one-tenth (Nos. 36, 38-40), one-eighth (No. 37).

## XII. ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 1

36. A. mā<sup>1</sup> ti ra<sup>2</sup> ya po ṇa ko la vā ṇa a tā ṇa a tā ṇa \$<sup>3</sup>

B. *matiray*<sup>4</sup> *poṇ-kolvaṇ*<sup>5</sup> *ataṇ* *ataṇ*<sup>6</sup>

மதிரய் பொன் கொல்வன் அதன் அதன்

(The gift<sup>7</sup> of ) *Ataṇ* *Ataṇ*, the goldsmith from *Matirai*.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.20. Estampage: Pl. 16B.

**Locus** On the brow of the cave on the Alagarmalai hill, below the upper drip ledge; inscription at left.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 144 cm.

**Date** ca. 1st century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE B. 244/1963-64 (copied earlier in 1910 but not catalogued). IAR 1963-64:p. 71. IM:30/1966.

CNR:X-A (pp. 373-374); HKS:X-A (pp. 344-346);

HTS:10.1 (pp. 50-54, 84-87); KZ:10-A (pp. 22-23);

MSV:6.1 (pp. 48-50); RN:9.1 (pp. 59-61); RPS:24 (pp. 163-197);

TVM:7-I (pp. 236-244).

I. Mahadevan 1965b.

#### Notes

1. Earlier readings have an additional letter *ta* between the first and second letters, traces of which can be seen in the estampage. However, its presence could not be confirmed during the rechecking *in situ* in 1992.
2. The letter appears on closer examination to be *ra* and not *rai* as read earlier.
3. A symbol. Variants of this symbol are found at many sites. See section 5.18.
4. Variant of *matirai*. See n.2, No. 24.
5. Cf. LT *poṇ kollaṇ* 'goldsmith'.
6. The composite name signifies 'Ataṇ, son of Ataṇ', as explicitly stated in No. 40.
7. 'the drip ledge' is understood from the context.

## ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 2

37. A. ... a ṇā ka ṇa ta ...

B. ... a ṇākaṇ' ta ...

... அ னாகன் த ...

... Nākaṇ ...

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.20. Estampage: Pl. 16B.

**Locus** On the brow of the cave, below the upper drip ledge; inscription at right; a fragment, incomplete at either end.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** Approximately 45 cm. (extant).

**Date** ca. 1st century B.C.

**Publ.** *ARE* B. 245/1963-64; *ARE* 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6 (copied earlier in 1910 but not catalogued); *IAR* 1963-64:p. 71. IM:31/1966.  
CNR:X-J (pp. 373-374); HKS:X-J (pp. 344-346); *HTS*:10. 2 (pp. 50-54, 84-87);  
KVS:XIII (p. 299); KZ:10-I (pp. 22-23); RN:9.2 (pp. 59-61);  
TVM:7-IX (pp. 236-244, Pl. 13 bottom right).

**Notes**

1. Read *nākaṇ*. The use of *ṇ* for *n* initially is a scribal error, though this is not certain as the record is too fragmentary. However, see n.5, No. 20 for the more common error of using the dental *n* for the alveolar *ṇ*.

## ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 3

38. A. mā ta ti<sup>1</sup> rai keB. mattiraike<sup>2</sup>

மத்திரைகே

Of Matirai:<sup>3</sup>

ILL. Tracings: Fig. 8.20. Estampages: Pl. 17.

**Locus** On the brow of the cave, below the lower drip ledge; the first segment of the long line; treated as a separate inscription as this qualifies the personal names of the donors in all the following segments (Nos. 39-45) engraved in the same line. Each segment with a complete inscription is counted as a 'line' in this study. See section 1.3.1 and Fig. 1.6.

**No. of lines** 1**Length** 138 cm. (Nos. 38-39 & 40 Pt. i).**Date** ca. 1st century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE 70 Pt. i/1910; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:33/1966.  
 CNR:X-B Pt. i (pp. 373-374); HKS:X-B Pt. i (pp. 344-346);  
 HTS:10.3 Pt. i (pp. 50-54, 84-87); KZ:10-B Pt. i (pp. 22-23);  
 MSV:6.2 Pt. i (p. 50); RN:9.4 (pp. 59-61); RPS:25 Pt. i (pp. 163-197);  
 TVM:7-II Pt. i (pp. 236-244, Pl. 11).

**Notes**

1. The lower end of the letter is damaged. On closer examination *in situ*, the letter is found to be *ti* as read by HKS and others, and not *vi* as read by me earlier and by RPS.
2. My earlier reading *mātavirai* has turned out to be incorrect. Read *matirai*-. See n.2, No. 24. The case-ending *-kē* (*ku* + *ē*) is employed here in the possessive- locative sense. See Commentary for discussion.
3. The colon indicates that all the donors whose names are engraved in this long line (Nos. 39-45) are from Matirai (Maturai).

## ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 4

39. A.      ū<sup>1</sup> pu vā ṇi ka ṇa vi ya kā ṇaB.      upu-vāṇikaṇ<sup>2</sup> viyakaṇ<sup>3</sup>

உபு வாணிகன் வியகன்

Viyakaṇ, the salt merchant;<sup>4</sup>**ILL.**      Tracings: Fig. 8.20. Estampages: Pl. 17.**Locus**      On the brow of the cave, below the lower drip ledge; the second segment of the long line; (treated as a separate inscription as it is self-contained).**No. of lines** 1**Length**      138 cm. (Nos. 38-39 & 40 Pt. i).**Date**      ca. 1st century B.C.**Publ.**      ARE 70 Pt. ii/1910; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:34 Pt. i/1966.

CNR:X-B Pt. ii &amp; C Pt. i (pp. 373-374); HKS:X-B Pt. ii &amp; C Pt. i (pp. 344-346);

HTS:10.3 Pt. ii (pp. 50-54, 84-87); KZ:10-B Pt. ii &amp; C Pt. i (pp. 22-23);

MSV:6.2 Pt. ii (p. 50) &amp; 6.3 Pt. i (p. 51); RN:9.5 Pt. i (pp. 59-61); RPS:25 Pt. ii (pp. 163-197);

TVM:7-II Pt. ii &amp; III Pt. i (pp. 236-244, Pl. 11).

**Notes**

1. HKS reads *pā*.
2. *uppu*- 'salt'.
3. Cf. *viyakkaṇ* (No. 84). Cf. (inscr.) *Visakaṇ* (on pottery from Kodumanal). Cf. LT *vicākaṇ*, *viyākaṇ*.
4. The context suggests that the five donors mentioned in Nos. 39-43 made a collective gift of the cave shelter.

## ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 5

40. A. *kā ṇa ti ka ṇa \$<sup>1</sup> kā ṇa ka a tā ṇa mā<sup>2</sup> kā ṇa a ta ṇa a ta ṇa \$<sup>1</sup>*

B. *kaṇatikan<sup>3</sup> kaṇaka<sup>4</sup> ataṇ makaṇ ataṇ ataṇ<sup>5</sup>*

கணதிகன் கணக அதன் மகன் அதன் அதன்

**Ataṇ Ataṇ**, the son of **Ataṇ**, the accountant, the chief of scribes;

**ILL.** Tracings: Fig. 8.20. Estampages: Pls. 17 & 18.

**Locus** On the brow of the cave, below the lower drip ledge; the third segment of the long line; (treated here as one inscription on the basis of connection in sequence in spite of the symbol occurring in the middle).

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 138 cm. (Nos. 38-40 Pt. i); 131 cm. (No. 40 Pt. ii).

**Date** ca. 1st century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE 70 Pt. iii & 71/1910; ARE 1917-18:incomplete estampage in Pl. facing p. 6. IM:34 Pt. ii & 35/1966.

CNR:X-C Pt. ii & D (pp. 373-374); HKS:X-C Pt. ii & D (pp. 344-346);

HTS:10.3 Pt. iii & 10.4 (pp. 50-54, 80-87); KZ:10-C Pt. ii & D (pp. 22-23);

MSV:6.3 Pt. ii (p. 51) & 6.4 (p. 54); RN:9.5 Pt. ii & 9.6 (pp. 59-61);

TVM:7-III Pt. ii & IV (pp. 236-244).

#### Notes

1. Two symbols, one of them appearing in the middle of the inscription as judged from the sequence. See section 5.18.
2. HKS reads *mō*.
3. Cf. *kaṇa* (Sinh. Pkt.) < *karaṇa* (Skt.) 'scribe'; *atikaṇ* < *adhika* (Pkt.) 'superintendent, chief'. Cf. *kā(a)tika* (No. 3). See section 4.6.8.
4. *kaṇakka*. Cf. (inscr.) *kaṇakaṇ*, *kaṇakkaṇ* 'accountant'. See n.3.
5. See No. 36 for another occurrence of this composite name.

41. ሊህወደኑ ሆኑክደ

42. ርደላይተ ርደላይተ

43. ቸደላይተ ርደላይተ

44. ሊወደኑ ሆኑክደ ሆኑክደ

45. ሊወደኑ ሆኑክደ  
ሆኑክደ

Figure 8.21. ALAGARMALAI 6-10  
Inscriptions Nos. 41-45  
Tracings (No. 45 in two segments). Scale: one-tenth.

## ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 6

41. A. sā pa<sup>1</sup> mi tā<sup>2</sup> i<sup>3</sup> ṇa pā<sup>3</sup> mi ta ti \$<sup>4</sup>

B. sapamitā<sup>5</sup>=iṇa<sup>6</sup> pamitti<sup>7</sup>

ஸபமிதாஇன பமித்தி

The Jaina nun who is Sappamittā;<sup>8</sup>

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.21. Estampage: Pl. 18.

Locus On the brow of the cave, below the lower drip ledge; the fourth segment of the long line.

No. of lines 1

Length 100 cm.

Date ca. 1st century B.C.

Publ. ARE 72/1910; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:36/1966.

CNR:X-E (pp. 373-374); HKS:X-E (pp. 344-346); HTS:10.5 (pp. 50-54, 84-87);

KZ:10-E (pp. 22-23); MSV:6.5 (pp. 55-56); RN:9.7 (pp. 59-61); RPS:26 (pp. 163-197);

TVM:7-V (pp. 236-244, Pl. 12 top).

## Notes

1. HKS reads *ma*.
2. HKS reads *si*.
3. These two letters are not read by HKS.
4. A symbol.
5. *sappamittā*. Cf. Sappamittā (Pkt.) < Sarpamitrā (Skt.).
6. *sapamitā-iṇa* is construed as *sapamitā* (*sappamittā*) + *ā-iṇa*. Cf. (inscr.) *ā-iṇa*, *āyīṇa* 'who is, alias'.
7. *pamitti*. Cf. LT *pammai*, *paimai* 'Jaina nun'; *pamman* (masc.) 'Jaina novice'. See section 4.9.4 (i).
8. The Jaina nun figures here as a donor. See also Nos. 49 & 83 referring to Jaina nuns.

## ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 7

42. A.      *pā ṇi ta vā ṇi ka ṇa ne<sup>1</sup> ṭu ma lā ṇa \$<sup>2</sup>*

B.      *pāṇita-vāṇikaṇ<sup>3</sup> neṭumallaṇ<sup>4</sup>*

பாணித வாணிகன் நெடுமலன்

**Neṭumallaṇ**, the *gur* merchant;

**ILL.**      Tracing: Fig. 8.21. Estampage: Pls. 18 & 19.

**Locus**      On the brow of the cave, below the lower drip ledge; the fifth segment of the long line.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length**      91 cm.

**Date**      ca. 1st century B.C.

**Publ.**      ARE 73/1910; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:37/1966.

CNR:X-F (pp. 373-374); HKS:X-F (pp. 344-346); HTS:10.6 (pp. 50-54, 84-87);

KVS:XIII (p. 299); KZ:10-F (pp. 22-23); MSV:6.6 (pp. 56-58); RN:9.8 (pp. 59-61);

RPS:27 (pp. 163-197); TVM:7-VI (pp. 236-244, Pl. 12 bottom).

**Notes**

1. HKS reads *na* and KVS *ne*.
2. A symbol (not a pair of symbols as incorrectly printed in KVS).
3. From *pāṇitam* < *phāṇita* (Pāli) < *phāṇi* (Skt.) 'unrefined sugar, molasses, etc'.
4. *neṭumallaṇ*. Cf. LT *mallaṇ* 'wrestler', also a personal name.

## ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 8

43. A. ko<sup>1</sup> lu<sup>1</sup> va ṇi ka ṇa e<sup>2</sup> la cā na ta ṇa \$<sup>3</sup>

B. koḷu-vaṇikan<sup>4</sup> eḷacantaṇ

கொழு வணிகன் எளசந்தன்

Eḷacantaṇ, the trader in ploughshares;

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.21. Estampage: Pl. 19.

Locus On the brow of the cave, below the lower drip ledge; the sixth segment of the long line.

No. of lines 1

Length 84 cm.

Date ca. 1st century B.C.

Publ. ARE 74/1910; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:38/1966.  
CNR:X-G (pp. 373-374); HKS:X-G (pp. 344-346); HTS:10.7 (pp. 50-54, 84-87);  
KVS:XIII (p. 299); KZ:10-G (pp. 22-23); MSV:6.7 (pp. 58-59); RN:9.9 (pp. 59-61);  
RPS:28 (pp. 163-197); TVM:7-VII (pp. 236-244, Pl. 13 top).

## Notes

1. The first two letters were not read by HKS or KVS.
2. HKS and KVS read *yu*.
3. A symbol (not a pair of symbols as incorrectly printed in KVS).
4. *koḷu* 'ploughshare, a bar of metal'. See section 4.15.2.

## ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 9

44. A. . . .<sup>1</sup> [ñā]<sup>2</sup> ci ka lu<sup>3</sup> mā ra<sup>4</sup> na tā ṇa tā ra a ṇi i  
ko ṭu pi tā a va ṇa<sup>5</sup>

B. . . . [ñ]ci<sup>6</sup> kaḷumāra<sup>7</sup> nataṇ<sup>8</sup> tāra-aṇi-i<sup>9</sup>  
koṭupita-avaṇ<sup>10</sup>

. . . [ஞ]சி கழுமாற நதன் தாரஅணிஇ  
கொடுபிதஅவன்

. . . Kaḷumāra Nataṇ caused to be given the drip ledge (?);

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.21. Estampage: Pl. 19.

Locus On the brow of the cave, below the lower drip ledge; the seventh segment of the long line.

No. of lines 1

Length Approximately 136 cm. (extant).

Date ca. 1st century B.C.

Publ. ARE 75-76/1910; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:39-40/1966.

CNR:X-H (pp. 373-374); HKS:X-H (pp. 344-346); HTS:10.8 & 9 (pp. 50-54, 84-87);

KVS:XIII (p. 299); KZ:10-H (pp. 22-23); MSV:6.8 & 6.9 (pp. 59-60); RN:9.10 & 9.11

(pp. 59-61); RPS:29 & 30 (pp. 163-197); TVM:7-VIII (pp. 236-244, Pl. 13 bottom left).

## Notes

1. The commencement of the inscription is lost due to flaking of the stone.
2. The letter appears to be incomplete and is read tentatively.
3. HKS reads *ṭṭha* and KVS *ra*.
4. HKS reads *ṭū* and KVS *ra*.
5. There is no symbol after this letter. (The pair of symbols in KVS seems to be a typographical error.) There is a gap of about 15 cm. between this and the next inscription (No. 45) in the same line.
6. A fragmentary word which cannot be interpreted.
7. *kaḷu-* probably a variant of *kaṭu*. Cf. *eḷai-* for LT *iṭai* (n.4, No. 34); *māra-* from *Māraṇ*, a Pāṇṭiya dynastic name. Cf. *Kaṭumāṇ Māraṇ*, N. of a Pāṇṭiya king. See section 4.2.3.
8. See n.1, No. 17.
9. *tāra-aṇi-* is probably the drip ledge below which the inscription is engraved. Cf. *cala-tārai*, *nūr-t-tārai* (TL). See Commentary for the interpretation.
10. *koṭuppitta-avaṇ* (cf. LT *koṭuppittavaṇ*).

## ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 10

45. A. ta na ma [ṇa]<sup>1</sup> kā sā pā ṇa a va [v]i<sup>2</sup> r[u]<sup>2</sup> a<sup>3</sup>  
a<sup>4</sup>ra ū ma ku ṭu pi to ...<sup>5</sup>

B. tanma[ṇ]<sup>6</sup> kasapaṇ<sup>7</sup> av[v]ir[u]-a-  
ar-um<sup>8</sup> kuṭupitō[r\*]<sup>9</sup>

தந்ம[ன்] கஸபன் அவ்[வி][ரு]அ  
அர்உம் குடுபிதோ[ர்\*]

**Tanmaṇ** (and) **Kassapaṇ**, those two persons also, caused to be given.<sup>10</sup>

- ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.21. Estampage: Pl. 19.  
**Locus** On the brow of the cave, below the lower drip ledge; the eighth and last segment of the long line.  
**No. of lines** 1  
**Length** Approximately 174 cm. (extant).  
**Date** ca. 1st century B.C.  
**Publ.** ARE 77/1910; ARE 1917-18; Pl. facing p. 6. IM:41-42/1966.  
 HTS:10.9 & 10 (pp. 50-54, 84-87); MSV:6.10 (p. 61); RN:9.12 & 9.13 (pp. 59-61);  
 RPS:31 & 32 (pp. 163-197).

**Notes**

1. The top of the letter is broken off, which may be read as *ṇa* from what survives.
2. The lower portions of these two letters are damaged.
3. The rock surface is too broken after this letter for engraving. The inscription is resumed in the same line after a gap of about 12 cm.
4. The letter *a* has been repeated after the gap apparently due to oversight.
5. The final letter of the word is lost here as the stone has flaked off.
6. Cf. LT *taṇman*, *dhanima* (Pkt.) < *dharma* (Skt.).
7. *kassapaṇ*. Cf. *kassapa* (Pkt.) < *kaśyapa* (Skt.).
8. Read *avviru-ar-um* (LT *avv-iruv-ar-um*).
9. *kuṭuppittōr* (cf. LT *koṭuppittōr*). [*r\**] restored here as the text mentions two persons as the donors.
10. 'the drip ledge' is understood from the context. See No. 44.

46. 7ILU+H 2=00I+ID 7HHC 2\*

47. KULILIL

48. +IIFCFI EX 7.1L6I4H+~

Figure 8.22. ALAGARMALAI 11-13

Inscriptions Nos. 46-48

Tracings. Scale: one-tenth (Nos. 46 & 47), one-eighth (No. 48).

## ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 11

46. A.        *ve ṇa pa ḷ[i]<sup>1</sup> ī a ru vai va ṇi ka ṇa e ḷa a a ṭa ṇa \$<sup>2</sup>*

B.        *veṇpaḷ[i]-i<sup>3</sup> aṇuvai-vaṇikaṇ eḷa-a<sup>4</sup> aṭaṇ<sup>5</sup>*

வெண்ப[ளி]இ அறுவை வணிகன் எனஅ அடன்

**Eḷa-a Aṭṭaṇ**, the cloth merchant from **Veṇpaḷḷi**.

**ILL.**        Tracing: Fig. 8.22. Estampage: Pl. 20.

**Locus**        On the brow of the cave, below the lower drip ledge; the first segment of the lower inscription at right.

**No. of lines**    1

**Length**        157 cm.

**Date**        ca. 1st century B.C.

**Publ.**        *ARE* 78/1910; *ARE* 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:43/1966.

*HTS*:10.11 (pp. 50-54, 84-87); *MSV*:6.11 (pp. 61-62); *RN*:9.14 (pp. 59-61); *RPS*:33 (pp. 163-197).

**Notes**

1. The medial *-i* stroke is incompletely preserved.
2. A symbol.
3. *veṇpaḷḷi*-. Cf. LT *paḷḷi* 'hamlet', also a frequent suffix to place names.
4. Cf. (inscr.) *eḷavaṇ*, a personal name.
5. *aṭṭaṇ*. Cf. LT *aṭṭaṇ*, *āṭṭaṇ*, personal names.

## ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 12

47. A. ti ya ṇa cā na ta ṇa \$¹

B. tiyaṇ² cantan

தியன் சந்தன்

Tiyaṇ Cantan.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.22. Estampage: Pl. 20.

**Locus** On the brow of the cave, below the lower drip ledge; the second segment of the lower inscription at right.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 63 cm.

**Date** ca. 1st century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE 79/1910; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:44/1966.  
HTS:10.12 (pp. 50-54, 84-87); RN:9.15 (pp. 59-61).

**Notes**

1. A symbol.
2. Cf. (inscr.) *tiyaṇ*, a personal name. See section 4.19.4 (i).

## ALAGARMALAI (அழகர்மலை) - 13

48. A.        *kā ṇi nā kā ṇa kā ṇi<sup>1</sup> nā tā ṇa ī ru vā ra a ma ka la*

B.        *kaṇi nākaṇ kaṇi nataṇ<sup>2</sup> iruvar ama<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>4</sup>*

கணி நாகன் கணி நதன் இருவர் அம கல்

The stone (beds) where the two persons, *Nākaṇ*, the *kaṇi*, (and) *Nataṇ*, the *kaṇi*, abide.

**ILL.**        Tracing: Fig. 8.22. Estampage: Pl. 20.

**Locus**        At the head of a stone bed at left in the cave.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length**        101 cm.

**Date**        ca. 1st century B.C.

**Publ.**        *ARE* 334/1908; *ARE* 1911-12:Pl. facing p. 50. *IM*:32/1966.  
RN:9.3 (pp. 59-61).

**Notes**

1. There is a short gap after this letter, but no writing could be seen here during the rechecking *in situ*.
2. See n.1, No. 17.
3. Cf. LT *amai* 'to abide, be settled'.
4. stone (beds) (pl.) as indicated by the context.



## XIII. SITTANNAVASAL - A (சித்தன்னவாசல் - அ)

49. A. e ru<sup>1</sup> mi nā ũ ku mu la<sup>2</sup> ũ ra pi rā<sup>3</sup> na tā kā vu ũ i  
te ũa ku ci ru<sup>4</sup> po ci<sup>5</sup> la ī lā  
ya ra ce ya tā a ti ũa a nā ma

B. erumināṭu<sup>6</sup> kumuḷ-ūr piṛanta kavuṭi-i<sup>7</sup> [/\*]  
teṅku-cirupocil<sup>8</sup> iḷa-  
yar<sup>9</sup> ceyta atit-āṇam.<sup>10</sup>

எருமிநாடு குமுழூர் பிற்றந்த கவுடிஇ [/\*]  
தென்கு சிறுபொசில் இள  
யர் செய்த அதி-அனம்

(To) Kavuti born at Kumulūr in Erumināṭu.<sup>11</sup> The seat was made by the Iḷayar of Teṅku Cirupocil.

ILL.	Tracing: Fig. 8.23. Estampage: Pl. 21.
Locus	On a stone bed in the upper cave called Ēḷaṭippaṭṭam near the summit of the hill; deeply engraved along two adjacent sides of the bed; well-preserved. See section 1.3.2 and Fig. 1.8.
No. of lines	1
Length	215 cm.
Date	ca. 1st century B.C.
Publ.	ARE 388A/1914 (with Pl.). IPS (1929):No. 1 (with Pl.). IPS(E) (1941):No. 1. IM:27/1966. CNR:XI (p. 375); HKS:XI (p. 346); HTS:7 (pp. 49, 82-83); KVS:IX (pp. 296-298); KZ:11 (p. 23); RN:6 (pp. 57-58); RPS:22 (pp. 163-197); TVM:8 (pp. 245-250, Pl. 14). C. Sivaramamurti 1952:p. 158 (with eye copy). K.R. Srinivasan 1984: pp. 9-19.

## Notes

1. ō in ARE. HKS reads u and KVS ō.
2. thū in ARE. HKS reads ttha and KVS th.
3. jū in ARE. HKS reads dā and KVS rā.
4. ũ in ARE. HKS also reads ũ and KVS ũ.
5. HKS and KVS read ci, followed here in preference to my earlier reading.
6. Probably -nāṭu (in oblique case). Cf. erumaināṭu identified with the Mysore region of Karnataka. See section 4.20.2.
7. N. of the resident Jaina nun. Cf. Ka. gavuḍi/gauḍi, fem. of gavuḍa/gauḍa.
8. Place name as in RPS. Cf. (inscr.) teṅ-ciruvāyil-nāṭu, an ancient territorial division adjoining the hill. -pocil: cf. Ka. hosilu corresponding to Ta. vāyil 'entrance'. See section 4.20.3 (i).
9. Cf. LT iḷaiyar, title of a martial clan, also known as the iḷamakkal. See section 4.18.1(i).
10. Read atit-āṇam (atitāṇam) 'seat'. Cf. ataṭ-āṇam (No. 50). Note the pause in both cases in lieu of doubling of the consonant t. See section 6.19.1. The expression atitāṇam < adhishṭhāna (Skt.) signifies that the stone bed was the 'permanent fixed abode' of the Jaina ascetics. See also n.5, No. 66, and n.11, No. 76.
11. See sections 3.2.4 and 4.8.1 on the influence of Old Kannada and early contacts with Jainism in Karnataka. Cf. Nos. 83, 115, 116.



## XIV. AIYARMALAI (ஐயர்மலை)

50. A.        *pā nai tu rai<sup>1</sup> ve sa ṇa a ta ṭa<sup>2</sup> a ṇā ma*

B.        *paṇaiturai vesan<sup>3</sup> ataṭ-ṇam<sup>4</sup>*

பனைதுறை வெஸன் அதட் அனம்

The seat (is the gift) of Vessan of Paṇaiturai.

**ILL.**        Tracing: Fig. 8.24A. Estampage: Pl. 22A.

**Locus**        On a stone bed in the uppermost cave on the Ratnagiriśvarar hill.

**No. of lines**    1

**Length**        39 cm.

**Date**        ca. 1st century B.C.

**Publ.**        ARE B. 231/1973-74 (with Pl.). IAR 1973-74:p. 40.

HTS:23 (pp. 64-65); MSV:18 (pp. 142-144).

**Notes**

1. The engraver had omitted this letter at first by oversight and later added it in smaller size above the line.
2. The estampage shows a dot resembling the *pulli* to the right of this letter. A careful re-examination *in situ* jointly by M.D. Sampath, N. Srinivasan and myself in 1991 has shown this to be a natural feature.
3. *vessan*. Cf. *vessa* (Pkt.) < *vaiśya* (Skt.). Alternatively, < *vaiśva* (Skt.) 'Uttarāśhāḍha asterism'. Cf. (Sinh. Pkt.) *veśa* 'personal name from Uttarāśhāḍha'.
4. Read *atiṭ-ṇam* (*atiṭṭāṇam*). See n.10, No. 49.

## XV. TIRUMALAI (திருமலை) - 1

51. A. . . . vā kā rā ṇa ṭai

B. . . . va karaṇṭai<sup>1</sup>

. . . வ கரணடை

The cave (abode of ascetics) . . .

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.24B. Estampage: Pl. 22B.

**Locus** On the brow of the western cave on the northern face of the Tirumalai hill. The rock surface has peeled off leaving only a small fragment at the end of the inscription.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** Approximately 33 cm. (extant).

**Date** ca. 1st century B.C.

**Publ.** *Kalvetṭu*, No. 24 (1989). Natana Kasinathan 1994:No. 2 (with Pl.).

**Notes**

1. *karaṇṭai* 'cave, cavern, abode of ascetics'. See Commentary for discussion.

## TIRUMALAI (திருமலை) - 2

52. A. e ru<sup>1</sup> kā ṭu ū ru<sup>2</sup> kā vi ti ko<sup>3</sup> ṇa ko ṛi ya pā ḷi ya

B. erukāṭu-ūru<sup>4</sup> kāviti-kōṇ koriya<sup>5</sup> paḷi-y<sup>6</sup>

எருகாடுஊரு காவிதி கோன் கொறிய பளிய்

The hermitage was carved by the chief *kāviti* of *Erukāṭṭu-ūru*.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.24B. Estampage: Pl. 22B.

**Locus** On the brow of the eastern cave on the northern face of the hill; weather-worn and faint, but legible.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 120 cm.

**Date** ca. 1st century A.D.

**Publ.** *IAR* 1988-89:p. 95; *IAR* 1990-91:p. 85.

*Kalveṭṭu*, No. 24 (1989) (with Pl.). M.D. Sampath 1977-78:pp. 146-148 (with Pl.).

Natana Kasinathan 1994:No. 2 (with Pl.).

**Notes**

1. Natana Kasinathan reads *ra* and Sampath *k*.
2. Natana Kasinathan reads *ru* and Sampath *r*.
3. Natana kasinathan and Sampath read *ka*.
4. Probably *eru-k-kāṭṭu-* (in oblique case); cf. LT. *erukkāṭṭūr*.
5. *korriya*. Cf. (inscr.) *korriṇa* 'excavated'. See Commentary for discussion.
6. *paḷi-*. The spelling *pā ḷi-* is archaic for this period. See also Nos. 59, 60, 65, 74 and 82 for other archaisms.

53. 41A6 2f5cAδ 2

54. 6 1 11A 2u

55. Δ 1f51:6t5A2+22 11A2/2  
2A521A215A2

Figure 8.25. XVI. TIRUPPARANKUNRAM 1-3  
Inscriptions Nos. 53-55 (Inscription No. 54 in two segments).  
Tracings (No. 55 in two segments). Scale: one-fifth (Nos. 53 & 54), one-tenth (No. 55).

## XVI. TIRUPPARANKUNRAM (திருப்பரங்குன்றம்) - 1

53. A. a na tū<sup>1</sup> vā ṇa ko ṭu pi tā vā ṇa

B. antuvaṇ koṭupitavaṇ<sup>2</sup>

அந்துவன் கொடுபிதவன்

Antuvaṇ caused to be given.<sup>3</sup>

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.25. Estampage: Pl. 23.

**Locus** On the front side of the raised stone bed abutting the rear wall of the upper cave on the western slope of the hill; inscribed from right to left and upside down. The illustrations are printed in the normal orientation. See section 5.8 on direction of writing.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 59 cm.

**Date** ca. 1st century B.C.

**Publ.** ARE B.142/1951-52 (with Pl.). IM:48/1966.

HTS:12.2 (pp. 55, 87-88); MSV:16.3 (p. 130); RN:12.2 (pp. 63-64);

RPS:34 (pp. 163-197); TVM:9-C (pp. 251-257, Pl. 16 bottom).

C. Bose 1981:pp. 119-126.

**Notes**

1. The presence of two medial strokes of the letter tū was detected by V. Vedachalam when our team cleaned the rock surface to copy the inscription again in 1992.
2. koṭuppittavaṇ.
3. 'the stone bed' is understood from the context.

## TIRUPPARANKUNRAM (திருப்பரங்குன்றம்) - 2

54. A. mā ra ya tu ka ya<sup>1</sup>B. mārayatu<sup>2</sup> kaya[m\*]<sup>3</sup>

மாரயது கய[ம்\*]

The pool<sup>4</sup> (is the gift) of the *mārāya(m)*.**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.25. Estampage: Pl. 23.**Locus** In the upper cave on the rock wall abutting the headside of two stone beds. The first segment is above the stone bed at right and is engraved from right to left and upside down. The second segment is above the stone bed at left and engraved 'normally'. It appears from the sequence that the two segments constitute one inscription as read here. The illustrations are printed in the normal orientation. See section 5.8 on direction of writing.**No. of Segments** 2**Length** 28 cm. (1st segment) + 13 cm. (2nd segment).**Date** ca. 1st century B.C.**Publ.** ARE B.140-141/1951-52. IM:49-50/1966.

HTS:12.3 (pp. 55, 87-88); MSV:16.2 (p. 129); RN:12.3 &amp; 12.4 (pp. 63-64);

TVM:9-A &amp; B (pp. 251-257, Pl. 16 middle &amp; top).

C. Bose 1981: pp. 119-126.

**Notes**

1. The first segment is read *mā tā yē va* and the second segment *na ya* in ARE .
2. Read *mārāyatu (mārāyattu)*. Cf. LT *mārāyam*, an ancient title, here probably for one so honoured. See section 4.6.10.
3. [m\*] is supplied from the context. Cf. LT *kayam* 'tank'.
4. There is a pool just outside the two caves on the hill.

## TIRUPPARANKUNRAM (திருப்பரங்குன்றம்) - 3

55. A. e ru k<sup>1</sup>ā<sup>1</sup> tu ra i<sup>2</sup> la<sup>3</sup> ku tu ma pi ka na po lā<sup>4</sup> lai ya na |<sup>5</sup>  
ce ya<sup>6</sup> tā ā ya ca ya na ne tu cā<sup>7</sup> ta na

B. erukāṭṭur<sup>8</sup> īla-kuṭumpikaṇ<sup>9</sup> polālaiyaṇ |  
cey<sup>10</sup>tā[ṇ\*] āycayaṇ<sup>11</sup> neṭucātaṇ<sup>12</sup>

எருகாடுர் இழகுடும்பிகன் பொலாலையன் |  
செய்தா[ன்] ஆய்சயன் நெடுசாதன்

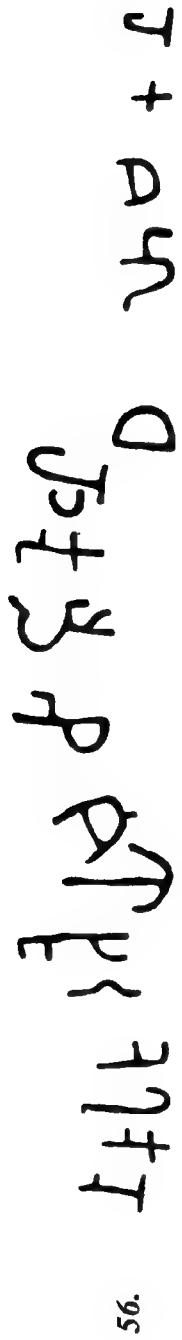
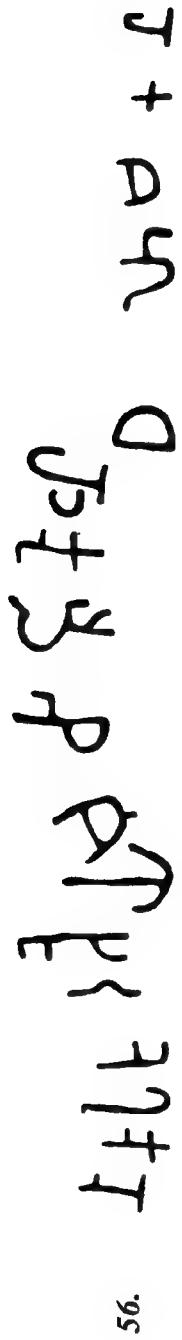
(The gift of) Polālaiyaṇ, the Īla-householder from Erukāṭṭūr. Āyccayyaṇ Neṭucātaṇ made.<sup>13</sup>

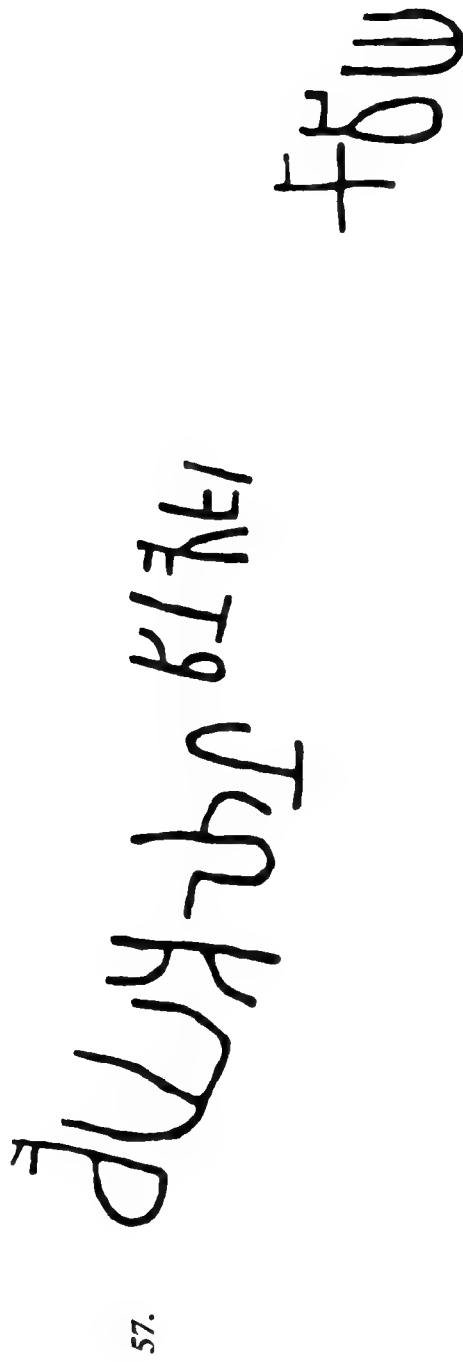
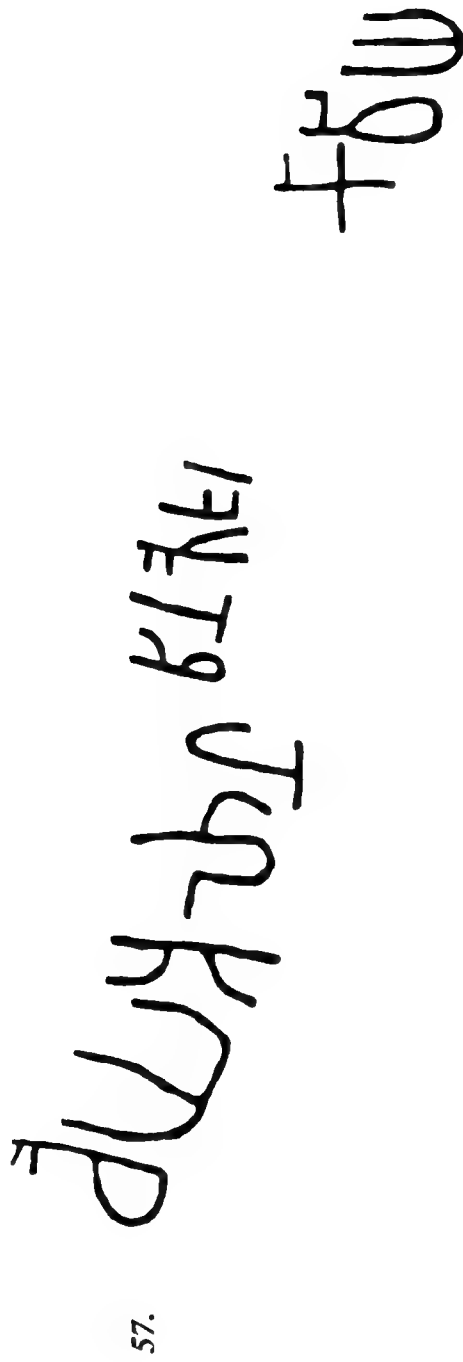
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ILL.	Tracing: Fig. 8.25. Estampage: Pl. 24.
Locus	On the ledge above the row of stone beds in the lower cave.
No. of lines	1
Length	224 cm.
Date	ca. 1st century A.D.
Publ.	ARE 333/1908; ARE 1911-12:Pl. facing p. 50. IM:51/1966. CNR:III-A & B (p. 367); HKS:III-A & B (pp. 335-336); HTS:12-1 (pp. 55, 87-88); KVS:II (pp. 288-289); KZ:2-A & B (p. 20); MSV:16.1 (pp. 125-129); RN:12.1(pp. 63-64); RPS:35 (pp. 163-197); TVM:9 (pp. 251-257, Pl. 15). C. Bose 1981: pp. 119-126.

## Notes

1. HKS and KVS read *kō*.
2. HKS reads *i* and KVS *ī*.
3. HKS reads *jamī* with the comment, "one can venture to say that it is somewhat like the modern Tamil *ja*". It was left to KVS to confirm this important identification. See section 2.4.2.
4. According to TVM, the medial strokes of *-ā* are "added twice" in the 15th and 29th letters, and "as such, they have to be read only as long". The letters do not have double strokes as verified *in situ*. See also n.3, No. 11.
5. A vertical line is engraved between the two segments. The letters are smaller in size after the line.
6. As pointed out by HKS, *y* has an irregular shape with the left limb attached to the middle of the vertical. This variant form is further developed in Nos. 65 & 66. See n.1, No. 65.
7. As pointed out by HKS, the vertical line of *c* projects below the loop at the bottom. See also n.1, No. 105. *c* in these cases resembles that of the Bhattiprolu alphabet.
8. Read *erukāṭṭūr* (*erukkāṭṭūr*). Cf. LT *erukkāṭṭūr*.
9. Read *īla-*. Cf. LT *īlam* 'Sri Lanka'; alternatively, *īla-* 'of the tree-climber caste' (RPS). Cf. LT *īlam* 'toddy, arrack'. The latter interpretation suits the context better. See section 4.20.1 (i).
10. [ṇ\*] supplied here from the evidence of the noun which follows.
11. *āyccayyaṇ*. Construed as *āyca* (*āycca*) + *ayaṇ* (*ayyaṇ*). Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *āycayya*; (Ta. inscr.) *āccaṇ*, *ācciyaṇ*. Cf. *āicca* (AMg.) < *āditya* (Skt.).
12. *neṭu-cātaṇ*.
13. 'the stone beds' is understood from the context.

56.  56. 

57.  57. 

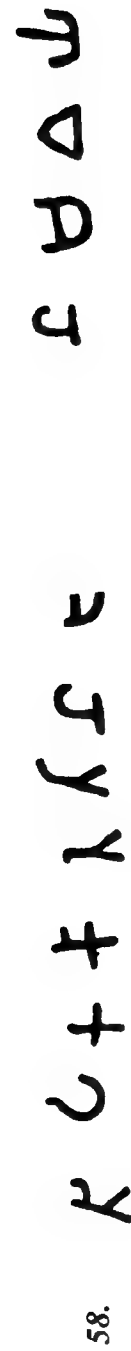
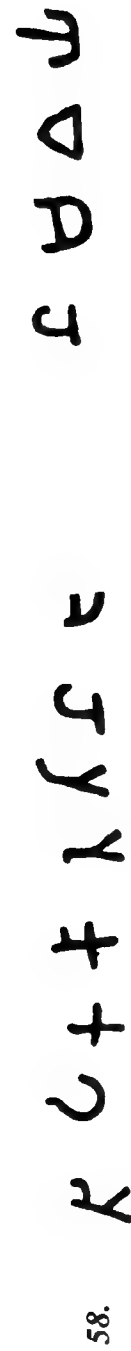
58.  58. 

Figure 8.26. XVII. MUTTUPPAITI 1-3  
Inscriptions Nos. 56-58 (No. 57 in three segments).  
Tracings. Scale: one-sixth (Nos. 56 & 58), one-eighth (No. 57).

## XVII. MUTTUPPATTI (முத்துப்பட்டி) - 1

56. A.        *nā kā pe rū ra tai ya mu ci ri<sup>1</sup> ko ṭa ṇa e la ma ka ṇa*

B.        *nākapērūr=atai-y<sup>2</sup> muciri kōṭaṇ eḷamakaṇ<sup>3</sup>*

நாகபேரூரதைய் முசிறி கோடன் எளமகன்

The *a(n)tai* of Nākapērūr (and) Kōṭaṇ, the Eḷamakaṇ from Muciri.<sup>4</sup>

**ILL.**        Tracing: Fig. 8.26. Estampage (incomplete): Pl. 25.

**Locus**        On the front side of an oblong boulder (the top of which is smoothened to serve as a bed) in the smaller cave on the Karaṭippaṭṭi hill. The inscription is engraved from right to left and upside down. The illustrations are printed in the normal orientation. The inscription is engraved on a very rough and uneven surface and is difficult to make out. See section 5.8 on direction of writing.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length**        101 cm.

**Date**        ca. 1st century B.C.

**Publ.**        ARE B. 243/1963-64 (copied earlier in 1910 but not catalogued). IAR 1963-64:p. 71.  
IM:53/1966.

HTS:13.2 (pp. 55-56, 88-89); RN:14.2 (p. 65).

G. Siromoney and E. Jebarajan 1980 (with eye copy).

**Notes**

1. The letter has an unusual form looking like a ligature of *ṭ* and *t*.
2. Cf. *antai*, an honorific (masc.) for an elder or senior person (Nos. 25-28). The nasal is omitted here as also in No. 30. See also n.9, No. 3.
3. Cf. (inscr.) *iḷamakaṇ*, a member of the ancient martial clan of *iḷaiyar* or *iḷamakkaḷ*. Cf. *iḷayar* (No. 49). See section 4.18.1(i).
4. Presumably the gift was jointly made by the two donors. See Commentary for their probable relationship.

## MUTTUPPATTI (முத்துப்பட்டி) - 2

57.<sup>1</sup> A.      vi na tai ū ra  
                  cai ya a la ũa  
                  k̄a vi ya

B.            vintai-ūr  
                  caiy-aḷaṇ<sup>2</sup>  
                  kavi-y<sup>3</sup>

விந்தைஊர்  
 சைய் அளன்  
 கவிய்

The cave (is the gift) of Caiyaḷaṇ of Vintai-ūr.

ILL.            Tracing: Fig. 8.26. Estampage: Pl. 25.

Locus          On the brow of the main cave known as Itaiyaṇ-tarumam on the Karaṭippaṭṭi hill; engraved in three segments.

No. of Segments 3

Length        86 cm. (segments 1 & 2); 25 cm. (segment 3).

Date            ca. 1st century A.D.

Publ.           ARE 59-60/1910; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:52/1966.

CNR:VIIA-C (pp. 370-371); HKS:VIIA-C (pp. 341-342); HTS:13.1 (pp. 55-56, 88-89);

KVS:X (p. 298); KZ:7A-C (p. 21); MSV:5 (pp. 46-47); RN:14.1 (p. 65); RPS:36 (pp. 163-197);

TVM:11b-c (pp. 267-271, Pl. 19 middle & bottom).

## Notes

1. The segments are read from top to bottom as in HKS.
2. *caiyaḷaṇ*. See Commentary for interpretation of the term.
3. Cf. Ta. *kevi*, Ka. and Te. *gavi*, 'cave'.

## MUTTUPPATTI (முத்துப்பாட்டி) - 3

58. A. ti ṭi ka kā ta tā ṇa [ma] . . . ṇa ma e ya . . .

B. tiṭi<sup>1</sup>-k-kāttāṇ [ma] . . . ṇam ey . . .

திடிக் காத்தான் [ம] . . . னம் எய் . . .

Kāttāṇ of Tiṭṭi . . .

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.26. Estampage: Pl. 25.

**Locus** On a stone bed at Pañcapāṇṭavar Paṭukkai in the main cave; badly damaged and mutilated in the middle and the end.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** Approximately 102 cm. (extant).

**Date** ca. 1st century A.D.

**Publ.** ARE 58/1910; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. IM:54/1966.

HTS:13.3 (pp. 55-56, 88-89); RN:14.3 (p. 65); TVM:11a (pp. 267-271, Pl. 19 top).

**Notes**

1. tiṭṭi 'raised ground', here a place name. Cf. tiṭi-il (tiṭṭi-il) (No. 33).

**Figure 8.27. XVIII. JAMBAL**  
**Inscription No. 59**  
**Tracing. Scale: one-sixth.**

## XVIII. JAMBAI (ஜம்பை)

59. A. sa ti ya pu to a ti ya na ne ṭu mā na a ña ci ī ta ta pā ḷi

B. *satiyaputō<sup>1</sup> atiyāṇ neṭumāṇ<sup>2</sup> añci<sup>3</sup> ītta paḷi<sup>4</sup>*

ஸதியபுதோ அதியந் நெடுமாந் அஞ்சி ஈத்த பளி

The hermitage was given by Atiyaṇ Neṭumāṇ Añci, the Satiyaputta.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.27. Estampage: Pl. 26A.

**Locus** On the rear wall of the cave (called Dāsimaḍam) on the Āḷuruttimalai hill; well-preserved. See section 1.6.1 and Fig. 1.12.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 120 cm.

**Date** ca. 1st century A.D.

**Publ.** MSV: Appendix pp. 145-148 (posthumous; added by the Editor).

R. Nagaswamy 1981a & b (with Pl.). K. Selvaraj 1981 (unpublished). K.V. Ramesh 1985: pp. 3-4.

I. Mahadevan 1994a: pp. 116-134 (with Pl.). K. Rajan 1997: p. 309.

**Notes**

1. -puttō. Cf. *satiyaputō* (Pāli) in Asōka's second rock edict. See Commentary for discussion.
2. Read *atiyaṇ neṭumāṇ*. The use of *n* for *ṇ* is a scribal error. See n.5, No. 20. See also section 7.7.2.
3. Cf. Atiyamāṇ Neṭumāṇ Añci celebrated in the Caṅkam literature. The identification was first proposed by Nagaswamy. See section 4.5.1 for discussion.
4. *paḷḷi*. See n.6, No. 52.



**LATE TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS (60-89)**  
**(ca. 2nd-4th Centuries A.D.)**



## XIX. ANAIMALAI (ஆனைமலை)

60. A. L.1 i va ku ṇa ṛa<sup>1</sup> tū u<sup>2</sup> ṛai<sup>3</sup> yu ḷa<sup>4</sup> pā<sup>5</sup> ta na tā ṇa e ri ā<sup>6</sup> ri ta ṇa  
L.2 a ta<sup>7</sup> tu vā yi a ra ṭ<sup>8</sup> ṭa kā yi pa ṇa

B. L.1 iva-<sup>9</sup> kuṇṛatu<sup>10</sup> uṛaiyuḷ<sup>11</sup> patantaṇ<sup>12</sup> ēri āritaṇ  
L.2 attuvāyi<sup>13</sup> araṭṭa kāyipaṇ

L.1 இவகுன்றது உறையுள் பதந்தன் ஏரி ஆரிதன்  
L.2 அத்துவாயி அரட்ட காயிபன்

In the abode (of ascetics) at Ivaṇṇa(m): the venerable Āritaṇ of Ēri (and) Araṭṭa Kāyipaṇ, the expounder of meaning (of the scriptures).

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.28. Estampage: Pl. 26B.

Locus On the brow of the cave near the summit of the Āṇaimalai hill; well-preserved.

No. of lines 2

Length L. 1:205 cm.; L. 2:109 cm.

Date ca. 2nd century A.D.

Publ. ARE 457/1906; ARE 1911-12: Pl. facing p. 50. IM:55/1966.  
CNR:II (p. 366); HKS:II (pp. 333-335); HTS:14 (pp. 56-57, 89); KVS:VI (pp. 294-295);  
KZ:5 (p. 21); MSV:10 (pp. 92-98); RN:11 (pp. 62-63); RPS:37 (pp. 163-197);  
TVM:13 (pp. 274-278, Pl. 22).  
E. Jebarajan and G. Siromoney 1978. I. Mahadevan 1992:pp. 141-167.

## Notes

1. HKS reads *ḍu* and KVS *ṛa*.
2. HKS and KVS also read *u*. I had earlier read this as *ru*.
3. HKS reads *ḍai* and KVS *ṛai*.
4. The character *ḷa* is identified here for the first time by HKS.
5. HKS reads *pā* and KVS *nā*.
6. HKS reads *ā* and KVS *a*.
7. HKS tentatively identified the 'clear dot' after this letter as the *anusvāra*. Rechecking *in situ* has shown it to be only a natural feature, though a *puḷḷi* is linguistically possible here.
8. This is the earliest known occurrence of the *puḷḷi* first identified by Jebarajan and Siromoney. (Basic consonants marked with the *puḷḷi* are transcribed without the 'inherent' medial vowel -a.)
9. *iva-*. Cf. *iha* (AMg.) < *ibha* (Skt.) > *ipam* (Ta.) 'elephant'. TVM and RN identify *iva-kuṇṇa(m)* with Āṇaimalai, the present name of the hill.
10. The suffix *tū* for *tu* (LT -*ttu*) is archaic. Cf. *ni kā mā tū* for *nikamatu* (*nikamattu*) (No. 3).
11. *uṛaiyuḷ* may be construed as *uṛai* + *uḷ* 'in the abode (of ascetics)' or treated as one word, *uṛaiyuḷ* 'abode of ascetics'.
12. *patantaṇ* < *bhadanta* (Pkt.) 'venerable', an honorific prefixed to names of monks (TVM). *pā ta na tā ṇa* (for *patantaṇ*) is archaic for this period. See n.10 above and n.6, No. 52.
13. Read *attavāyi*. Cf. *attha-* (Pkt.) < *artha* (Skt.) 'meaning', and *-vāyi* (AMg.) < *vādin* (Skt.) 'one who expounds' or < *vācin* (Skt.) 'one who recites'. See section 4.9.3 (v).



## XX. PUGALUR (புகளூர்) - 1

61. A. L. 1 *mu<sup>1</sup> tā a ma ṇa ṇa ṇa yā ṛa rū ra ce ṇa kā ya pa ṇa u ṛai ya*  
 L. 2 *ko ā ta ṇa ce la li ru ma po ṛai ma ka ṇa*  
 L. 3 *pe ru ṇa ka ṭu ṇa ko ṇa ma ka ṇa ḷa ṇa*  
 L. 4 *ka ṭu ṇa ko ḷa ṇa ko ā ka a ṛu ta ta ka la<sup>2</sup>*

- B. L. 1 *mutā amaṇṇaṇ<sup>3</sup> yāṛrūr ceṇkāyapaṇ uṛai-y [i\*]*  
 L. 2 *kō ātaṇ cel-l=irumpoṛai makaṇ*  
 L. 3 *peruṇkaṭuṇkōṇ makaṇ [i\*]<sup>4</sup> laṇ-*  
 L. 4 *kaṭuṇkō [i\*]<sup>4</sup> laṇkō āka aṛutta kal*

- L. 1 *முதா அமண்ணன் யாற்றூர் செங்காயபன் உறைய [i\*]*  
 L. 2 *கோ ஆதன் செல்லிரும்பொறை மகன்*  
 L. 3 *பெருங்கடுங்கோன் மகன் [இ\*]ளங்*  
 L. 4 *கடுங்கோ [இ\*]ளங்கோ ஆக அறுத்த கல்*

The abode of the senior Jaina monk, **Ceṇkāyapaṇ** of **Yāṛrūr**. The rock (shelter) was carved when **(I)laṇkaṭuṇkō**, the son of **Peruṇkaṭuṇkōṇ**, the son of King **Ātaṇ Cel Irumpoṛai**,<sup>5</sup> became the heir apparent.

<b>ILL.</b>	Tracing: Fig. 8.29. Direct photograph (computer-enhanced): Pl. 27.
<b>Locus</b>	The lower inscription on the brow of the western cave on the southern face of the Āṛuṇāṭṭārmalai hill; too weather-worn and faint to produce a legible estampage, but clearly visible to the naked eye. See section 1.4.1 and Fig. 1.9.
<b>No. of lines</b>	4
<b>Length</b>	L. 1:156 cm.; L. 2:134 cm.; L. 3:126 cm.; L. 4:142 cm.
<b>Date</b>	ca. 2nd century A.D.
<b>Publ.</b>	ARE 349/1927-28. IM:56/1966. RN:16.2 (pp. 66-74); RPS:38 (pp. 163-197); TVM:14-I (pp. 279-284; Pl. 23). I. Mahadevan 1965a, 1971: pp. 73-106. R. Panneerselvam 1968: pp. 421-425. K.V. Ramesh (in A.Chakravarti 1974):No. 4. K. G. Krishnan 1981a:pp. 24-30.

**Notes**

1. The first letter *mu* was discovered by M.D. Sampath during our field work in 1991.
2. The last letter *la* is engraved in a natural depression in the rock and was discovered during my second attempt in 1966.
3. Cf. *amaṇṇaṇ* (n.1, No. 24). See section 4.9.3 (ii).
4. [i\*] is supplied from the context. Probably the initial vowel *i* was elided in speech. See also n.7, No. 62; n.5, No. 67 and n.3, No. 89.
5. See R. Panneerselvam 1968 and, following him, I. Mahadevan 1971 for the identification of Ātaṇ Cel Irumpoṛai and his successors. See section 4.3.1.

62.

H F V I = C S S P T F U L Z W  
 F P V V J + A X H A J P R  
 + S C F C A + J + S C F C + S C  
 F Z C F F K + K S U H + Z

Figure 8.30. PUGALUR 2  
 Inscription No. 62  
 Tracing. Scale: one-eighth.

## PUGALUR (புகளூர்) - 2

62. A. L. 1 *mū<sup>1</sup> tā ma ṇa ṇa ṇa yā ṛa ṛu ce ṇa kā ya pa ṇa u ṛai ya*  
 L. 2 *ko ā ...<sup>2</sup> la li ru ma pu ṛai ma ka ṇa pe ru ṇa*  
 L. 3 *ka ṭu ṇa ko ṇa ma ka ṇa ka ṭu ṇa ko ṇa ḷa ṇa ka ṭu ṇa*  
 L. 4 *ko ḷa ṇa ko ā ka a ṛu pi ta ka la*

- B. L. 1 *mūtā=maṇṇaṇ<sup>3</sup> yāṛru<sup>4</sup> ceṇkāyapaṇ uṛai-y [/\*]*  
 L. 2 *kō ā[ta\*ṇ\* ce\*]<sup>5</sup> l-l=irumpuṛai<sup>6</sup> makaṇ peruṇ-*  
 L. 3 *kaṭuṇkōṇ makaṇ kaṭuṇkōṇ [i\*]<sup>7</sup> ḷaṇkaṭuṇ-*  
 L. 4 *kō [i\*]<sup>7</sup> ḷaṇkō āka aṛupita<sup>8</sup> kal*

- L. 1 மூதாமண்ணன் யாற்று செங்காயபன் உறைய் [/\*]  
 L. 2 கோ ஆ[த\* ன்\* செ\*]ல்லிரும்புறை மகன் பெருங்  
 L. 3 கடுங்கோன் மகன் கடுங்கோன் [இ\*]ளங்கடுங்  
 L. 4 கோ [இ\*]ளங்கோ ஆக அறுபித கல்

The abode of the senior Jaina monk, Yāṛru Ceṇkāyapaṇ. The rock (shelter) was caused to be carved when Kaṭuṇkōṇ (ḷ)ḷaṇkaṭuṇkō, the son of Peruṇkaṭuṇkōṇ, the son of King Ā(taṇ Ce)l Irumpuṛai, became the heir apparent.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.30. Estampage: Pl. 28.

Locus The upper inscription on the brow of the cave. L. 1 is worn very thin due to weathering. L. 2 is damaged in the middle due to flaking of the stone. The upper inscription seems to have been engraved later than the lower inscription (No. 61) when the height of the drip ledge was increased. See section 1.4.1.

No. of lines 4

Length L. 1:112 cm.; L. 2:107 cm.; L. 3:126 cm.; L. 4: 94 cm.

Date ca. 2nd century A.D.

Publ. ARE B. 297/1963-64 (with Pl.). IM:57/1966.

HTS:15.1(pp. 57-62); RN:16.1 (pp. 66-74); RPS:39 (pp. 163-197).

I. Mahadevan 1971: pp. 73-106. K.G. Krishnan 1981a: pp. 24-30.

## Notes

1. The first letter *mū* was identified by Natana Kasinathan (RN).
2. Three letters have been lost here due to flaking of the stone.
3. *mūtāmaṇṇaṇ* is construed as *mūtā* + *amaṇṇaṇ*. Cf. *mutā amaṇṇaṇ* (No. 61).
4. Cf. *yāṛrūr* (Nos. 61 & 63). The present form may be an abbreviation of the place name.
5. The lost letters have been restored from the evidence of the near-identical passage in the adjacent inscription (No. 61).
6. *irumpuṛai* is a variant of *irumpoṛai*. This variant occurs on some of the copper coins of the dynasty found at Karur (Fig. 1.22C). Cf. n.5, No. 61. See section 4.3.2.
7. [i\*] supplied from the context. See n.4, No. 61.
8. *aṛuppitta*.

63.  
 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

Figure 8.31. PUGALUR 3  
 Inscription No. 63  
 Tracing. Scale: one-fifth.

## PUGALUR (புகளூர்) - 3

63. A. L. 1 yā ra rū ra ce ũa kā ya pa ũa  
 L. 2 [t]ā<sup>1</sup> va ũa ũ ra<sup>2</sup> pa pi ũa a ũa ku ra ra ũa  
 L. 3 ũa a ru pi ta ta a ti ũa ũa ma

- B. L. 1 yārrūr cenkāyapaṇ [/\*]  
 L. 2 [t]āvaṇ-ūr-p-piṇ-aṇ<sup>3</sup> kurraṇ-  
 L. 3 ṇ<sup>4</sup> aruppitta<sup>5</sup> atittāṇam<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1 யாற்றூர் செங்காயபன்[/\*]  
 L. 2 [த]ாவண்ணூர்ப் பின்அன் குற்றன்  
 L. 3 ன் அறுபித்த அதிட்டானம்

(To) Cenkāyapaṇ of Yārrūr. The seat was caused to be carved by Piṇṇaṇ Kurraṇ of Tāvaṇūr.

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ILL.	Tracing: Fig. 8.31. Estampage: Pl. 28.
Locus	On the stone bed at left inside the cave; worn out by prolonged occupation and barely visible. (See Fig. 1.10.)
No. of lines	3
Length	L. 1 & 2: 51 cm. each; L. 3: 42 cm.
Date	ca. 2nd century A.D.
Publ.	ARE 342 [A]/1927-28. IM: 60/1966. HTS: 15.5 (pp. 57-62); RN: 16.3 (pp. 66-74); TVM: 14-III (left) (pp. 279-284, Pl. 24 middle).

## Notes

1. The lower portion of the letter is damaged.
2. There is a small circular depression between the 5th and 6th letters in L. 2.
3. piṇṇaṇ 'younger brother', here as a personal name.
4. The doubling of ṇ indicates sandhi with the vowel of the following word, which is, however, written separately. See section 6.17.4.
5. aruppitta.
6. See n.10, No. 49.

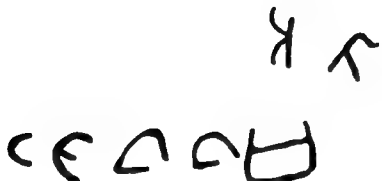
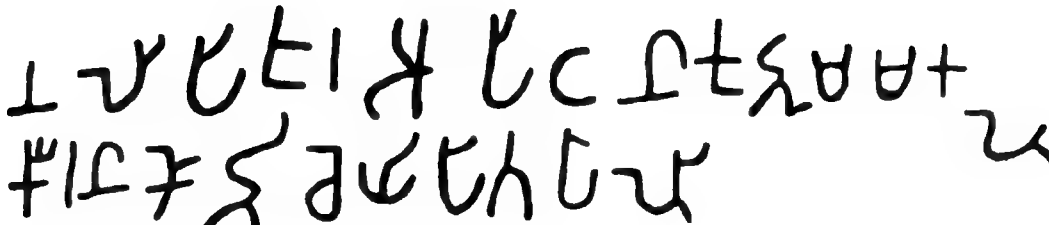
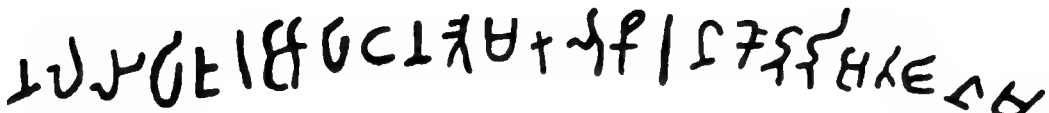
64. 
65. 
66. 

Figure 8.32. PUGALUR 4-6

Inscriptions Nos. 64-66

Tracings. Scale: one-fifth (No. 64), one-eighth (Nos. 65 &amp; 66).

## PUGALUR (புகளூர்) - 4

64. A. L. 1 . . . a ti  
L. 2 ṭa ṭā ṇa ṇa ma

B. L. 1 . . . ati-  
L. 2 ṭṭāṇṇam<sup>1</sup>

L. 1 . . . அதி  
L. 2 ட் டாண்னம்

The seat . . .

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.32. Estampage: Pl. 29.

**Locus** On the stone bed at right inside the cave; almost completely worn down to bare rock leaving only the last word visible. See Fig. 1.10.

**No. of lines** 2

**Length** L. 1: approximately 8 cm. (extant); L. 2: 22 cm.

**Date** ca. 2nd century A.D.

**Publ.** ARE 342 [B]/1927-28. IM:61/1966.

HTS:15. 6 (pp. 57-62); RN:16.4 (pp. 66-74);

TVM:14-III (right) (pp. 279-284; Pl. 24 middle).

**Notes**

1. Read *atiṭṭāṇam*.

## PUGALUR (புகளூர்) - 5

65. A. L. 1 na li [ya]<sup>1</sup> ū ra ā pi ta ṇa ku ru ma ma ka ḷa<sup>2</sup>  
 L. 2 kī ra ṇa ko<sup>3</sup> ri ce yi pi ta pā ḷi

B. L. 1 nali-[y]-ūr-ā<sup>4</sup> piṭṭaṇ<sup>5</sup> kuṛummakaḷ<sup>6</sup>  
 L. 2 kīraṇ koṛi<sup>7</sup> ceyipita<sup>8</sup> paḷi<sup>9</sup>

L. 1 நலி[ய்]ஊர்ஆ பிடன் குறும்மகள்  
 L. 2 கீரன் கொறி செயிபித பளி

The hermitage was caused to be made by **Kīraṇ Koṛri**, the young daughter of **Piṭṭaṇ** of **Nalliyūr**.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.32. Estampage: Pl. 29.

**Locus** To the left of the entrance to the eastern cave on the southern face of the hill; engraved on rough surface and weather-beaten; worn thin but legible.

**No. of lines** 2

**Length** L. 1:118 cm; L. 2:79 cm.

**Date** ca. 2nd century A.D.

**Publ.** ARE B. 296/1963-64. IM:59/1966.  
 HTS:15.3 (pp. 57-62); MSV:17.3 (pp. 137-141);  
 RN:16.12 (pp. 66-74); RPS:41 (pp. 163-197).

**Notes**

1. This letter which looks like *pi* is an unusual variant of *y*. See n. 6, No. 55. Similar variations of *y* looking like *pi* or *pe* have been noticed more recently on pottery inscriptions. See section 5.11: *y* and Palaeographic Chart 7. See also No. 6, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.20 C.
2. This letter is engraved below the line to avoid the uneven and rough rock surface here.
3. I had earlier incorrectly copied this letter as *nō*. It is *ko* as pointed out by MSV.
4. *nalli*-. Cf. *nalli*- (No. 66). -ā is the genitive suffix. Cf. *kuvirā* (No. 23) and *nalli-y-ūr-ā* (No. 66). See Commentary for discussion.
5. *piṭṭaṇ*. Cf. *Piṭṭaṇ*, N. of a chieftain. See section 4.5.2.
6. Cf. LT *kuṛumakaḷ* 'daughter, young woman'. Alternatively, this may be construed as two words *kuṛum makaḷ* 'young daughter'.
7. *koṛri*. Cf. *koṛri* (No. 66). Cf. LT *koṛri*. 'goddess of victory', occurring here as a personal name.
8. *ceyipitta*. Cf. LT *ceyvitta*.
9. *paḷi*. See n.6, No. 52.

## PUGALUR (புகளூர்) - 6

66. A.      na la li [ya]<sup>1</sup> ū ra ā pi ṭa na tai ma ka ḷa  
              kī ra ṇa ko ṛa ṛi<sup>2</sup> a ti ṭā ṇa ma

B.          nalli-[y]-ūr-ā piṭantai<sup>3</sup> makaḷ<sup>4</sup>  
              kīraṇ korri atitāṇam<sup>5</sup>

நல்லி[ய்]ஊர்ஆ பிடந்தை மகள்  
 கிரன் கொற்றி அதிடானம்

The seat (is the gift) of Kīraṇ Korri, the daughter of Piṭṭantai of Nalliyūr.

ILL.          Tracing: Fig. 8.32. Estampage: Pl. 30.

Locus        Above the stone bed in the cave.

No. of lines 1

Length      116 cm.

Date         ca. 2nd century A.D.

Publ.        ARE 346/1927-28. IM:58/1966.

HTS:15.4 (pp. 57-62); MSV:17.2 (pp. 134-137); RN:16.11 (pp. 66-74);

RPS:40 (pp. 163-197); TVM:14-VII (pp. 279-284, Pl. 25, 3rd from top).

## Notes

1. An unusual variant of *y*. See n.1, No. 65.
2. The *-i* medial stroke of this letter is engraved on the ledge above the stone bed.
3. *piṭṭantai*. *pi(t)ṭaṇ* and *pi(t)ṭantai* occurring in near-identical adjacent inscriptions (Nos. 65 & 66) are variants of the same name. See Commentary. See also n.9, No. 3 and n.1, No. 29.
4. *makaḷ* 'daughter' (as in RN and RPS).
5. *atitāṇam*. The occurrence of this word was first noticed by M.D. Sampath during our field work in 1991. The expressions *paḷli* and *atitāṇam* refer respectively to the 'cave' and 'stone bed' in it, as indicated by the locations of Nos. 65 & 66. See also n.10, No. 49 and n.11, No. 76.

67.

𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕  
 𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕

68.

𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕

69.

𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕  
 𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕

Figure 8.33. PUGALUR 7-9  
Inscriptions Nos. 67-69  
Tracings. Scale: one-fifth.

## PUGALUR (புகளூர்) - 7

67. A. L. 1 ko r<sup>1</sup> ra na tai la va<sup>2</sup> [ṇa]<sup>3</sup> . . .  
L. 2 mu<sup>4</sup> ṇ<sup>1</sup> ru

B. L. 1 kor<sup>1</sup>rantai [i\*]<sup>5</sup> la<sup>1</sup>va[ṇ] . . .  
L. 2 mu<sup>1</sup>ṇru<sup>6</sup>

L. 1 கொற்றந்தை [இ\*]ளவ[ன்] . . .  
L. 2 முன்று

The forecourt<sup>7</sup> (is the gift) of Kor<sup>1</sup>rantai (I)la<sup>1</sup>vaṇ.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.33. Estampage: Pl. 30.

Locus On the first stone bed (from left) outside the western cave on the southern face of the hill. The top layer of the rock floor has sheared off carrying away part of the first line.

No. of lines 2

Length L. 1: approximately 41 cm. (extant); L. 2: 15 cm.

Date ca. 3rd century A.D.

Publ. ARE 344/1927-28. IM: 65/1966.

HTS: 15.9 (pp. 57-62); RN: 16.9 (pp. 66-74);

TVM: 14-V (pp. 279-284, Pl. 25 top).

## Notes

1. These two letters are marked by the *pulli* (one of them in L.2 noticed earlier by RN). I was hesitant to accept the claim as the rock surface is heavily pitted here (I. Mahadevan 1992). However, subsequent verification by our team *in situ* has confirmed the two *pulli* marks.
2. TVM and RN read *e*.
3. This letter is damaged and the rest of the line is lost. The three short horizontal lines seen to the upper left of this letter seem to be later scratches.
4. The reading is *mu* as pointed out by RN.
5. [i\*] is supplied from the context. See n.4, No. 61; n.7, No. 62 and n.3, No. 89.
6. As in RN. Cf. LT *muṇṇil*.
7. The 'forecourt' is apparently the spacious rock floor with a number of stone beds outside the cave.

## PUGALUR (புகளூர்) - 8

68. A. . . . a ti ṭa ṭā ṇa ma

B. . . . atittāṇam<sup>1</sup>

. . . அதிட்டானம்

The seat . . .

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.33. Estampage: Pl. 31.

**Locus** On the second stone bed outside the cave. The top layer of the rock floor has sheared off carrying away most of the inscription.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** Approximately 28 cm. (extant).

**Date** ca. 3rd century A.D.

**Publ.** ARE 341/1927-28. IM:62/1966.

RN:16.5 (pp. 66-74); TVM:14-II (pp. 279-284, Pl. 24 top).

**Notes**

1. Only the last word of the inscription has survived.

## PUGALUR (புகளூர்) - 9

69. A. L. 1 ka ru ū ra po ṇa vā ṇi ka ṇa  
L. 2 na<sup>1</sup> t<sup>2</sup> ti a ti ṭ<sup>2</sup> ṭā ṇa ma

B. L. 1 karu-ūr<sup>3</sup> poṇ-vāṇikaṇ  
L. 2 natti<sup>4</sup> atittāṇam

L. 1 கருஊர் பொன் வாணிகன்  
L. 2 நத்தி அதிட்டானம்

The seat (is the gift) of Natti, the gold merchant from Karu-ūr.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.33. Estampage: Pl. 31.

Locus On the third stone bed outside the cave.

No. of lines 2

Length L. 1: 55 cm.; L. 2: 57 cm.

Date ca. 3rd century A.D.

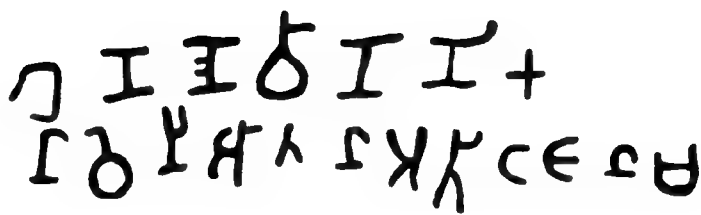
Publ. ARE 343/1927-28. IM:66/1966.

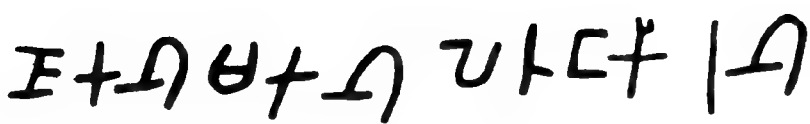
HTS:15.10 (pp. 57-62); MSV:17.1 (pp. 132-134); RN:16.10 (pp. 66-74);

RPS:42 (pp. 163-197); TVM:14-IV (pp. 279-284, Pl. 24 bottom).

## Notes

1. TVM reads *ne* and MSV *po*.
2. The *puḷḷi* marks above these two letters were spotted by M.D. Sampath and myself during our field work in 1991. (Two other *puḷḷi* marks mentioned by TVM as occurring with the 6th and 10th letters in the first line could not be confirmed by us.)
3. Cf. LT *karuvūr* (modern Karūr), the ancient capital of the Irumporai branch of the Cēra dynasty during the Caṅkam Age. See section 4.20.4 (iii).
4. Reading according to RN and RPS.

70. 

72. 

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Figure 8.34. PUGALUR 10 & 12  
 Inscriptions Nos. 70 & 72  
 Tracings. Scale: one-fifth (No. 70), one-eighth (No. 72).

## PUGALUR (புகளூர்) - 10

70. A. L. 1 e<sup>1</sup> ṇa ṇai<sup>1</sup> vā ṇa ṇi ka  
L. 2 ṇa ve<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> ā ta ṇa a ti ṭa ṭā ṇa ma

- B. L. 1 eṇṇai<sup>4</sup>-vāṇṇika-  
L. 2 ṇ<sup>5</sup> veni<sup>6</sup> ātaṇ atitṭāṇam

- L. 1 எண்ணை வாண்ணிக  
L. 2 ன் வெநி ஆதன் அதிட்டானம்

The seat (is the gift) of Venṇi Ātaṇ, the oil merchant.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.34. Estampage: Pl. 32.

Locus On the fourth stone bed outside the cave.

No. of lines 2

Length L. 1:37 cm.; L. 2:42 cm.

Date ca. 3rd century A.D.

Publ. ARE 345 [A]/1927-28. IM:63/1966.

HTS:15.7 (pp. 57-62); RN:16.6 & 16.7 (pp. 66-74);

TVM:14-VI (1) (pp. 279-284, Pl. 25, 2nd from top; segment at left).

## Notes

1. These two letters were identified by V. Vedachalam and C. Santhalingam when we copied the inscription again in 1992.
2. RN reads *tē*.
3. TVM and RN read *nā*.
4. Cf. LT *eṇṇey*, (inscr.) *eṇṇai* 'oil'.
5. Read *-vāṇikaṇ*.
6. Read *veṇi* (*veṇṇi*), a personal name. Cf. *ven* (*veṇ*) in No. 20. Cf. LT *veṇṇi*, Ma. *venni* 'victory'. See n.5, No. 20.

## PUGALUR (புகளூர்) - 11

71. A. L. 1 ...  
 L. 2 **pe** ...  
 L. 3 **ka ṇa** ...  
 L. 4 **ma ka** ...  
 L. 5 **ḷa vā** ...

- L. 1 ...  
 L. 2 பெ ...  
 L. 3 கண் ...  
 L. 4 மக ...  
 L. 5 ளவா ...

---

**ILL.** --

**Locus** On the fifth and last stone bed outside the cave. The top layer of the rock floor has sheared off carrying away most of the inscription, leaving only a few letters.

**No. of lines** 5

**Length** --

**Date** ca. 3rd century A.D.

**Publ.** ARE 345[B]/1927-28. IM:64/1966.

HTS:15.8 (pp. 57-62); RN:16.8 (pp. 66-74);

TVM:14-VI(2) (pp. 279-284, Pl. 25, 2nd from top; segment at right).

**Notes**

Too fragmentary for translation.

## PUGALUR (புகளூர்) - 12

72. A.        *ṇā ka ṇa ma ka ṇa<sup>1</sup> pe<sup>2</sup> ru<sup>3</sup> ṇa kī ra ṇa<sup>1</sup>*

B.        *ṇākaṇ<sup>4</sup> makaṇ peruṅkīraṇ<sup>5</sup>*

ணாகன் மகன் பெருங்கிரன்

**Peruṅkīraṇ**, the son of **ṇākaṇ**.

**ILL.**        Tracing: Fig. 8.34. Estampage: Pl. 32.

**Locus**        On a stone bed in the cave called Cūlāmaṇi on the northern face of the hill.

**No. of lines**    1

**Length**        89 cm.

**Date**        ca. 3rd century A.D.

**Publ.**        ARE 347/1927-28. IM:67/1966.

*HTS*:15.11 (pp. 57-62); *RN*:North Cave 1 (pp. 66-74);

*RPS*:43 (pp. 163-197); *TVM*:14-VIII (pp. 279-284, Pl. 25 bottom).

**Notes**

1. These two letters are cut across by chisel marks which do not appear to be part of the inscription. They have probably been tampered with, when the adjacent inscription in modern Tamil characters was engraved.
2. I had earlier read this letter as *ḷa*.
3. I had earlier missed this letter.
4. Cf. LT *ṇākaṇ*. The use of *ṇ* for *n* is due to the influence of Pkt. Cf. *vaccaṇanti* (No. 115).
5. Reading according to TVM; verified *in situ* at the time of checking the inscription.

73.  
 𐎧𐎥𐎢𐎥  
 𐎧𐎥𐎢𐎥  
 𐎧𐎥𐎢𐎥  
 𐎧𐎥𐎢𐎥

Figure 8.35. XXI. MAMANDUR  
 Inscription No. 73  
 Tracing. Scale: one-eighth.

## XXI. MAMANDUR (மாமண்டூர்)

73. A. L. 1 *ka<sup>1</sup> ṇi mā<sup>1</sup> ṇa<sup>2</sup>*  
 L. 2 *te<sup>3</sup> ṇū ra ta na ta ko ṇa ku ṇa ru<sup>4</sup> ā<sup>5</sup> ci*  
 L. 3 *ce<sup>6</sup> yi tā ṇa ta ca ṇa ci ru*  
 L. 4 *...<sup>7</sup> va ṇa*

- B. L. 1 *kaṇimāṇ*  
 L. 2 *tēṇūr tanta kōṇ kunru [ʃ] āci<sup>8</sup>*  
 L. 3 *ceyitāṇ tacan<sup>9</sup> ciṇu-*  
 L. 4 *... vaṇ*

- L. 1 கணிமான்  
 L. 2 தேனூர் தந்த கோன் குன்று [ʃ]ஆசி  
 L. 3 செயிதான் தசன் சிறு  
 L. 4 ... வன்

The hill of **Kaṇimāṇ**, the chieftain, who took **Tēṇūr**. **Ciṇu . . . vaṇ**, the carpenter, made the props.<sup>10</sup>

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.35. Estampage: Pl. 33.

**Locus** Below two square post holes cut on the brow of the cave on the hill to north of the Pallava rock-cut shrines. L. 1 is engraved at a higher level. The beginning of L. 4 is damaged.

**No. of lines** 4

**Length** L. 1:39 cm.; L. 2:116 cm.; L. 3:83 cm.; L. 4: approximately 17 cm. (extant).

**Date** ca. 3rd century A.D.

**Publ.** ARE 171/1939-40. IM:71/1966.

HTS:18 (pp. 62-63, 89-90); RN:17 (pp. 74-75);

RPS:44 (pp. 163-197); TVM:16 (pp. 288-289, Pl. 27).

**Notes**

1. The Southern Brāhmī characters of ca. 3rd century A.D. for *k* and *m* occur in L. 1. See n.1, No. 84.
2. The vertical part of the letter has a pronounced curve. It is cut across in the middle by a cleft in the rock. This probably misled TVM into reading this letter as *ṭo*.
3. The vertical of the letter is cut across diagonally by a cleft in the rock.
4. There is a gap of about 15 cm. after this letter. There is a deep cleft here; the two letters after the cleft, covered by thick moss, were missed during my earlier copying.
5. TVM reads *ma*.
6. The letter is engraved twice, one below the other, but the upper one is erased.
7. There is a damaged letter here which cannot be identified as the lower portion is broken off.
8. Cf. LT *ācu* 'prop, support'; *āsi* (AMg.) 'support'.
9. *taccan* 'carpenter'.
10. 'for the canopy' is understood, as indicated by the two large square post holes above the inscription.



## XXII. KUNNAKKUDI (குன்னக்குடி) - 1

74. A.       $kā^1 pi \bar{u}^2 r^3 ā ta \eta a cā t^3 tā^4 \eta a$ B.       $kāpi-ūr^5 āta\eta cāttā\eta^6$ 

காபிஊர் ஆதன் சாத்தான்

Ātaṇ Cāttaṇ of Kāppi-ūr.

ILL.      Tracing: Fig. 8.36A. Estampage: Pl. 34A.

Locus      Inscription at left on the brow of the cave called Nāṇiyārmaṭam to the west of the Subrahmanya temple on the hill. It runs from left to right, but the letters are engraved upside down. The illustrations are printed in the normal orientation. See section 5.8 on direction of writing. The inscription is legible and not 'much damaged' as stated in ARE.

No. of lines    1

Length      105 cm.

Date      ca. 3rd century A.D.

Publ.      ARE 44/1909; ARE 1917-18:Pl. facing p. 6. *SII*. XXVI:No. 45. IM:69/1966.  
 HTS:17.1 (p. 62); MSV: 3(pp. 40-42); RN:15.1 (pp. 65-66); TVM:15 (pp. 285-287, Pl. 26).  
 T.V. Mahalingam 1958: pp. 5-7.

## Notes

1. The first letter was partly hidden under mortar which was scraped off by our team in 1992.
2. The three dots shown with this letter in the eye copy by TVM are not seen *in situ*.
3. The *puḷḷi* marks with these two letters came to light when the rock surface was cleaned. The *puḷḷi* is placed in each case to the right of the respective letter in the middle of the line.
4. The letter is *tā* and not *ta* as copied by me earlier and in TVM's eye copy.
5. *kāppi*-. Cf. LT *kāppi-yāṇru kāppiyaṇ-ār*.
6. Read *cāttaṇ*. It is possible that the orthography is archaic. See n.6, No. 52.

## KUNNAKKUDI (குன்னக்குடி) - 2

75. A.        ū ru tu ...

B.        ūru ' tu ...

ஊறு து ...

The spring ...

**ILL.**        Tracing: Fig. 8.36A (inscription incomplete).**Locus**        Inscription at right on the brow of the cave (mostly built in, with only the first word seen fully). This inscription is probably a continuation of the one to the left (No. 74) even though there is a large gap in between. Reading revised after further cleaning of the rock to the extent possible in 1992.**No. of lines** 1**Length**        Approximately 30 cm. (visible portion).**Date**        ca. 3rd century A.D.**Publ.**        IM:70/1966.*HTS*:17.2 (p. 62); *RN*:15.2 (pp. 65-66).**Notes**

1. ūru 'spring'. This refers probably to the square rock-cut well seen outside the cave.

## XXIII. TONDUR (தொண்டூர்)

76. A. L. 1 [i]<sup>1</sup> [a]<sup>2</sup> n̄<sup>3</sup> k̄ā yi pa ṇa e va a ka [a]<sup>4</sup> ū<sup>5</sup> ra ṇa<sup>6</sup> ma  
L. 2 mo ci ce yi ta a ti ṭā ṇa ma 3<sup>7</sup>

B. L. 1 [i]ṭaṇkāyipaṇ ēva akaḷ-ūr=aṇam [/\*]  
L. 2 mōci ceyita<sup>8</sup> aṭṭāṇam<sup>9</sup> 3

L. 1 [இ]ளங்காயிபன் ஏவ அகழ்ஊரம் [/\*]  
L. 2 மோசி சேயித அதிடானம் 3

The charity by Akaḷūr (was endowed)<sup>10</sup> at the bidding of ṭaṇkāyipaṇ. Three seats<sup>11</sup> were made by Mōci.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.36B. Estampage: Pl. 34B.

Locus On the rock floor outside the cave known as Pañcaṇārpaṭi on the hill to the south of the village; weather-worn and faint.

No. of lines 2

Length L. 1:111 cm.; L. 2:102 cm.

Date ca. 3rd century A.D.

Publ. Natana Kasinathan 1991(with Pl.). M. Chandiramurthy 1992: pp. 1-3.

I. Mahadevan 1994a: pp. 116-134 (with Pl.). M.D. Sampath 1994: pp. 91-95 (with eye copy).

## Notes

1. Very faintly seen; omitted by Natana Kasinathan and Chandiramurthy; read doubtfully as *e* by me earlier. The letter has been identified as *i* by Sampath.
2. Natana Kasinathan and Chandiramurthy read *sa* and Sampath *ḷa*.
3. The *puḷḷi* is placed inside the letter.
4. Natana Kasinathan reads *sa*, Chandiramurthy *ḷ*, and Sampath *ḷ*.
5. A slanting cleft cuts across this letter.
6. The letter is reversed by scribal error.
7. The numeral 3 comprises three horizontal parallel lines.
8. Cf. LT *ceyta*.
9. *aṭṭāṇam*.
10. Collectively by the village.
11. The phrase 'three seats' corresponds to the three stone beds seen in the cave, proving that the expression *aṭṭāṇam* refers to a 'stone bed'. See also n.10, No. 49 and n.5, No. 66.



## XXIV. KUDUMIYAMALAI (குடுமியாமலை)

77. A.        *nā la ʔ<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> ra ra n<sup>1</sup> ta ya pa ...<sup>2</sup> ya<sup>3</sup>*

B.        *nāla<sup>4</sup> kor<sup>5</sup>rantay<sup>5</sup> pa[li\*]<sup>6</sup>-y<sup>7</sup>*

நாழள் கொற்றந்தய் ப[ளி\*]ய்

The hermitage (is the gift) of Kor<sup>5</sup>rantai of Nā<sup>4</sup>la.

**ILL.**        Tracing: Fig. 8.37A. Estampage: Pl. 35A.

**Locus**      On the large stone bed in the cave on the south-western slope of the hill; worn out and faint due to prolonged occupation.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length**     43 cm.

**Date**        ca. 3rd century A.D.

**Publ.**        C. Santhalingam 1981: p. 133; 1999a:pp. 1-3. (with Pl.).

**Notes**

1. The *pu* is marked to the left of the respective letters. Note the *pu* in *ko* to indicate the short medial vowel-o. See Nos. 102 & 104 for other examples.
2. A letter is completely worn down here.
3. The scratch on the rock surface seen to the top right of this letter is not part of the writing as verified *in situ*.
4. Read *nāla*. Cf. LT *nāla* / *nāla* 'a flowering tree'. The word occurs here as a place name.
5. Variant of *kor<sup>5</sup>rantai* (No. 67). Cf. *matiray* (No. 36) for *matirai* (No. 24).
6. *[li\*]* restored from the context.
7. *pa*!

## XXV. TIRUCHIRAPALLI - A (திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி - அ)

78. A. . . .<sup>1</sup> pa ṇa ke<sup>2</sup>B. . . . paṇkē<sup>3</sup>

. . . பன்கே

To . . . paṇ.

ILL. Estampage: Pl. 35B.

Locus On the northern face of the Rockfort hill in the passage to the cave on the western side (see Fig. 1.15). The inscription is lost. Edited from an old and not very legible estampage.

No. of lines 1

Length --

Date ca. 3rd century A.D.

Publ. ARE 139/1937-38. IM:68/1966.

HTS: 16 (pp. 62, 89).

## Notes

1. The first three or four letters in the estampage are too illegible to be made out.
2. The last three letters are read tentatively.
3. The reading *ku pa ga gha ri* in ARE seems to suggest that the inscription has been read upside down.

## XXVI. EDAKAL - A (எடகல் - அ) - 1

79. A. o pa ṇa<sup>1</sup> pa vi ra aB. opaṇapa<sup>2</sup> vira-a<sup>3</sup>

ஒபனப விரஅ

(The writing<sup>4</sup>) of Oppaṇappa Vira(ṇ).**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.37B. Estampage: Pl. 36.**Locus** The first inscription (from left) on the north rock wall of the Edakal cave with prehistoric carvings. See section 1.2.2.**No. of lines** 1**Length** 59 cm.**Date** ca. 3rd century A.D.**Publ.** I. Mahadevan and S. Swaminathan 1998:pp. 20-29 (with Pl.). I. Mahadevan 1999:pp. 1-19 (with Pl.).**Notes**

1. The letter appears to be ṇa, even though there is a superfluous stroke at lower left.
2. opaṇappa (oppaṇ=appa). Cf. LT oppu 'beauty'; -apa- (-appa-) from appaṇ, honorific suffix (masc.).
3. Read vira-a. The genitive suffix -a is added after elision of the PNG suffix -aṇ.
4. From the context, as no votive objects are associated with the inscription in this cave.

80. 

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Figure 8.38. EDAKAL-A 2  
Inscription No. 80  
Tracing. Scale: one-sixth.

## EDAKAL - A (எடகல் - அ) - 2

80. A. ka ṭu ma mi<sup>1</sup> pu<sup>2</sup> ta ce ra \$<sup>3</sup>

B. kaṭummiputa<sup>4</sup> cēra<sup>5</sup>

கடும்மிபுத சேர

Kaṭumiputta, the Cēra.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.38. Estampage: Pl. 37.

**Locus** The second inscription on the north rock wall of the cave.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length** 81 cm.

**Date** ca. 3rd century A.D.

**Publ.** I. Mahadevan and S. Swaminathan 1998:pp. 20-29 (with Pl.). I. Mahadevan 1999:pp. 1-19 (with Pl.).

**Notes**

1. The -i medial stroke is added to the left limb of the letter.
2. The tall vertical line seen between the 4th and 5th letters is apparently part of the earlier rock carvings which fill the walls of this cave.
3. A symbol, probably the palm tree, insignia of the Cēra dynasty. See section 5.18.
4. A hybrid Tamil-Prakrit expression. Cf. LT *kaṭumāṇ*. Cf. *satīyaputō* (No. 59). See Commentary for discussion.
5. The earliest inscriptional occurrence of the dynastic name *cēra*. See section 4.3.3.

## EDAKAL - A (எடகல் - அ) - 3

81. A. ko pū ti vi ra

B. kō pūti' vira<sup>2</sup>

கோ பூதி விர

Pūti Vīra, the chieftain.

**ILL.** Estampage: Pl. 37 (Nos. 81-82, left segment).**Locus** The third inscription on the north rock wall of the cave. The inscription has been obliterated by modern graffiti scribbled over it on the soft rock. Edited from the estampage by E. Hultzsch published in Fawcett 1901. See section 1.2.2 and Fig. 1.3.**No. of lines** 1**Length** See scale in Fawcett 1901.**Date** ca. 3rd century A.D.**Publ.** ARE 123 [A]/1897. *SII*. VI:No. 77 [A].

F. Fawcett 1901:Estampage No. 4 (left); Pl. VI, Fig. 1 (left).

I. Mahadevan and S. Swaminathan 1998: pp. 20-29. I. Mahadevan 1999: pp. 1-19 (with Pl.).

**Notes**

1. Cf. *bhūti* (Skt.).
2. Read *vīra*.

## EDAKAL - A (எடகல் - அ) - 4

82. A. ko [v]ā<sup>1</sup> tā ṇa<sup>2</sup>B. kō-[v]=ātāṇ<sup>3</sup>

கோ [வ]டதான்

Ātaṇ, the king.

**ILL.** Estampage: Pl. 37 (Nos. 81-82, right segment).**Locus** The fourth inscription on the north rock wall of the cave. A deep slanting cleft forms a natural dividing line between Nos. 81 & 82. This inscription has also been obliterated by modern graffiti scribbled over it on the soft rock. Edited from the estampage by E. Hultzsch published in Fawcett 1901.**No. of lines** 1**Length** See scale in Fawcett 1901.**Date** ca. 3rd century A.D.**Publ.** ARE 123[B]/1897. *SII*. VI:No. 77[B].

F. Fawcett 1901:Estampage No. 4 (right); Pl. VI, Fig. 1 (right).

I. Mahadevan and S. Swaminathan 1998: pp. 20-29. I. Mahadevan 1999: pp. 1-19 (with Pl.).

**Notes**

1. The second letter is engraved over the earlier rock carvings.
2. The last letter is engraved at a higher register to avoid the earlier rock carving seen just below.
3. Read -ātāṇ. Cf. kō ātaṇ (Nos. 61 & 62). See section 4.3.3. It is possible that the orthography is archaic. See n.6, No. 52.

83.

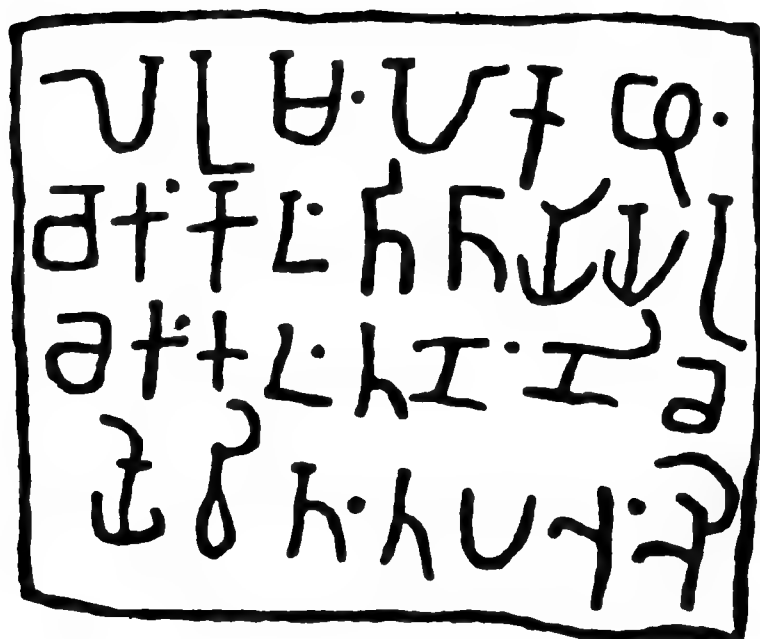


Figure 8.39. XXVII. NEKANURPATTI

Inscription No. 83

Tracing. Scale: one-fifth.

## XXVII. NEKANURPATTI (நேகனூர்பட்டி)

83. A. L. 1 *pe<sup>1</sup> ru m<sup>2</sup> po ka l<sup>3</sup>*  
 L. 2 *ce k ka n ti tā yi ya ru<sup>4</sup>*  
 L. 3 *ce k ka n ta ṇ ṇi ce*  
 L. 4 *yi vi t ta pa l<sup>5</sup> ḷi*

- B. L. 1 *perumpokaḷ<sup>6</sup>*  
 L. 2 *cē-k-kanti<sup>7</sup> tāyiyaru<sup>8</sup>*  
 L. 3 *cē-k-kant=anṇi<sup>9</sup> ce-*  
 L. 4 *yivitta<sup>10</sup> paḷḷi*

- L. 1 பெரும்பொகழ்  
 L. 2 சேக்கந்தி தாயியரு  
 L. 3 சேக்கந்தண்ணி செ  
 L. 4 யிவித்த பள்ளி

The hermitage was caused to be made by Cēkkant(i)-anṇi, the mother of Cēkkanti of Perumpokaḷ.<sup>11</sup>

ILL.	Tracing: Fig. 8.39. Estampage: Pl. 38.
Locus	On the south face of the rock (known as Aṭukkaṇkal) outside the cave. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular border; weather-beaten and worn thin, but legible.
No. of lines	4
Size	55 x 44 cm. (rectangular border); each line is approximately 50 cm. in length.
Date	ca. 4th century A.D.
Publ.	<i>Dinamani</i> , Chennai, March 26, 1992 (with Pl.). I. Mahadevan 1994a: pp. 116-134 (with Pl.). M.D. Sampath 1994: pp. 91-95 (with eye copy). S. Rajavelu 1995a: pp. 7-8 (with eye copy). K. Rajan 1997: pp. 289-290.

## Notes

1. A circular depression preceding the first letter was earlier mistaken by me for the symbol *siddham*.
2. The inscription is notable for the occurrence of the *puḷḷi* with all the nine basic consonants.
3. Sampath reads *l* and Rajavelu *y*.
4. Sampath reads *ū* and Rajavelu *ru*.
5. A late form of *l* (not reversed as I thought earlier).
6. Lit., '(of) great fame', but here a place name (same as modern Perumpugai near the site, with Jaina stone beds on the local hillock) (K. Rajan 1997: p. 290). See Table 4.3.
7. A personal name (fem.). The suffix *-kanti* denotes that she was a Jaina nun. The expression *kanti* (*ganti*) occurs frequently in early Kannada inscriptions. See section 4.9.4 (ii).
8. Note the occurrence of Ka. *tāyiyaru* corresponding to Ta. *tāyar*, *tāyār*. See section 3.2.4.
9. *cēkkantaṇṇi* is construed as *cē-k-kant(i) + anṇi*. Cf. *cēkkanti* in L. 2. Apparently mother and daughter, both Jaina nuns, had the same name. *-anṇi*: honorific suffix (fem.).
10. Cf. LT *ceyvitta*. The donor was a Jaina nun. See No. 41 for another instance.
11. Cf. Nos. 49, 115 & 116 for early contacts with Jainism in Karnataka. See section 3.2.4.

84.

၁၂၁၀-၁၂၁၁-၁၂၁၂-၁၂၁၃-၁၂၁၄-  
 ၁၂၁၅-၁၂၁၆-၁၂၁၇-၁၂၁၈-၁၂၁၉-

Figure 8.40. XXVIII. AMMANKOYILPATTI  
 Inscription No. 84  
 Tracing. Scale: one-eighth.

## XXVIII. AMMANKOYILPATTI (அம்மன்கோயில்பட்டி)

84.<sup>1</sup> A. L. 1 pa<sup>2</sup> ra ma<sup>3</sup> pa ṇa ko kū ra ki l[ā]<sup>4</sup> ra ma ka ṇa vi ya ka ka ṇa  
L. 2 ko pa ṇa ka ṇa te<sup>5</sup> va ṇa to<sup>5</sup> ṭa cu ṇai

B. L. 1 parampaṇ-kōkūr<sup>6</sup> kiḷ[ā]r<sup>7</sup> makaṇ viyakkaṇ<sup>8</sup>  
L. 2 kōpaṇ kaṇatēvaṇ<sup>9</sup> toṭa<sup>10</sup> cuṇai

L. 1 பரம்பன்கோகூர் கிழ[ா]ர் மகன் வியக்கன்  
L. 2 கோபன் கணதேவன் தொட்ட குளை

The mountain pool was excavated by Viyakkaṇ Kōpaṇ Kaṇatēvaṇ, the son of the *kiḷār* of Parampaṇ-kōkūr.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.40. Estampage: Pl. 39.

Locus On the sloping floor of a rocky outcrop known as Perumāḷkōyil Pārai above a deep mountain pool called Tēppāḷi. The inscription is eroded by rainwater flowing over it into the pool, but still legible.

No. of lines 2

Length L. 1:141 cm.; L. 2:135 cm.

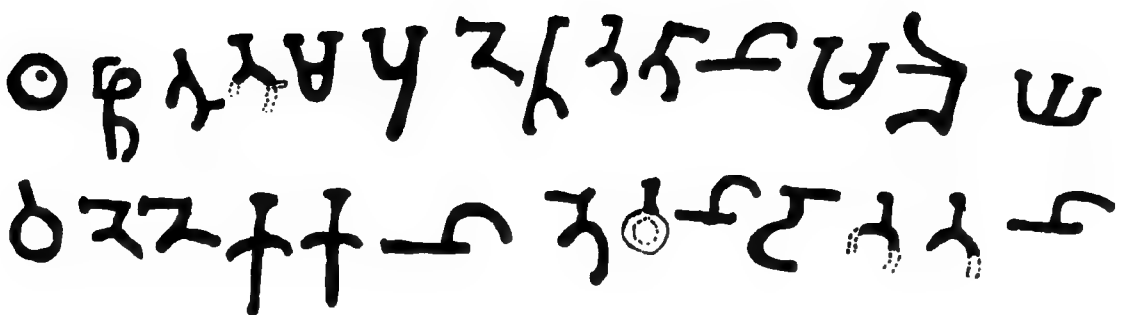
Date ca. 4th century A.D.

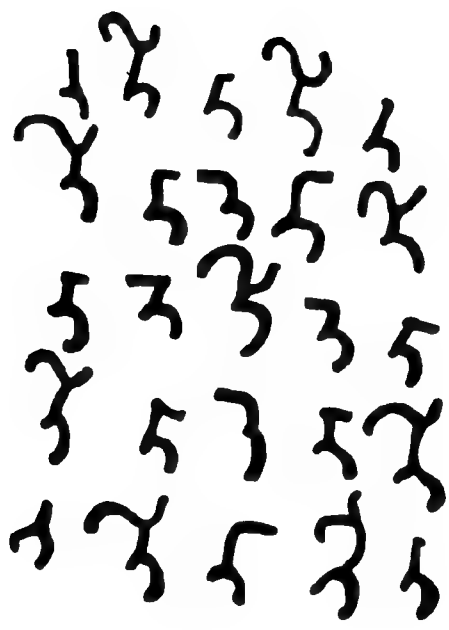
Publ. ARE B. 258/1979-80. IAR 1979-80: p. 90.

P.B. Venkataraman (in) *The Hindu*, Madras, January 19, 1979 (with Pl.). I. Mahadevan 1981: pp. 149-150 (with Pl.).

## Notes

1. A unique feature of this inscription is the elongated and leftward curling of the lower ends of the verticals in the letters *k* and *r*, resembling contemporary Southern Brāhmī characters. See section 5.11: *k* and *r*. See also Palaeographic Charts 5A & 5B.
2. [va] in ARE.
3. The small, circular depression inside this letter was earlier mistaken by me for the *puḷḷi*. It was found to be a natural feature when the inscription was checked again *in situ* by Natana Kasinathan and myself in 1992.
4. There is some doubt whether the horizontal stroke at top left is part of the basic letter *l* (as in Nos. 83 & 85) or represents the medial *-ā* sign which can be added only at this point.
5. The 'looped' *ta* shows the influence of the Southern Brāhmī script. See n.1 above.
6. A composite place name as judged from the word order. Cf. (inscr.) *parampaṇ* 'a class of cultivators', *parampañcey nilam* 'a type of land'.
7. *kiḷār*, a title of respect for the chief or leading landowner or an eminent person of the place.
8. Cf. *viyākaṇ* 'Skanda' (TL). Cf. *viyakaṇ* (No. 39).
9. *kaṇṇa-*.
10. *toṭṭa* from *toṭu* 'to dig, excavate'.

85. 

86. 

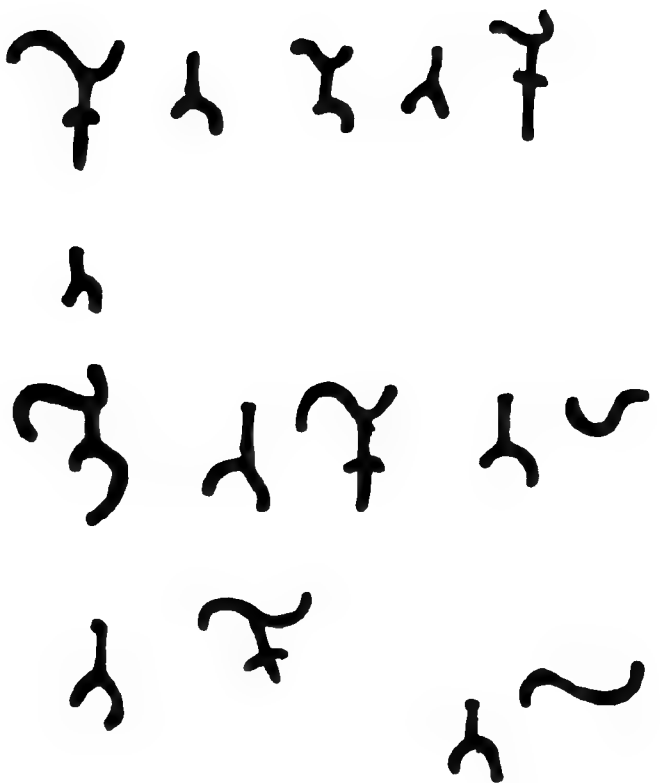
87. 

Figure 8.41. XXIX. ARACHALUR 1-3  
Inscriptions Nos. 85-87  
Tracings. Scale: one-third.

## XXIX. ARACHALUR (அரச்சலூர்) - 1

85. A. L. 1 e<sup>1</sup> [u ta<sup>2</sup> t[u]<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>4</sup> pu ṇa ru ta tā ṇa ma lai ya  
L. 2 va ṇa ṇa ka ka ṇa te [va]<sup>5</sup> ṇa [c]ā<sup>6</sup> [ta ta]<sup>7</sup> ṇa

B. L. 1 e[utt[u]m puṇaruttāṇ<sup>8</sup> malai-y  
L. 2 vaṇṇakkaṇ<sup>9</sup> tē[va]ṇ [c]ā[ttā]ṇ

L. 1 எழுத்து]ம் புணருத்தான் மலைய்  
L. 2 வண்ணக்கன் தே[வ]ன் [ச]ா[த்த]ன்

**Tēvaṇ Cāttāṇ**, the **Malai-Vaṇṇakkaṇ**, composed the letters (of the musical notations!<sup>10</sup>) also.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.41. Estampage: Pl. 40.

**Locus** On the middle of the three stone beds in the cave at Āṇṭipārai on the Nākamalai hill to the north of the village. Both lines have suffered some damage. See section 1.5.1.

**No. of lines** 2

**Length** L. 1 & L. 2: 47 cm. (each).

**Date** ca. 4th century A.D.

**Publ.** ARE B. 280/1961-62 (with Pl.). IAR 1961-62: p. 81 (with Pl.). IM:72/1966.  
HTS:19.1 (pp. 63, 90-91); MSV:1 (pp. 29-32); RN:18.3 (pp. 75-79); RPS:45 (pp. 163-197);  
TVM:17 (pp. 290-298, Pl. 28).  
T.V. Mahalingam 1962:pp. 125-132. T.N. Ramachandran 1962.  
K.G. Krishnan 1973-74b:pp. 91-93 (with Pl.).  
(I have followed here the readings and interpretations proposed by T.N. Ramachandran, R. Nagaswamy and K.G. Krishnan with minor modifications, in preference to my earlier attempt.)

**Notes**

1. The dot within the letter e is the *pulli* indicating that the vowel is short. See No. 117 for another example.
2. The apparent medial stroke at the lower end of the letter is a fault in the rock extending to the next letter also.
3. The lower part of the letter is damaged.
4. RN and Krishnan read *p*.
5. The lower part of the letter is damaged.
6. The letter is incompletely engraved. See n.1, No. 27 for probable explanation.
7. These two letters are damaged.
8. Cf. LT *puṇarttāṇ*. See Commentary for interpretation.
9. *malai-vaṇṇakkaṇ* is interpreted as a clan name. Cf. LT *vaṇṇakka kōttiraṇ*. See section 4.18.1(vii).
10. In the adjoining inscriptions (Nos. 86 & 87) engraved on either side of the present inscription.

## ARACHALUR (அரச்சலூர்) - 2

86. <sup>1</sup> B.	L. 1	ta	tai	tā <sup>2</sup>	tai	ta
	L. 2	tai	tā	tē	tā	tai
	L. 3	tā	tē	tai	tē	tā
	L. 4	tai	tā	[t]ē <sup>2</sup>	tā	tai
	L. 5	ta	tai	tā	tai	ta
	L. 1	த	தை	தா	தை	த
	L. 2	தை	தா	தே	தா	தை
	L. 3	தா	தே	தை	தே	தா
	L. 4	தை	தா	தே[த]	தா	தை
	L. 5	த	தை	தா	தை	த

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.41. Estampage: Pl. 41.

Locus Above the stone bed at left in the cave; worn out but legible. See section 1.5.1.

No. of lines 5

Size 27 x 19 cm.

Date ca. 4th century A.D.

Publ. ARE B. 281/1961-62. IAR 1961-62: p. 81. IM:73/1966.

HTS:19.2 (pp. 63, 90-91); RN:18.1 (pp. 75-79); TVM:(p. 290).

T.V. Mahalingam 1962:pp. 125-132. T.N. Ramachandran 1962.

K.G. Krishnan 1973-74b: pp. 91-93 (with Pl.).

## Notes

1. The inscription is a musical notation composed of the syllables *ta*, *tā*, *tē* and *tai* arranged symmetrically in five columns and five rows. See No. 87 also. See Commentary for discussion.
2. Krishnan reads the 3rd letter in L. 1 as *tē* and the 3rd letter in L. 4 as *tai*. I agree with RN that they have to be read respectively as *tā* and *tē*, which would also preserve the symmetry. I have rechecked the letters *in situ*.

## ARACHALUR (அரச்சலூர்) - 3

- 87.<sup>1</sup> B. L. 1 *kai ta tai ta kai*  
 L. 2 *ta [kai\* ta\* kai\* ta\*]*  
 L. 3 *tai ta kai<sup>2</sup> ta [t]ai*  
 L. 4 *ta kai<sup>2</sup> [ta\* kai\* ta\*]*  
 L. 5 *[kai\* ta\* tai\*] ta [k]ai*
- L. 1 கை த தை த கை  
 L. 2 த [கை\*த\* கை\* த\*]  
 L. 3 தை த கை த [த]ை  
 L. 4 த கை [த\* கை\* த\*]  
 L. 5 [கை\*த\* தை\*]த [க]ை

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.41. Estampage: Pl. 41.

Locus Above the stone bed at right in the cave; badly damaged.

No. of lines 5

Size 34 x 28 cm.

Date ca. 4th century A.D.

Publ. ARE B. 282/1961-62. IAR 1961-62:p. 81. IM:74/1966.

HTS 19.3 (pp. 63, 90-91); RN:18.2 (pp. 75-79); TVM:(p. 290).

T.V. Mahalingam 1962:pp. 125-132. T.N. Ramachandran 1962.

K.G. Krishnan 1973-74b:pp. 91-93 (with Pl.).

## Notes

1. Another musical notation as in No. 86, but with different syllables (*kai*, *ta* and *tai*). These two compositions are referred to in No. 85. Only 15 letters in this inscription have survived wholly or partially; the others are restored taking advantage of the symmetry of the composition.
2. RN and Krishnan agree on the reading and restoration of all the syllables of the composition. (In L. 2: letter 2, *ti* seems to be a misprint for *tai* in Krishnan.) However, I read *kai* where they read *tai* (L. 2: letters 2 & 4; L. 3: letter 3; L. 4: letters 2 & 4). On rechecking *in situ* I find that *kai* is seen clearly in the middle of L. 3 and less clearly as the 2nd letter in L. 4. I have restored [*kai\**] for the other three syllables to preserve the symmetry.

88.

ሪህህፀህፀህፀህፀህ  
 ተረፃ ፀረፀተ  
 ህተፍፍፍፍፍፍ

Figure 8.42. XXX. MANNARKOIL 1

Inscription No. 88

Tracing. Scale: one-third.

## XXX. MANNARKOIL (மன்னார்கோயில்) - 1

88<sup>1</sup>. A. L. 1 pa la li ce ya vi ta tā ṇa  
 L. 2 ka ṭi kai ...<sup>2</sup> vi ṇa ma ka ṇa  
 L. 3 pe ru ṇa kū ṛa ṛa ṇa

B. L. 1 paḷli<sup>3</sup> ceyvittāṇ  
 L. 2 kaṭikai<sup>4</sup> [kō\*]<sup>5</sup>viṇ makaṇ  
 L. 3 peruṇkūṛraṇ

L. 1 பள்ளி செய்வித்தான்  
 L. 2 கடிக்கை [கோ\*]வின் மகன்  
 L. 3 பெருங்கூற்றன்

**Peruṇkūṛraṇ**, son of the (chief?)<sup>6</sup> of the assembly, caused to be made the hermitage.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.42. Estampage: Pl. 42.

**Locus** On the ceiling of the cave locally known as Rājākkal Pārai on the rocky outcrop near Ayyaṇārkuḷam; neatly engraved and well-preserved except for the loss of one letter in the middle line due to flaking. See section 1.6.2.

**No. of Lines** 3

**Length** L. 1:32 cm.; L. 2:35 cm.; L. 3:29 cm.

**Date** ca. 2nd cent. AD.

**Publ.** *The New Indian Express*, Chennai, December 21, 2000 (with Pl.).

C. Chandiravanam and Senthil Selvakumaran 2002: pp. 1-3 (with Pl.).

**Notes**

1. The two inscriptions (Nos. 88 & 89) at this site, discovered when this volume was ready for the press, have been placed at the end of the Tamil-Brāhmī section of the Corpus.
2. 4th letter in L. 2 is lost due to flaking of the stone.
3. paḷli is written with doubled - ḷḷ-; but cf. paḷi (for paḷḷi) in the adjacent inscription (No. 89) of about the same period.
4. kaṭikai < ghaṭikā (Skt.) 'assembly of learned persons or institution of higher learning or the place of such assembly or institution'. See Commentary for discussion. See also section 4.6.13.
5. The lost letter is restored from the context as probably kō.
6. The translation of kō as 'chief' is necessarily tentative, as it is based on the restoration of a lost letter.

89.

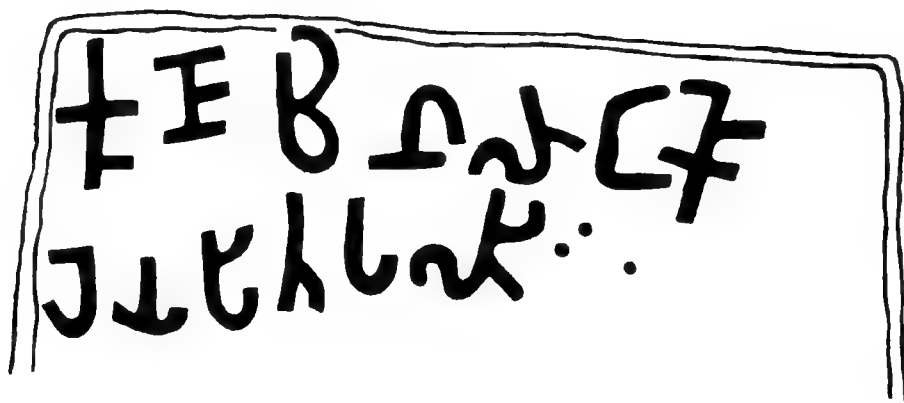


Figure 8.43. MANNARKOIL 2  
 Inscription No. 89  
 Tracing. Scale: one-third.

## MANNARKOIL (மன்னார்கோயில்) - 2

89<sup>1</sup>. A. L. 1 ku ṇā vi ṇa ḷa ṇa ko  
L. 2 ce ya pi ta pa ḷi i

B. L. 1 kuṇāviṇ<sup>2</sup> [i\*]<sup>3</sup> ḷaṅkō<sup>4</sup>  
L. 2 ceypita<sup>5</sup> paḷi-i<sup>6</sup>

L. 1 குணாவின் [இ\*]ளங்கோ  
L. 2 செய்பித பளிஇ

The hermitage was caused to be made by (I)ḷaṅkō of Kuṇā.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.43. Estampage: Pl. 42.

Locus At the head of a stone bed on the bare summit of a large boulder locally known as Nilāppārai, situated to the right forefront of the cave (Rājākkal Pārai). The inscription is enclosed within a three-sided rectangular border with the bottom side open. Weather-beaten but legible.

No. of Lines 2

Length L. 1:31 cm.; L. 2:26 cm.

Date ca. 2nd cent. AD.

Publ. *The New Indian Express*, Chennai, December 21, 2000 (with Pl.).

C. Chandiravanam and Senthil Selvakumaran 2002: pp. 1-3 (with Pl.).

## Notes

1. See n. 1, No. 88.
2. kuṇā appears to be a place name. The expression occurs here in the genitive case.
3. [i\*] is not engraved, but supplied from the context. The sound was probably elided in speech. cf. [i\*]ḷaṅkō in Nos. 61 & 62.
4. ḷaṅkō 'name or title of a member of the Vaiśya caste'. The expression occurs here as a personal name. See Commentary for discussion.
5. ceypitta.
6. paḷi-.



**EARLY VAṬṬELUTTU INSCRIPTIONS (101-121)**  
**(ca. 5th and 6th Centuries A.D.)**

101. A handwritten inscription in Tamil script, consisting of several characters connected by dots, likely representing a sequence of numbers or a specific phrase. The characters are 'bu', 'u', 'wi', '7', 'u', '3', '5', 't', and 'v'.

Figure 8.44. XXXI. SITTANNAVASAL-B 1  
Inscription No. 101  
Tracing. Scale: one-tenth.

## XXXI. SITTANNAVASAL - B (சித்தன்னவாசல் - ஆ) - 1

101. A. ca m<sup>1</sup> po \$<sup>2</sup> y<sup>1</sup> kai pe ṭu tai<sup>3</sup> ta ka l<sup>1</sup>

B. campoykaipēṭu<sup>4</sup> taita<sup>5</sup> kal

சம்பொய்கைபேடு தைத கல்

The rock (shelter) was made by Campoykaipēṭu.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.44. Estampage: Pl. 43.

Locus First inscription (from left) in the upper line on a rock wall inside the lower cave on the hill; engraved on soft rock, permanently damp and covered with thick moss. There are faint traces of an earlier (?) layer of inscriptions seen to the left of No. 101 and right of No. 104. See section 1.8.1(i).

No. of lines 1

Length 169 cm.

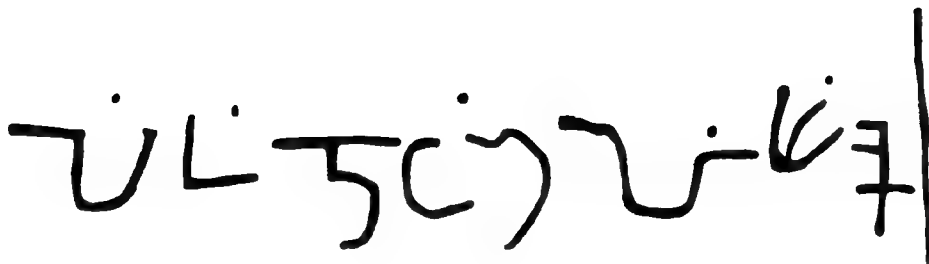
Date ca. 5th century A.D.

Publ. ARE B. 338[A]/1992-93.

S. Rajavelu 1995b:No. 1 (with eye copy).

Notes

1. All the basic consonants are marked by the *puḷḷi*.
2. A symbol (bow & arrow) is engraved between the 3rd & 4th letters. See section 5.18.
3. The *-ai* medial stroke is disproportionately large and spreads over the previous letter also.
4. A place name. Cf. LT *cem-* 'good', *poykai* 'pool', *pēṭu* 'hamlet'. The village made the gift collectively.
5. *taitta* 'which was made'.

102. A handwritten Tamil inscription consisting of seven characters: 'u', 'l', '5', 'c', 'u', 'n', 'k', 'u', '7'.

103. A handwritten Tamil inscription consisting of three characters: '4', 't', 'u'.

104. A handwritten Tamil inscription consisting of six characters: 'F', '3', 'u', 'f', 'v', 'b'.

Figure 8.45. SITTANNAVASAL-B 2-4

Inscriptions Nos. 102-104

Tracings. Scale: one-tenth (No. 102), one-eighth (Nos. 103 & 104).

## SITTANNAVASAL - B (சித்தன்னவாசல் - ஆ) - 2

102. A.      *pe<sup>1</sup> n<sup>2</sup> to ṭa ṇ<sup>2</sup> po<sup>1</sup> y<sup>2</sup> kai<sup>3</sup> |*

B.      *pentōṭaṇ poykai |*

பெந்தோடன் பொய்கை |

The pond (is the gift) of **Pentōṭaṇ**.

**ILL.**      Tracing: Fig. 8.45. Estampage: Pl. 43.

**Locus**      Second (middle) inscription in the upper line.

**No. of lines**    1

**Length**      134 cm.

**Date**      ca. 5th century A.D.

**Publ.**      *ARE* B. 338[B]/1992-93.

K. Rajan 1993:p. 100 (with eye copy). S. Rajavelu 1995b:No. 5 (with eye copy).

**Notes**

1.      The medial short vowels *-e* and *-o* are marked by the *pulli*.
2.      All the basic consonants are marked by the *pulli*.
3.      The *-ai* medial sign is archaic for this period.
4.      A vertical dividing line is engraved between this and the next inscription (No. 103).

## SITTANNAVASAL - B (சித்தன்னவாசல் - ஆ) - 3

103. A.      *na<sup>1</sup> k<sup>2</sup> ka ṇ<sup>2</sup>*B.      *nakkaṇ<sup>3</sup>**நக்கன்***Nakkaṇ.****ILL.**      Tracing: Fig. 8.45. Estampage: Pl. 44.**Locus**      Third inscription (from left) in the upper line.**No. of lines** 1**Length**      37 cm.**Date**      ca. 5th century A.D.**Publ.**      *ARE B. 338[C]/1992-93.*

S. Rajavelu 1995b:No. 5 (with eye copy).

**Notes**

1. The first letter appears to be touching the second probably due to fissures in the rock surface.
2. Both the basic consonants are marked by the *puḷḷi*.
3. A personal name. See Commentary for discussion on etymology.

## SITTANNAVASAL - B (சித்தன்னவாசல் - ஆ) - 4

104. A. ko<sup>1</sup> r<sup>2</sup> rai kā y<sup>2</sup> va ṇ<sup>2</sup>B. korrai<sup>3</sup> kāyvaṇ<sup>4</sup>

கொற்றை காய்வன்

Kāyivaṇ of Korrai.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.45. Estampage: Pl. 44.

Locus Inscription in the middle line. (See No. 101 for further comments.)

No. of lines 1

Length 101 cm.

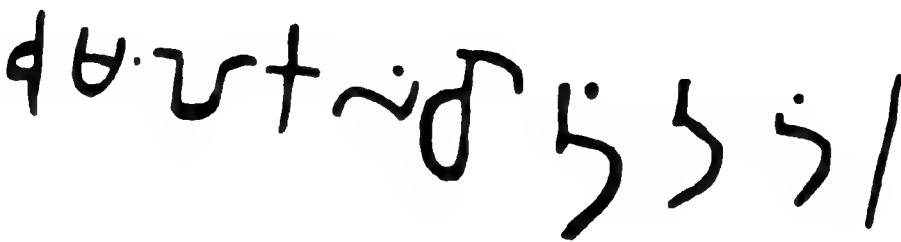
Date ca. 5th century A.D.

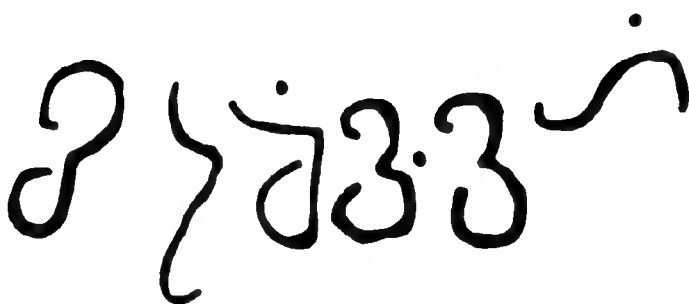
Publ. ARE B. 338[D]/1992-93.

S. Rajavelu 1995b:No. 6 (with eye copy).

## Notes

1. The medial short -o is indicated by the *puḷḷi*.
2. All the basic consonants are marked by the *puḷḷi*.
3. A place name.
4. Read *kāyivaṇ*. Cf. LT *kācipaṇ*.

105. 

106. 

107. 

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Figure 8.46. SITTANNAVASAL-B 5-7  
Inscriptions Nos. 105-107  
Tracings. Scale: one-tenth (No. 105), one-eighth (Nos. 106 & 107).

## SITTANNAVASAL - B (சித்தன்னவாசல் - ஆ) - 5

105. A. ca<sup>1</sup> m<sup>2</sup> po ka l<sup>2</sup> cā t<sup>2</sup> ta ṇ<sup>2</sup> |<sup>3</sup>

B. campokaḷ cāttan |

சம்பொகல் சாத்தன் |

Cāttan of Campokal.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.46. Estampage: Pl. 45A (Nos. 105-106, left segment).

Locus First inscription (from left) in the lower line.

No. of lines 1

Length 130 cm.

Date ca. 5th century A.D.

Publ. ARE B. 338 [E]/1992-93.

S. Rajavelu 1995b:No. 4 (with eye copy).

## Notes

1. To be read as *ca*, in spite of the 'tail' and not *cu*. See n.7, No. 55.
2. All the basic consonants are marked by the *puḷli*.
3. A vertical dividing line is engraved between this and the next inscription (No. 106).
4. A place name. Cf. LT *cem*- 'good', *pukal* 'sanctuary'.

## SITTANNAVASAL - B (சித்தன்னவாசல் - ஆ) - 6

106. A. ci ru ce<sup>1</sup> ṇ<sup>2</sup> ṇa ṇ<sup>2</sup>B. *ciruceṇṇaṇ*

சிறுசெண்ணன்

Cīruceṇṇaṇ.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.46. Estampage: Pl. 45A (Nos. 105-106, right segment, incomplete).

Locus Second (middle) inscription in the lower line.

No. of lines 1

Length 79 cm.

Date ca. 5th century A.D.

Publ. ARE B. 338 [F]/1992-93.

K. Rajan 1993: p. 100 (with eye copy). S. Rajavelu 1995b: No. 3 (with eye copy).

## Notes

1. The medial short -e is indicated by the *puḷḷi*.
2. Both the basic consonants are marked by the *puḷḷi*.

## SITTANNAVASAL - B (சித்தன்னவாசல் - ஆ) - 7

107. A.      *kā ta ṇ<sup>1</sup>*B.      *kātaṇ**காதன்**Kātaṇ.***ILL.**      Tracing: Fig. 8.46.**Locus**      Third inscription (from left) in the lower line.**No. of lines** 1**Length**      37 cm.**Date**      ca. 5th century A.D.**Publ.**      ARE B. 338[G]/1992-93.

S. Rajavelu 1995b:No. 3 (with eye copy).

**Notes**

1. The final *ṇ* is marked by the *puḷḷi*.

108. 

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Figure 8.47. XXXII. TIRUCHIRAPALLI-B 1  
Inscription No. 108  
Tracing. Scale: one-third.

## XXXII. TIRUCHIRAPALLI - B (திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி - ஆ) - 1

108. A.        a ka ra m<sup>1</sup> ku ca la ṇ<sup>1</sup>

B.        akaram kucalan

அகரம் குசலன்

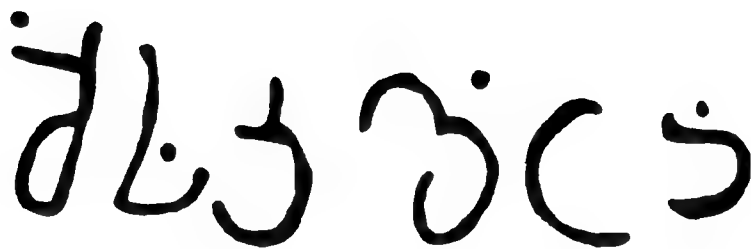
Kucalan of Akaram.

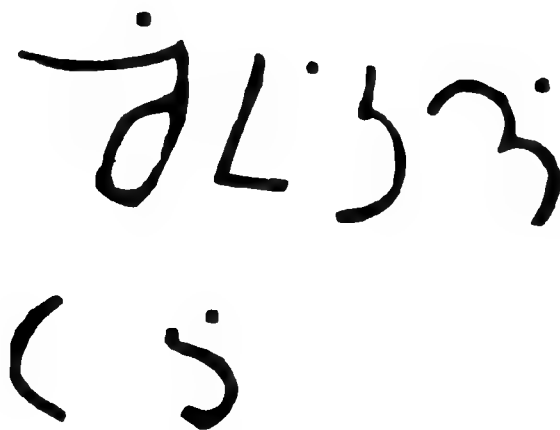
ILL.        Tracing: Fig. 8.47.

**Locus**        On the massive rock rising above the narrow passage on the northern face of the Rockfort hill; too weather-worn and faint to produce a legible estampage, but clearly visible to the naked eye. See section 1.8.1 (ii) and Fig. 1.15.

**No. of lines** 1**Length**        36 cm.**Date**        ca. 5th century A.D.**Publ.**        M. Nalini 1993:p. 50. I. Mahadevan 1997b:pp. 70-75 (with Pl.).**Notes**

1. The two basic consonants are marked by the *puḷli* placed to the left of the respective letters.

109. 

110. 

111. 

Figure 8.48A. **TIRUCHIRAPALLI-B 2 & 3**  
Inscriptions Nos. 109 & 110  
Tracings. Scale: one-third.

Figure 8.48B. **XXXIII. PERUMUKKAL**  
Inscription No. 111  
Tracing. Scale: one-fourth.

## TIRUCHIRAPALLI - B (திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி - ஆ) - 2

109. A. ce<sup>1</sup> n<sup>2</sup> ta n<sup>2</sup> ta n<sup>2</sup>

B. centaṇṭaṇ

செந்தண்டன்

Centaṇṭaṇ.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.48A. Estampage: Pl. 45B.**Locus** Inscription at left on the rock floor of the narrow passage on the northern face of the hill.**No. of lines** 1**Length** 32 cm.**Date** ca. 5th century A.D.**Publ.** ARE 136[A]/1937-38.

TVM:(pp. 306-307).

I. Mahadevan 1997b: pp. 70-75.

**Notes**

1. The medial short -e is marked by the *puḷḷi*.
2. All the basic consonants have the *puḷḷi*.

## TIRUCHIRAPALLI - B (திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி - ஆ) - 3

110. A. L. 1  $ce^1 n^2 ta \eta^2$   
L. 2  $\eta a \eta^2$

B. L. 1 *centaŋ-*  
L. 2 *ŋaŋ*

L. 1 செந்தண்  
L. 2 டன்

**Centaŋŋa.**

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.48A. Estampage: Pl. 46A.

**Locus** Inscription at right on the rock floor of the narrow passage on the northern face of the hill.

**No. of lines** 2

**Length** L. 1: 24 cm.; L. 2: 10 cm.

**Date** ca. 5th century A.D.

**Publ.** ARE 136[B]/1937-38.

TVM:(pp. 306-307).

I. Mahadevan 1997b: pp. 70-75 (with Pl.).

**Notes**

1. The medial short -e is marked by the *pulli*.
2. All the basic consonants have the *pulli*.

## XXXIII. PERUMUKKAL (பெருமுகல்)

111. A. i<sup>1</sup> rā ca ra<sup>2</sup>

B. irācar

இராசர்

The kings.<sup>3</sup>**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.48B. Estampage: Pl. 46B.**Locus** On the rear rock wall of the cave with rock carvings on the eastern slope of the hill. See section 1.8.1(iii).**No. of lines** 1**Length** 32 cm.**Date** ca. 5th century A.D.**Publ.** A. Thasarathan and B. Kannaiyan 1993:pp. 114-154, Fig. 6.

R. Vasanthakalyani 1994:pp. 23-30. K.Rajan 1997:pp. 304-306, Fig. 27 (eye copy).

**Notes**

1. An early form of the initial vowel *i* in Vaṭṭejuṭṭu. It has been read as *po* by Vasanthakalyani.
2. What has been read as *ṇ* after this letter by Vasanthakalyani, is a natural cleft in the rock as verified *in situ*.
3. The label is engraved above the much older rock carvings which depict, *inter alia*, a personage seated in a covered vehicle.

112.

4741250  
 2544  
 17272

113.

7222222  
 5755

114.

45+544  
 764~.

Figure 8.49A. XXXIV. ARASALAPURAM: Inscription No. 112

Figure 8.49B. XXXV. INDALUR: Inscription No. 113

Figure 8.49C. XXXVI. ERETTIMALAI: Inscription No. 114

Tracings. Scale: one-fourth (Nos. 112 & 113), one-half (No. 114)

## XXXIV. ARASALAPURAM (அரசலாபுரம்)

112. A. L. 1 mu kai yu ru me r<sup>1</sup> c[e]<sup>2</sup>  
 L. 2 ri [ku]<sup>3</sup> yā ṭi kka<sup>4</sup>  
 L. 3 ru ki ya ko ḷi

B. L. 1 mukaiyuru<sup>5</sup> mērc[ē]-  
 L. 2 ri[ku]-y=āṭi<sup>6</sup>-k-ka-  
 L. 3 rukiya<sup>7</sup> kōḷi<sup>8</sup>

L. 1 முகையுரு மேற்[ே]ச  
 L. 2 ரி[கு] யாடிக்க  
 L. 3 ருகிய கோழி

(The image of) the cock was engraved after it had fought on behalf of Mērcēri  
 (in) Mukaiyūru.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.49A. Estampage: Pl. 47A.

Locus On a granite stele (62 x 55 cm.) found outside the local Piḷḷaiyār temple in the village, but now removed to the Public Works Department office compound at Viluppuram; upper two lines above the figure of a fighting cock, and the last line below; weather-worn and faint. See section 1.8.3.

No. of lines 3

Length L. 1: approximately 32 cm. (end broken off); L. 2 & L. 3: 24 cm. each.

Date ca. 5th century A.D.

Publ. *Dinamalar*, Pondicherry, November 13, 1991 (with Pl.). S. Rajavelu 1996: pp. 88-89.

I Mahadevan 1997c: pp. 9-19, 1998a: p. 142 (with revised reading). K.Rajan 1997: pp. 315-316.

## Notes

1. The basic consonant *r* is marked by the *pulḷi*.
2. The top of the letter is broken off along with the top right corner of the stele.
3. Rajavelu reads *ṭu*, followed by me earlier. The revised reading is based on fresh inspection *in situ*.
4. Rajavelu reads *ka*. The letter appears to be conjunct *kka*. (For another occurrence of this rare conjunct consonant, see n.5, No. 115.)
5. Read *mukaiyūru*. Probably same as *Mukaiyur*. See Map I and Table. 4.3.
6. *āṭi* may also be translated 'having played/having won'.
7. *karukkiya*. Cf. LT *karukku* (n.) 'engraving, carving'. Cf. *karu-iyā* (No. 17).
8. The memorial was raised to honour the fighting cock which presumably died in the fight. See also No. 113 and the Commentary on it. See also section 4.23.

## XXXV. INDALUR (இந்தளூர்)

113. A. L. 1 *ki la<sup>1</sup> c<sup>2</sup> ce ri k<sup>3</sup> ko<sup>4</sup> li p[o]<sup>5</sup>*  
 L. 2 *ra<sup>6</sup> ko<sup>4</sup> ra<sup>7</sup> ri<sup>7</sup>*

- B. L. 1 *ki<sup>8</sup>-c-cēri-k-kōli p[o]-*  
 L. 2 *rkorri<sup>9</sup>*

- L. 1 கிழ்ச்சேரிக் கோழி [பொ]  
 L. 2 ர்கொற்றி

**Por<sup>10</sup>korri**, the (fighting) cock of **Ki<sup>10</sup>lccēri**.<sup>10</sup>

- 
- ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.49B. Estampage: Pl. 47B.
- Locus** On a granite stele (68 x 61 cm.) outside the Piḷḷaiyār temple in the village; above the figure of a fighting cock; weather-worn and faint. See section 1.8.3.
- No. of lines** 2
- Length** L. 1:43 cm.; L. 2:23 cm.
- Date** ca. 6th century A.D.
- Publ.** Natana Kasinathan 1978: pp. 86-87. Tamaraikkannan 1979: pp. 120-129.  
 I. Mahadevan 1997c: pp. 9-19 (with Pl.).
- Notes**
1. Natana Kasinathan and Tamaraikkannan read *ju*.
  2. The *pulli* of this letter is placed at right in the middle of the line almost touching the next letter.
  3. This letter seems to have been omitted at first by oversight and then engraved in a smaller size in the available space. The small *pulli* placed over the letter is almost touching it.
  4. Two different forms of the -o medial sign are seen in the 7th letter in L. 1 and the 2nd letter in L. 2.
  5. Natana Kasinathan and Tamaraikkannan also read *po*. The right medial stroke is much shorter than the left apparently due to lack of space at the extreme right edge of the incuse.
  6. Natana Kasinathan and Tamaraikkannan read *tu*.
  7. The last two letters in L. 2 are read *ta* by Natana Kasinathan and Tamaraikkannan.
  8. Read *ki<sup>8</sup>*. Cf. *mērcēri* (No. 112).
  9. *por<sup>10</sup>korri* is the pet name given to the fighting cock.
  10. See Commentary on the sport of cockfight in ancient Tamil country. See also section 4.23.

## XXXVI. ERETTIMALAI (ஈரெட்டிமலை)

114. A. L. 1 tu ru<sup>1</sup> ka ya yu l<sup>2</sup>L. 2 lā ru ka l<sup>3</sup>B. L. 1 turukay<sup>4</sup>-y=ul-L. 2 lāru<sup>5</sup> kal

L. 1 துறுகய்யுள்

L. 2 லாரு கல்

The stone (stopper) fitted in the vent of the sluice.

**ILL.** Tracing: Fig. 8.49C. Estampage: Pl. 48.**Locus** On a small, smooth, shoe-shaped stone-stopper (25 x 16 x 15 cm. approximately); slightly broken. Originally from Erettimalai (Īrettimalai) and now in the collections of TNSA. See section 1.8.4 and Fig. 1.17.**No. of lines** 2**Length** L. 1:11 cm; L. 2:14 cm.**Date** ca. 5th century A.D.**Publ.** IAR 1983-84:p. 156.

Natana Kasinathan 1985: pp. 16-19 (with Pl.); 1988: pp. 116-118.

**Notes**

1. Natana Kasinathan reads *ra*.
2. The *pulli* to the top right of this letter looks like a short vertical stroke.
3. The *pulli* is placed to the right of this letter.
4. Variant of \**turukai*, probably 'outlet (*tūmpu*) of a channel'. Cf. *turukal* 'stone stopper to close the *tūmpu*'. See Commentary for discussion.
5. A compound verb from *ul* 'in' + *āru* (LT *ār*) 'to be filled'. Cf. LT *uḷlārnta*.


115. 

Figure 8.50. XXXVII. PARAIYANPATTU

Inscription No. 115

Tracing. Scale: one-eighth.

## XXXVII. PARAIYANPATTU (பறையன்பட்டு)

115. A. L. 1 na mo ta tu pā nā ṭa ṭu va [ca]<sup>1</sup>  
 L. 2 ca ṇa na ti [ā]<sup>2</sup> cā<sup>3</sup> ri [ya]<sup>4</sup>  
 L. 3 ra mā nā kka<sup>5</sup> rā rā ta ṇi<sup>6</sup>  
 L. 4 no ṛ<sup>7</sup> ru [m]u<sup>8</sup> ṭi t<sup>7</sup> ta . . .<sup>9</sup>  
 L. 5 cī ti kai

- B. L. 1 namōttu[/\*] pāṇāṭṭu va[c]-  
 L. 2 caṇanti [ā]cāri[ya]-  
 L. 3 r māṇākkar=ārāṭaṇi<sup>10</sup>  
 L. 4 nōṛru [m]uṭṭitta [ni\*]-<sup>11</sup>  
 L. 5 cītikai<sup>12</sup>

- L. 1 நமோத்து[/\*] பாணாட்டு வ[ச]  
 L. 2 சணந்தி [ஆ]சாரி[ய]  
 L. 3 ர் மாணாக்கராராதனி  
 L. 4 நோற்று [மு]டித்த [நி\*]  
 L. 5 சீதிகை

Let there be salutation! The seat of penance (where) the disciple of Vaccaṇanti Ācāriyar of Pāṇāṭṭu completed observing the fast (unto death).

ILL.	Tracing: Fig. 8.50. Estampage: Pl. 49.
Locus	On the bare summit of the hill known as Cuṇaippārai; deeply engraved, but slightly damaged. See section 1.8.2 (ii).
No. of lines	5
Length	L. 1:125 cm.; L. 2:117 cm.; L. 3:116 cm.; L. 4:approximately 107 cm. (extant); L. 5:62 cm.
Date	ca. 6th century A.D.
Publ.	ARE B. 355/1984-85. IAR 1983-84:p. 157. P. Venkatesan 1977-78: pp. 174-176. (with Pl.).

## Notes

1. The top of the letter is broken off.
2. The lower portion of the letter is damaged.
3. Venkatesan reads *ci*.
4. The lower portion of the letter is damaged.
5. Venkatesan identifies the letter as the conjunct consonant *kka*. See also n.4, No. 112.
6. Venkatesan reads *ṇ*. However, the hollow circle at the top of the letter is the *-i* medial sign.
7. The two basic consonants in L. 4 are marked by the *puḷḷi*.
8. The letter is damaged. The 'crossbar' in *mu* is omitted occasionally in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions.
9. The last letter in L. 4. is lost due to flaking of the stone.
10. *ārāṭaṇi* (< Skt. *ārādhana*) 'the penance of fasting unto death'. Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *ārādhana-vidhi*.
11. Restored as [ni\*] from No. 116.
12. *nicītikai* 'seat of penance'. Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *nisidige*. See Commentary and section 4.9.7.



## XXXVIII. TIRUNATHARKUNRU (திருநாதர்குன்று)

116. A. L. 1 ai<sup>1</sup> m<sup>2</sup> pa t te |a ṇa  
 L. 2 ca ṇa n no ṛ ṇa  
 L. 3 ca n ti ra na n ti ā  
 L. 4 ci ri ka ru<sup>3</sup> ni cī ti kai

- B. L. 1 aimpattēl=ana-  
 L. 2 caṇan<sup>4</sup>=nōṛṇa<sup>5</sup>  
 L. 3 cantirananti ā-  
 L. 4 cirikaru<sup>6</sup> nicītikai<sup>7</sup>

- L. 1 ஐம்பத்தேழன  
 L. 2 சனந் நோற்ற  
 L. 3 சந்திரநந்தி ஆ  
 L. 4 சிரிகரு நிசீதிகை

The seat of penance of Cantirananti Ācirikaru who observed the fast (unto death) for fifty-seven (days).<sup>8</sup>

- ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.51. Estampage: Pl. 50.  
 Locus On the bare summit of the hill known as Tirunāṭarkunru near Gingee (Senji) town; well-preserved. See section 1.8.2 (i) and Fig. 1.16.  
 No. of lines 4  
 Length L.1:35 cm.; L.2:34 cm.; L.3 & L.4:35 cm. each.  
 Date ca. 6th century A.D.  
 Publ. ARE 239/1904. *SII*. XVII:No. 262 (with Pl.);  
 TAS. I 1908 (1988 reprint): p. 339 (with eye copy).  
 IM:76/1966; TVM: (pp. 300-301, Pl. 29).

## Notes

1. The earliest known occurrence of the initial vowel *ai* in Vaṭṭeḷuttu. See section 5.10: *ai*.
2. A *pulli* over one of the basic consonants was first noticed by me in 1991-92. Further search *in situ* by our team in 1995 has revealed that all the six basic consonants of this inscription are marked by the *pulli*.
3. The medial -u stroke of the letter *ru* was located *in situ* by our team in 1995.
4. *aṇacaṇa(m)* 'the penance of ceremonial fast unto death'.
5. Sandhi of *aimpattēl(u)* + *aṇacaṇa(m)* + *nōṛṇa*.
6. Cf. LT *ācīriyar*.
7. *nicītikai*: 'seat of penance'. See n.12, No. 115. See Commentary on Nos. 115 & 116 for interpretation of the Jaina technical terms. See also section 4.9.7.
8. The context requires supply of the word 'days' here.

117.

𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌶𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌹  
 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌶𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌹

Figure 8.52. XXXIX. PILLAIYARPATTI  
 Inscription No. 117  
 Tracing. Scale: one-fourth.

## XXXIX. PILLAIYARPATTI (பிள்ளையார்பட்டி)

117. A. L. 1 e<sup>1</sup> k<sup>2</sup> kā ṭ ṭū ru  
L. 2 k ko ṇ pe ru n ta ca ṇ

B. L. 1 *ekkāṭṭūru*<sup>3</sup>  
L. 2 *k-kōṇ peruntacaṇ*<sup>4</sup>

L. 1 எக்காட்டூரு  
L. 2 க கோன் பெருந்தசன்

Chieftain of *Ekkāṭṭūru*, the master mason.<sup>5</sup>

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.52. Estampage: Pl. 51.

Locus On a pilaster of the western rock wall in the rock-cut Piḷḷaiyār shrine; well-preserved. See section 1.8.5.

No. of lines 2

Length L. 1: 32 cm.; L. 2: 53 cm.

Date ca. 6th century A.D.


Publ. ARE 156/1935-36. IM:75/1966.

HTS:20 (pp. 63-64); RN:19 (pp. 79-80); RPS:46 (pp. 103-197).

I. Mahadevan 1965d, 1997d.

## Notes

1. The short vowel *e* is marked by the *puḷli* placed inside the letter.
2. All the six basic consonants are marked by the *puḷli*. The *puḷli* marks came to light when the thick layer of sandal paste on the pilaster was removed by our team (I. Mahadevan 1992:pp. 154-155).
3. Probably *ek* < \**eru-k*. Cf. *erukāṭu-ūru* (No. 52) and *erukāṭur* (No. 55). Cf. LT *erukkāṭṭūr*.
4. Reading according to RN; verified *in situ* at the time of checking the inscription again. *-taccan*. Cf. (inscr.) *peruntaccan*.
5. See Commentary on the dating of the rock-cut cave from palaeographic evidence.

118. A large, stylized script in Devanagari, likely a form of Prakrit or Pali. The characters are bold and rounded, with prominent loops and flourishes. The text is written in a single line.

119. A large, stylized script in Devanagari, likely a form of Prakrit or Pali. The characters are bold and rounded, with prominent loops and flourishes. The text is written in a single line.

Figure 8.53. XL. EDAKAL-B 1 & 2  
Inscriptions Nos. 118 & 119  
Tracings. Scale: one-eighth.

## XL. EDAKAL - B (எடகல் - ஆ) - 1

118. A. pa l<sup>1</sup> pu li tā t<sup>2</sup> ta kā riB. *palpuli*<sup>3</sup> tātta kāri

பல்புலி தாத்த காரி

Tātta Kāri of Palpuli.

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.53. Estampage: Pl. 52.

Locus On the south rock wall of the Edakal cave with prehistoric carvings; well-preserved. See section 1.8.6 (ii).

No. of lines 1

Length 102 cm.

Date ca. 5th century A.D.

Publ. ARE 121/1897. *SII*. VI:No. 75.

F. Fawcett 1901: Estampage No. 2; Pl. I, Fig. 1 (top line); Pl. II, Fig. 1 (top line at left); with comments by E. Hultzsch.

I. Mahadevan and S. Swaminathan 1998: pp. 20-29. I. Mahadevan 1999: pp. 1-19 (with Pl.).

## Notes

1. The letter is marked with a *puḷḷi*. Hultzsch read this earlier as *lam* treating the *puḷḷi* as the *anusvāra*, but later corrected the reading as *l*.
2. The letter is marked with a *puḷḷi*. Hultzsch reads *nam*.
3. A place name.

## EDAKAL - B (எடகல் - ஆ) - 2

119. A.       ve ṇ¹ ko ma lai ka c¹ ca va nu ca t¹ ti

B.       *veṇkōmalai kaccavanu² catti*

வெங்கோமலை கச்சவநு சத்தி

**Kaccavanu Catti of Veṇkōmalai.**

**ILL.**       Tracing: Fig. 8.53. Estampage: Pl. 52.

**Locus**     On the south rock wall of the cave; well-preserved.

**No. of lines** 1

**Length**    133 cm.

**Date**       ca. 5th century A.D.

**Publ.**       *ARE* 122/1897. *SII*. VI:No. 76.

F. Fawcett 1901:Estampage No. 3; Pl. I, Fig. 2; Pl. II, Fig. 1 (top line at right).

I. Mahadevan and S. Swaminathan 1998:pp. 20-29. I. Mahadevan 1999: pp. 1-19 (with Pl.).

**Notes**

1. All the basic consonants are marked with the *pulli*.
2. Read *kaccavanu*. Cf. *kaśyapa*, *kacchapa* (Skt.), *gōtra* names.

## XLI. EZHUTTUKALLU (எழுத்துகல்லு)

120. A. L. 1<sup>1</sup> mā ca ko ṭu nī ra ṇa  
L. 2<sup>2</sup> vā ya

B. L. 1 mācakōṭu nīraṇa-<sup>3</sup>  
L. 2 vāy

L. 1 மாசகோடு நீரண  
L. 2 வாய்

Mouth of the dam<sup>4</sup> (across) the watercourse at Mācakōṭu.

ILL. Direct photograph (computer-enhanced): Pl. 53.

Locus On a boulder in the Cherupuzha river in Neṭṭunkayam reserve forest near Nilambur (Kerala). Part of the inscription is submerged in water except in very dry weather. See section 1.8.6 (i) and Fig. 1.18.

No. of lines 2

Length (Could not be measured as the inscription was partly submerged in the river.)

Date ca. 5th century A.D.


Publ. ARE B. 281/1958-59.

M.G.S. Narayanan 1972:pp. 317-321. I. Mahadevan 1996d: pp. 65-68 (with Pl.), 1999: pp. 1-19 (with Pl.).

## Notes

1. L. 1 has been read *ma ē ti ṭa ni ra ṇa* in ARE and as *mā va ku ṭu nī ra ṇa* by Narayanan.
2. L. 2 has been read *vā i* by Narayanan. This line has not been read in ARE.
3. Cf. Ta. *aṇai*, Ma. *aṇa* 'dam'.
4. See section 1.8.6 (i) on the probable purpose of the dam.

121.



Handwritten inscription in Tamil script, consisting of three lines of characters. The first line contains two characters, the second line contains three characters, and the third line contains four characters.

Figure 8.54. XLII. TAMATAKALLU  
Inscription No. 121  
Tracing. Scale: one-half.

## XLII. TAMATAKALLU (தமடகல்லு)

121. A. L. 1 e |u ra  
 L. 2 mo na la [ñā]<sup>1</sup>  
 L. 3 cā t<sup>2</sup> ta ṇ<sup>2</sup>

- B. L. 1 ē|ur<sup>3</sup>  
 L. 2 mōnala[ñ]<sup>4</sup>=  
 L. 3 cāttan<sup>5</sup>

- L. 1 ஏழுர்  
 L. 2 மோநல[ஞ]  
 L. 3 சாத்தன்

Mōnala(ṇ) Cāttan of Ē|ūr.<sup>6</sup>

ILL. Tracing: Fig. 8.54. Estampage: Pl. 54.

Locus On the rim of a herostone set up on the ridge of a field called Rāmadēvan to the east of the village near Chitradurga town. The herostone depicts the figures of three warriors and has also an inscription in Skt. above the figures. See section 1.8.6 (iii).

No. of lines 3

Length L. 1:9 cm.; L. 2:12 cm.; L. 3:10 cm.

Date ca. 6th century A.D.

Publ. *Epi. Car. XI* (Rice), Chitaldurg, No. 42; the short Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription in Tamil on the rim has not been noticed.

B. Rajasekharappa (personal communication). K.G. Krishnan (quoted in personal communication from S. Swaminathan). I. Mahadevan and S. Swaminathan 1996:pp. 9-12 (with Pl.).

## Notes

1. The letter is indistinct.
2. The two basic consonants in L. 3 are marked by the *puḷḷi*.
3. Read ē|ūr.
4. L. 2 has been read as *mōnaguru* by Rajasekharappa and as *māṭalañ-* by Krishnan.
5. *mōnala(ṇ) + cāttan > mōnalañcāttan*. The composite name signifies Cāttan, the son of Mōnalaṇ. -ñ- due to sandhi.
6. This inscription engraved in early Vaṭṭeḷuttu script on the rim of the herostone seems to be the signature of the Tamil sculptor as suggested by Rajasekharappa. See Commentary for discussion.



**CORPUS OF EARLY TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS**  
**TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ AND EARLY VAṬṬELUTTU**



**CORPUS OF EARLY TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS**  
**TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ AND EARLY VAṬṬELUTTU**

**ESTAMPAGES (Plates)**  
**(with a few direct photographs)**



Plate 1. I. MANGULAM 1. Inscription No. 1  
 Computer-enhanced print from direct colour photographs.  
 Enlarged sections in the lower three segments.

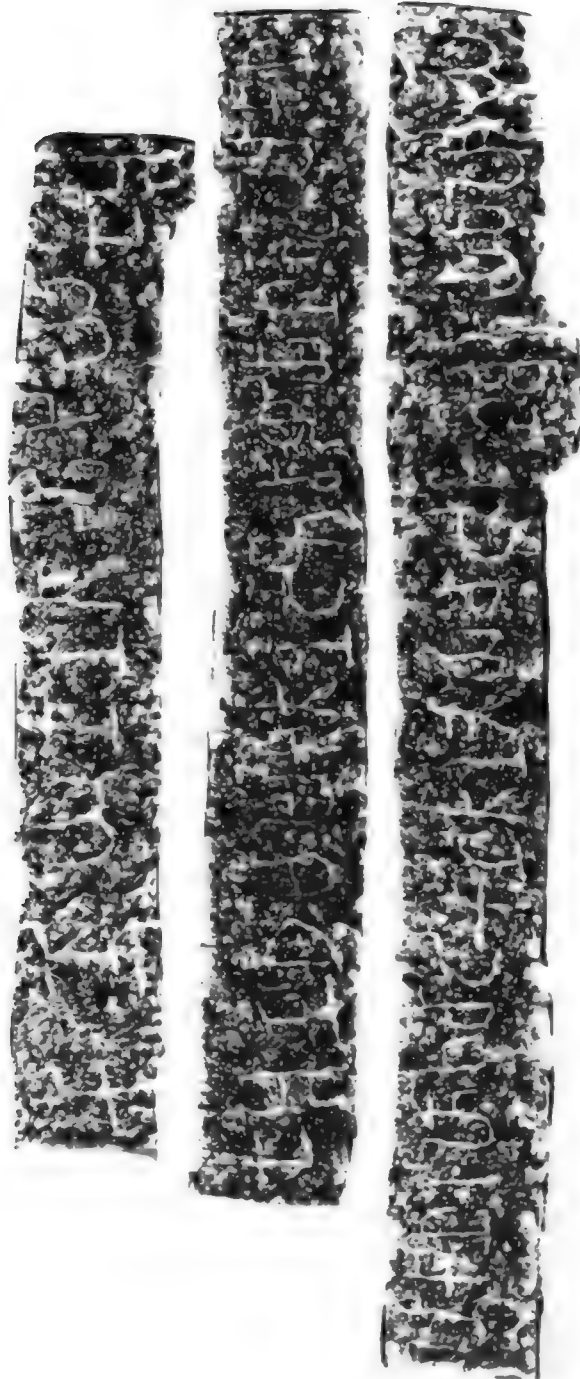


Plate 2. MANGULAM 2. Inscription No. 2  
Computer-enhanced print from estampage in three segments.

2.

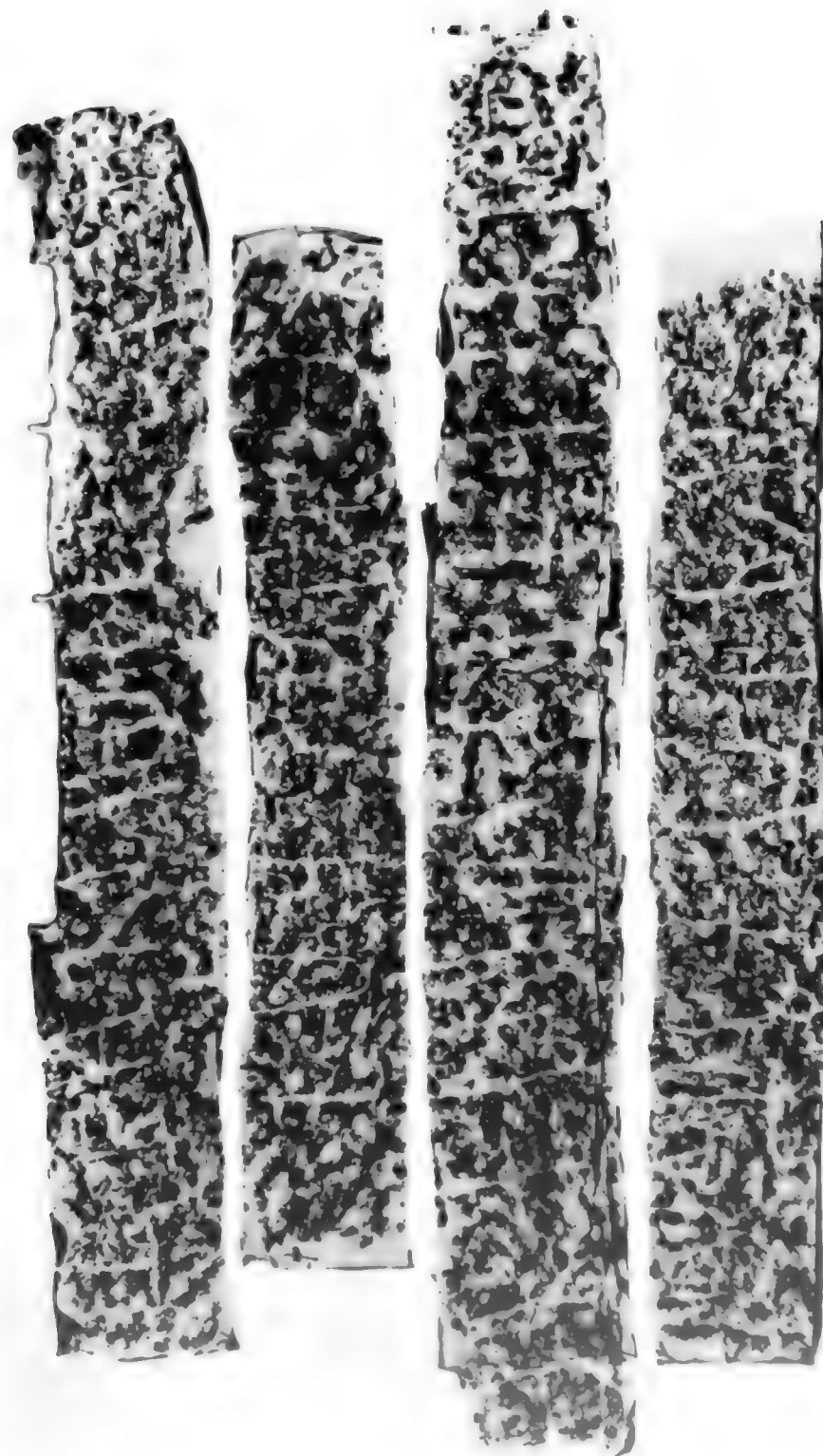


Plate 3. MANGULAM 3. Inscription No. 3 (estampage in four segments).

3.

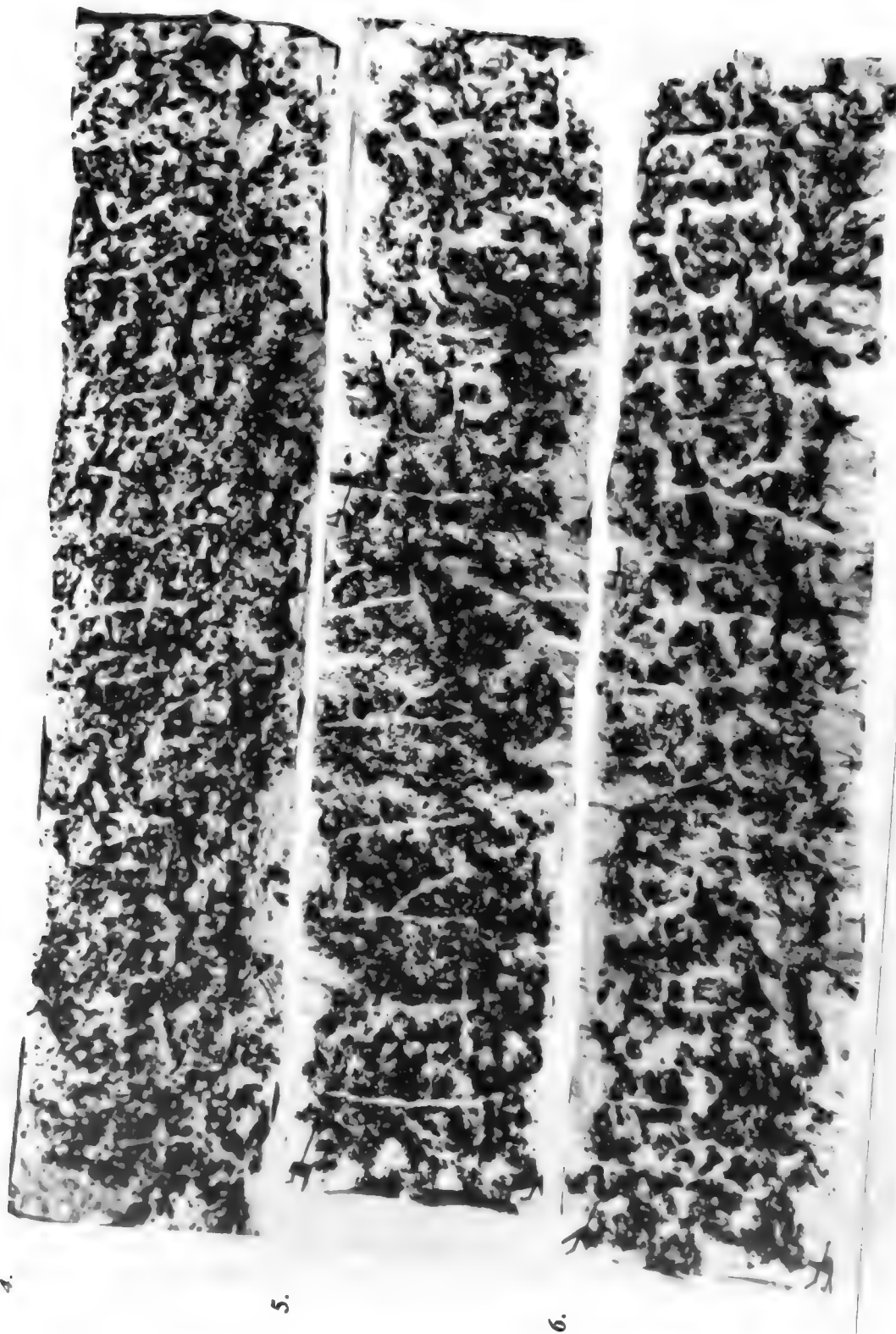
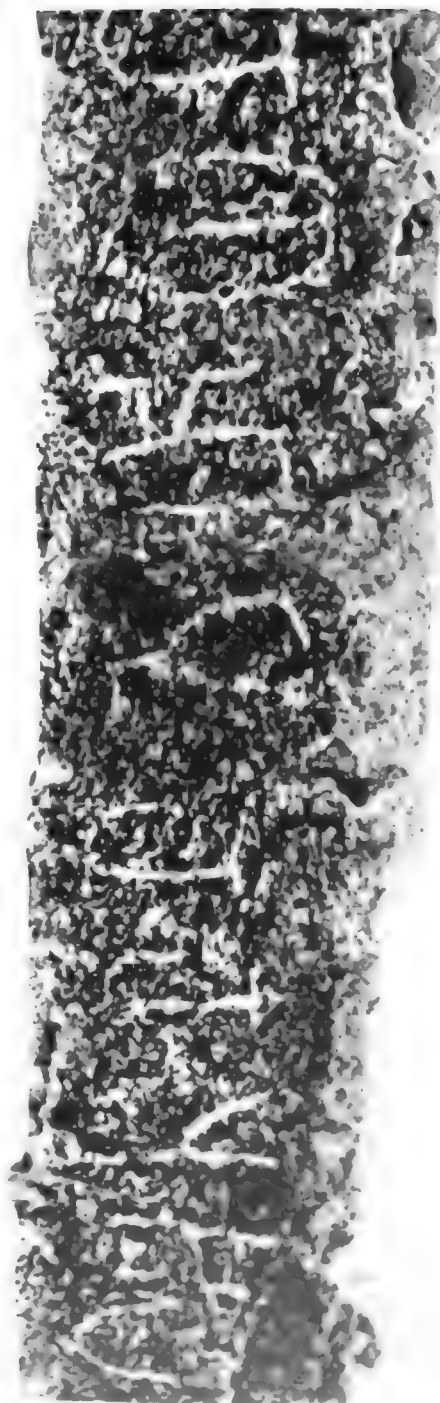


Plate 4. MANGULAM 4-6. Inscriptions Nos. 4-6



7.1.



7.2.

Plate 5. II. ARITTAPATTI. Inscription No. 7 (segments 1 & 2 of the estampage).

7.3.



7.4.

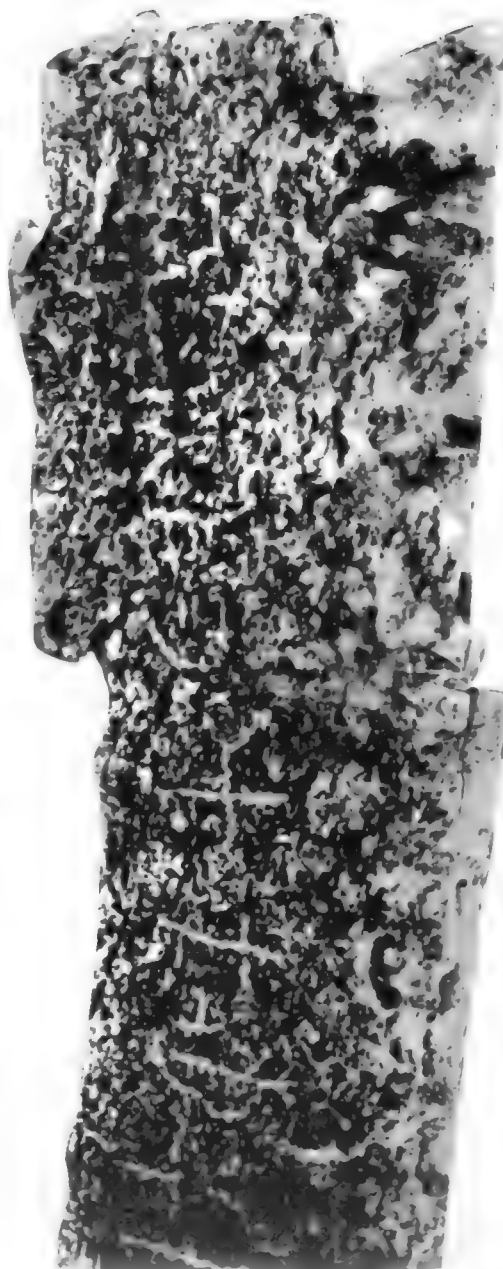
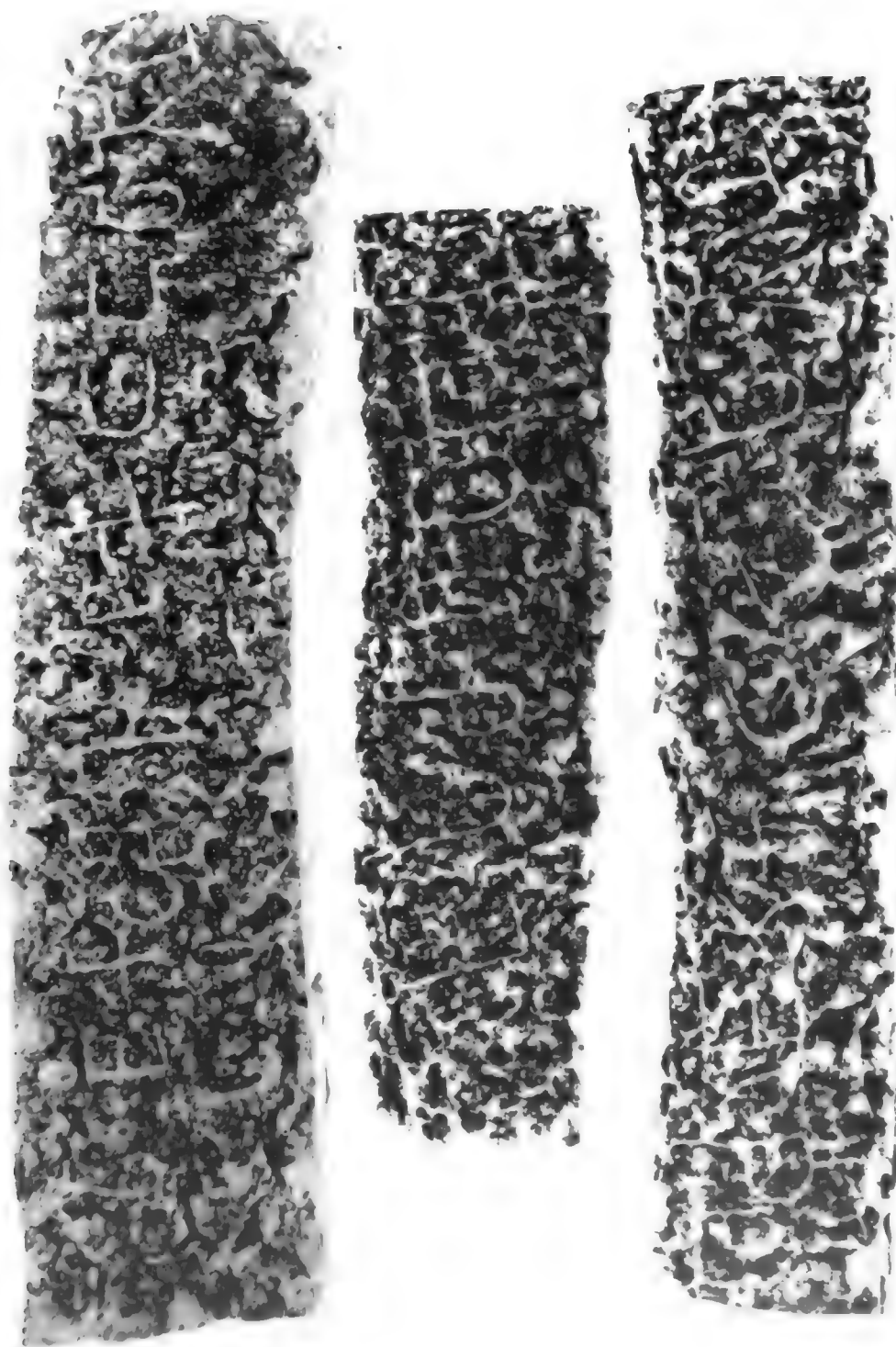


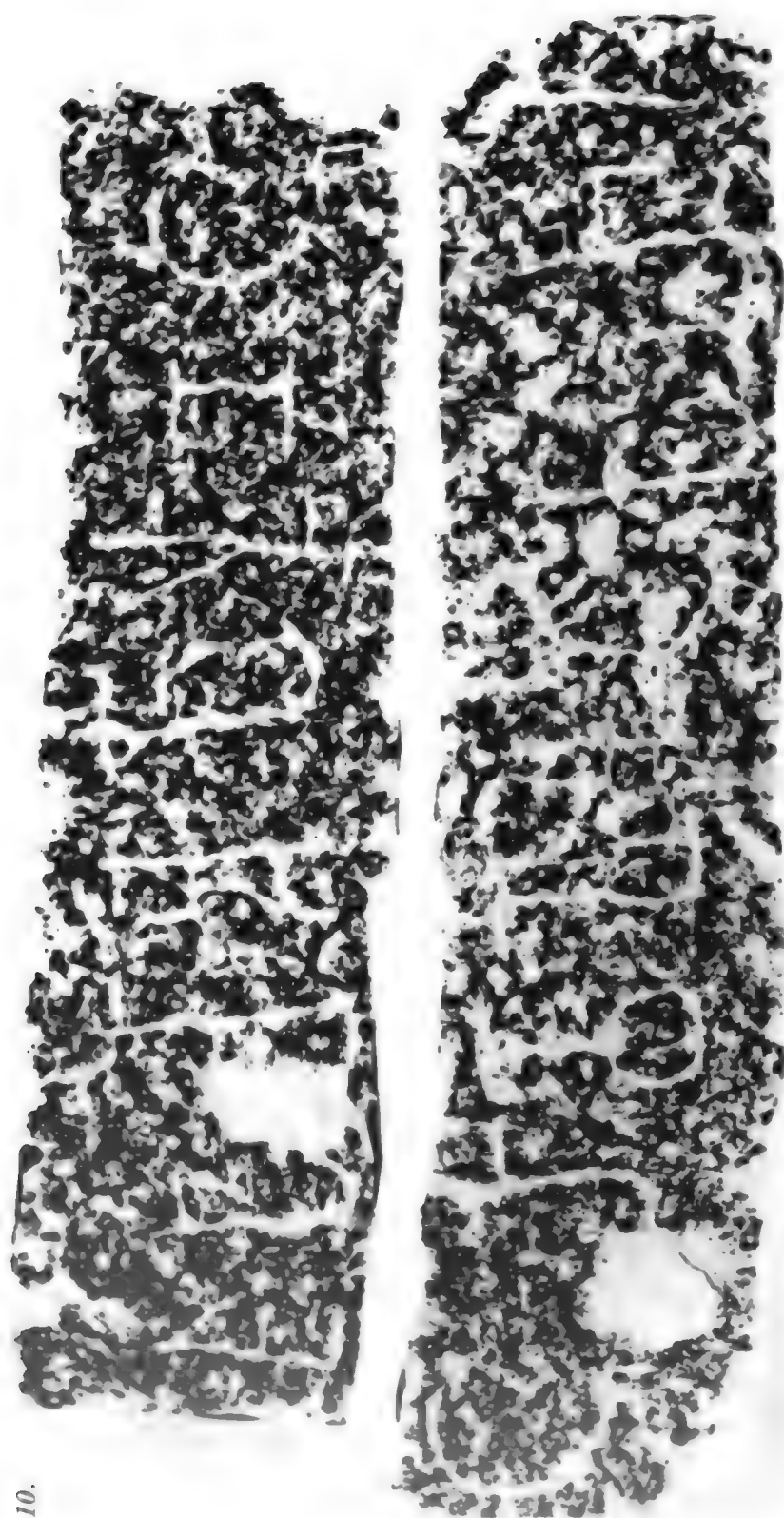
Plate 6. ARITTAPATTI. Inscription No. 7 (segments 3 & 4 of the estampage).



8.

9.

Plate 7. III. TIRUVADAVUR 1 & 2. Inscriptions Nos. 8 & 9 (estampage of No. 9 in two segments).

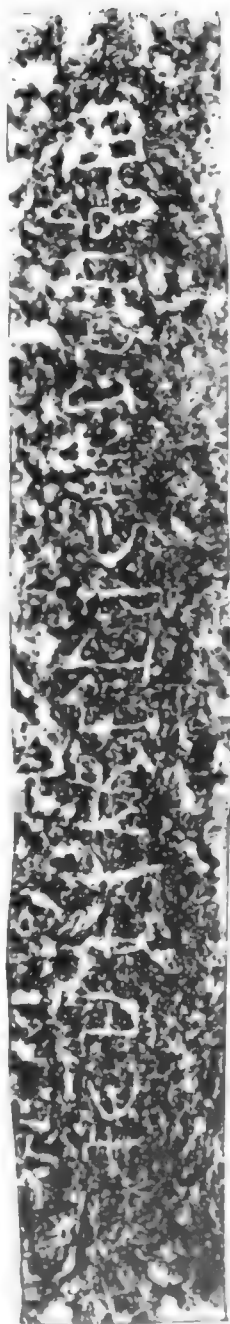


10.

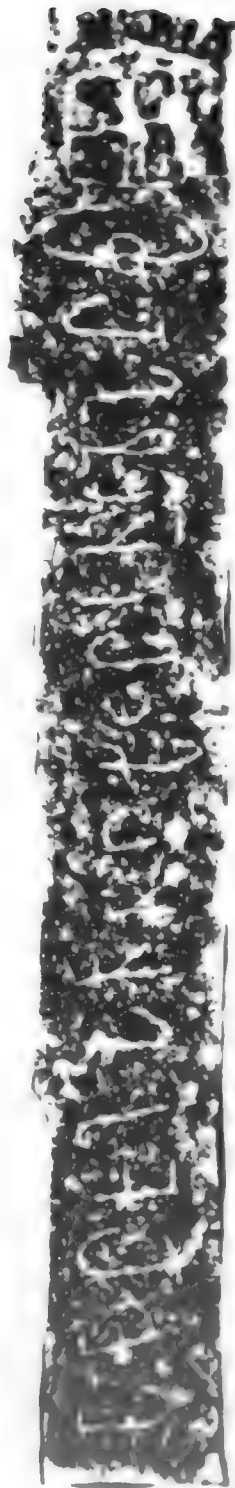
Plate 8. IV. KILAVALLAVU. Inscription No. 10 (estampage in two segments).



11.



12.



13.

Plate 9. V. KONGARPULIYANKULAM 1-3. Inscriptions Nos. 11-13

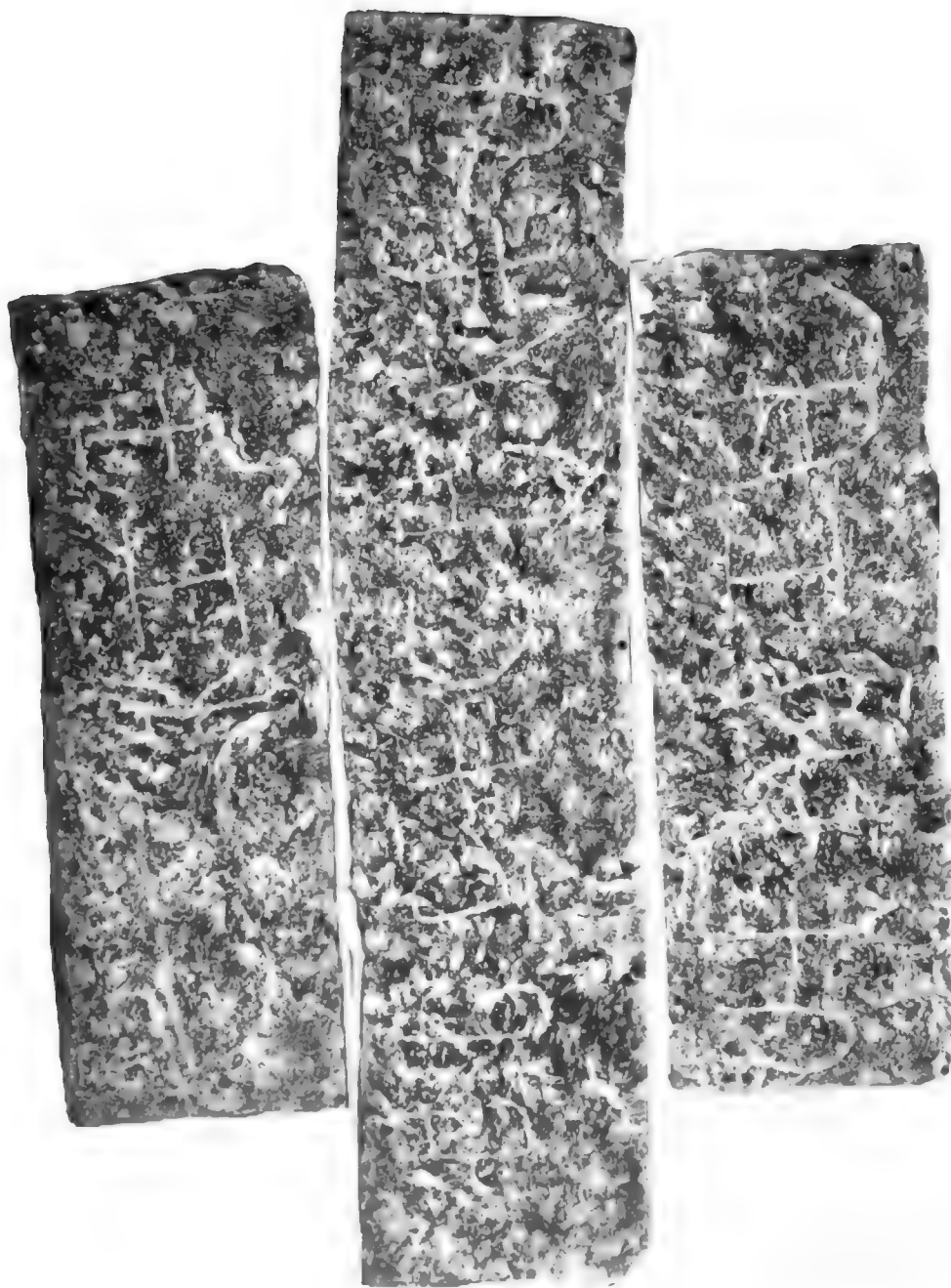
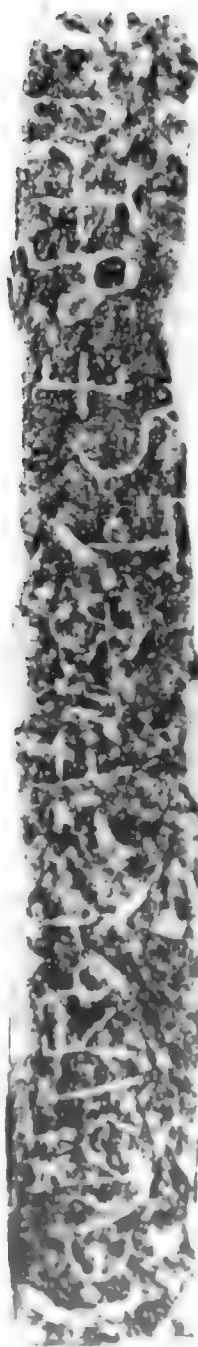


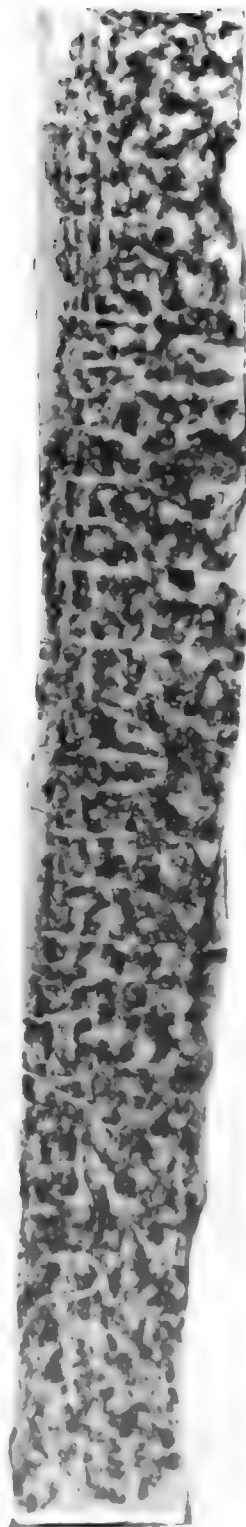
Plate 10. VI. MARUKALTALAI. Inscription No. 14 (estampage in three segments).



15.



16.

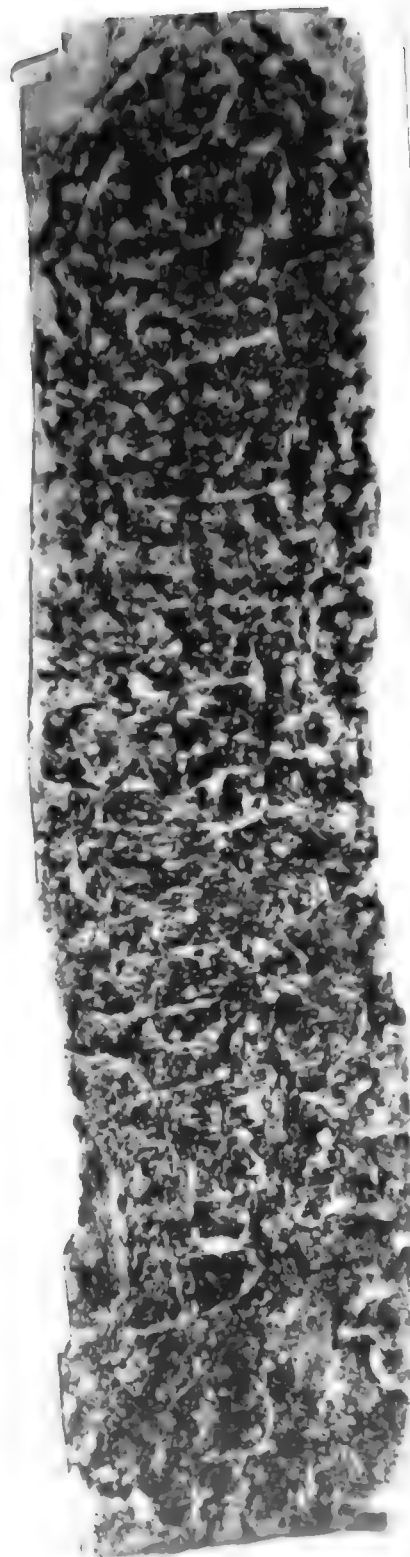


17.

Plate 11. VII. VARICHYUR 1-3. Inscriptions Nos. 15-17



18.



19.

Plate 12. VIII. VIKKIRAMANGALAM 1 & 2. Inscriptions Nos. 18 & 19

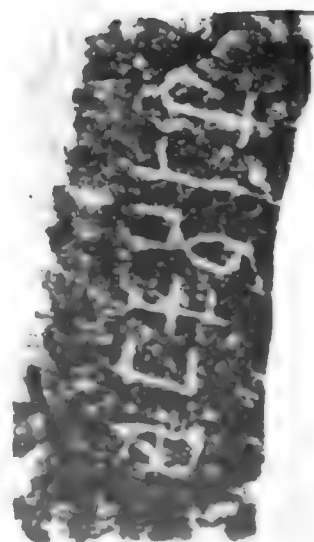
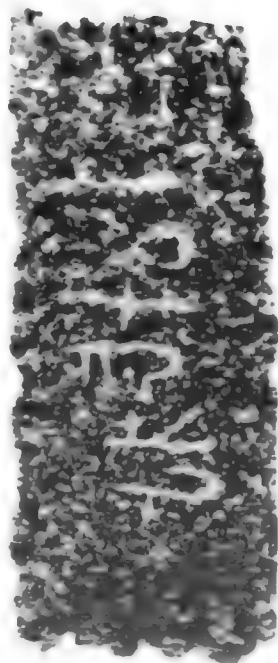


Plate 13. VIKKIRAMANGALAM 3-6. Inscriptions Nos. 20-23

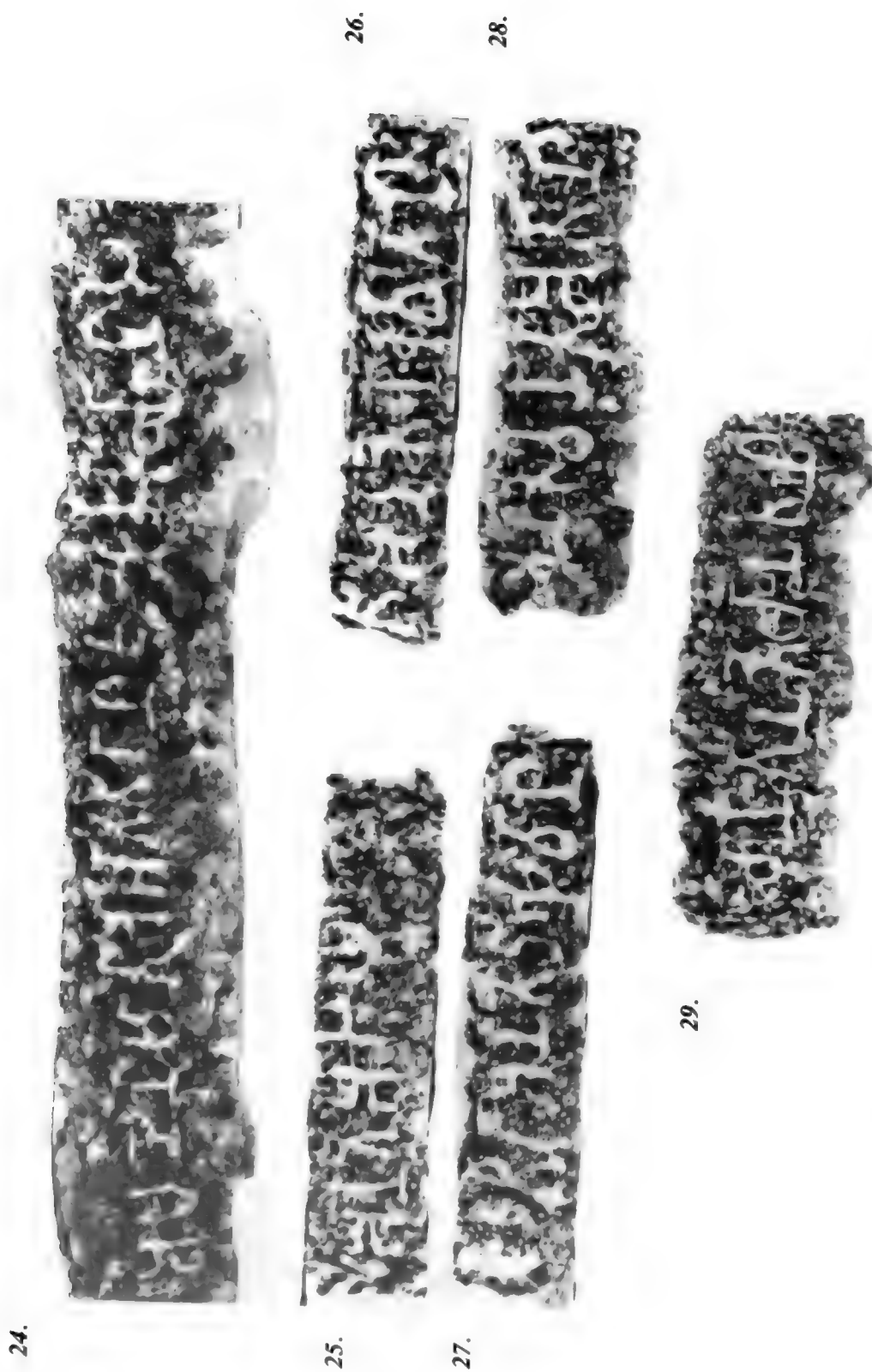


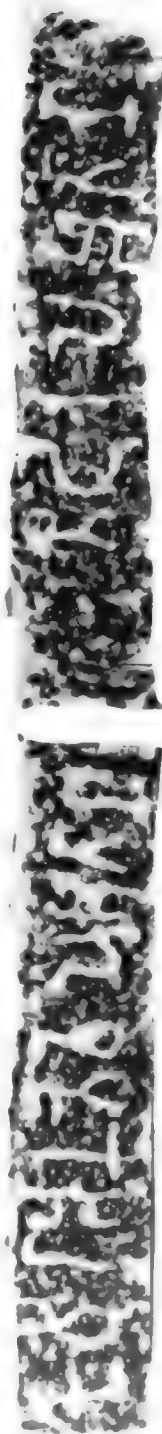
Plate 14. IX. METTUPPATTI 1-6. Inscriptions Nos. 24-29

30-31.



32.

33.



34.

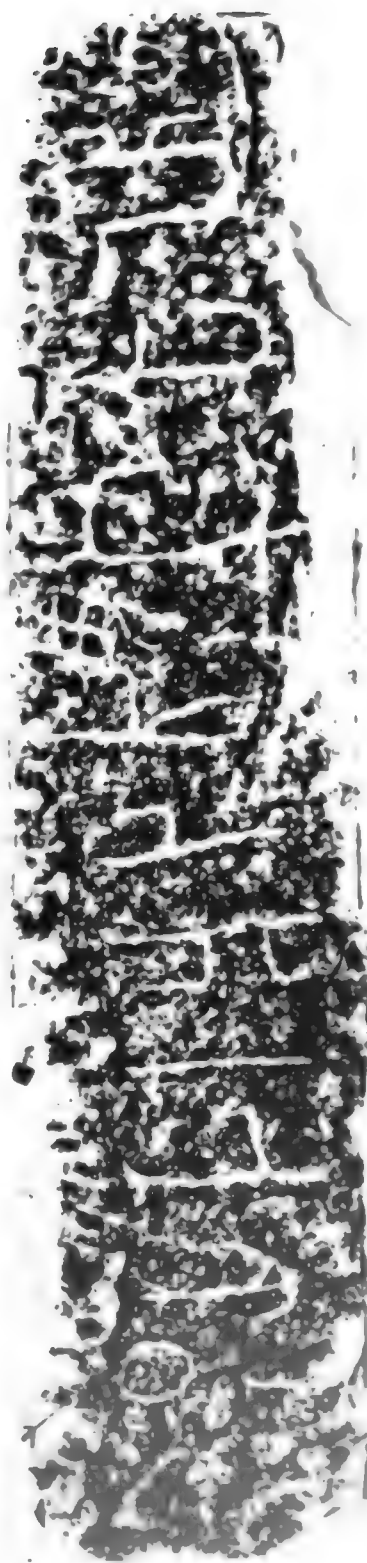
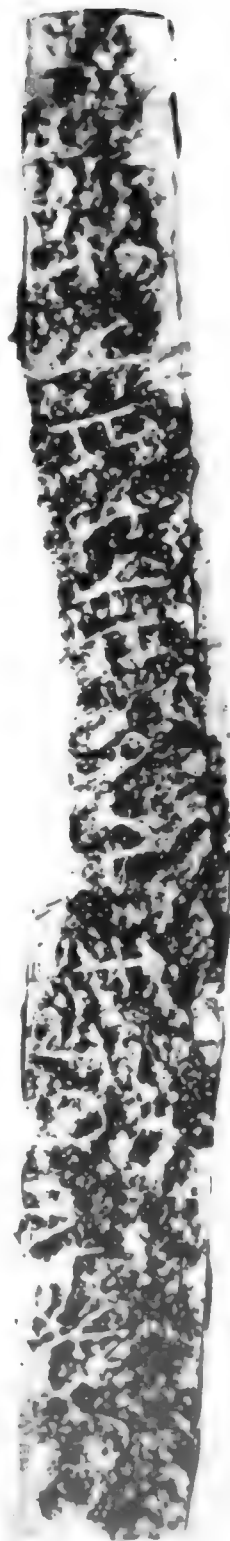


Plate 15A. METTUPPATTI 7-10. Inscriptions Nos. 30-33

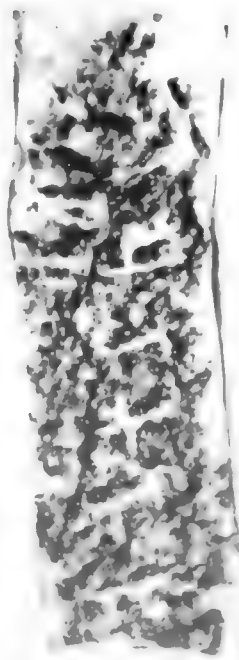
Plate 15B. X. KARUNGALAKKUDI. Inscription No. 34



35.



36.



37.

Plate 16A. XI. MUDALAIAKULAM. Inscription No. 35

Plate 16B. XII. ALAGARMALAI 1 &amp; 2. Inscriptions Nos. 36 &amp; 37

38-40.



Plate 17. ALAGARMALAI 3-5. Inscriptions Nos. 38-40 (estampage in two segments).

40-42.

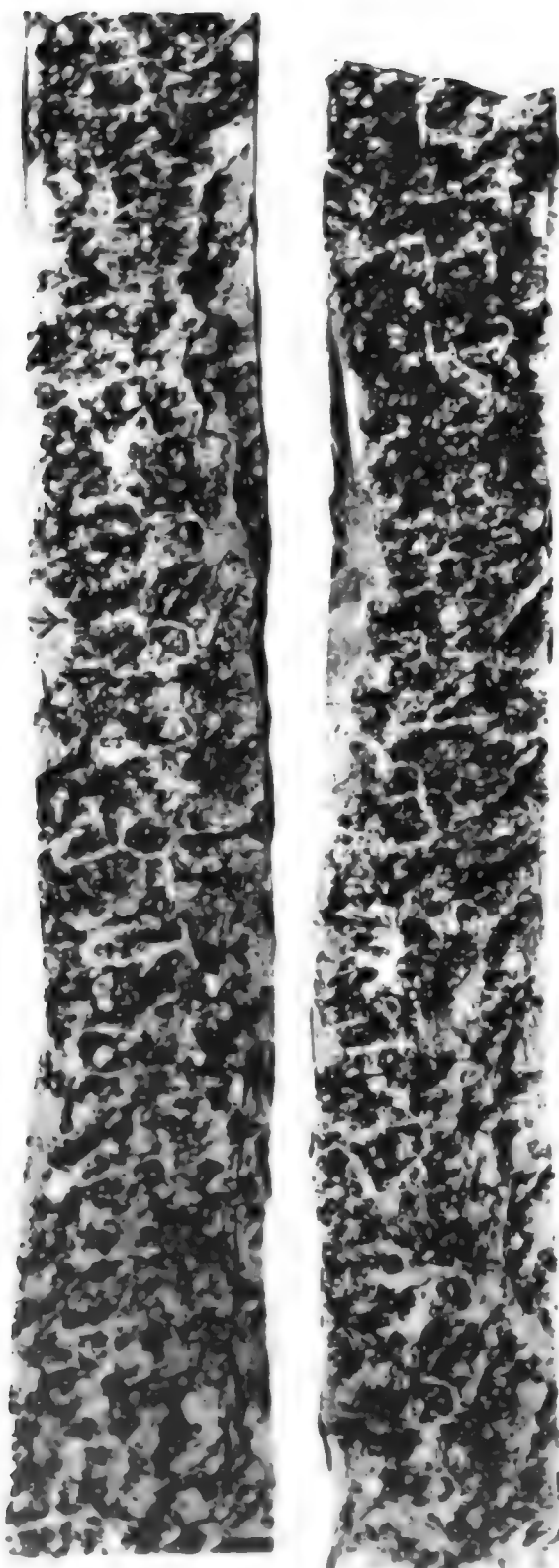


Plate 18. ALAGARMALAI 5-7. Inscriptions Nos. 40-42 (estampage in two segments).

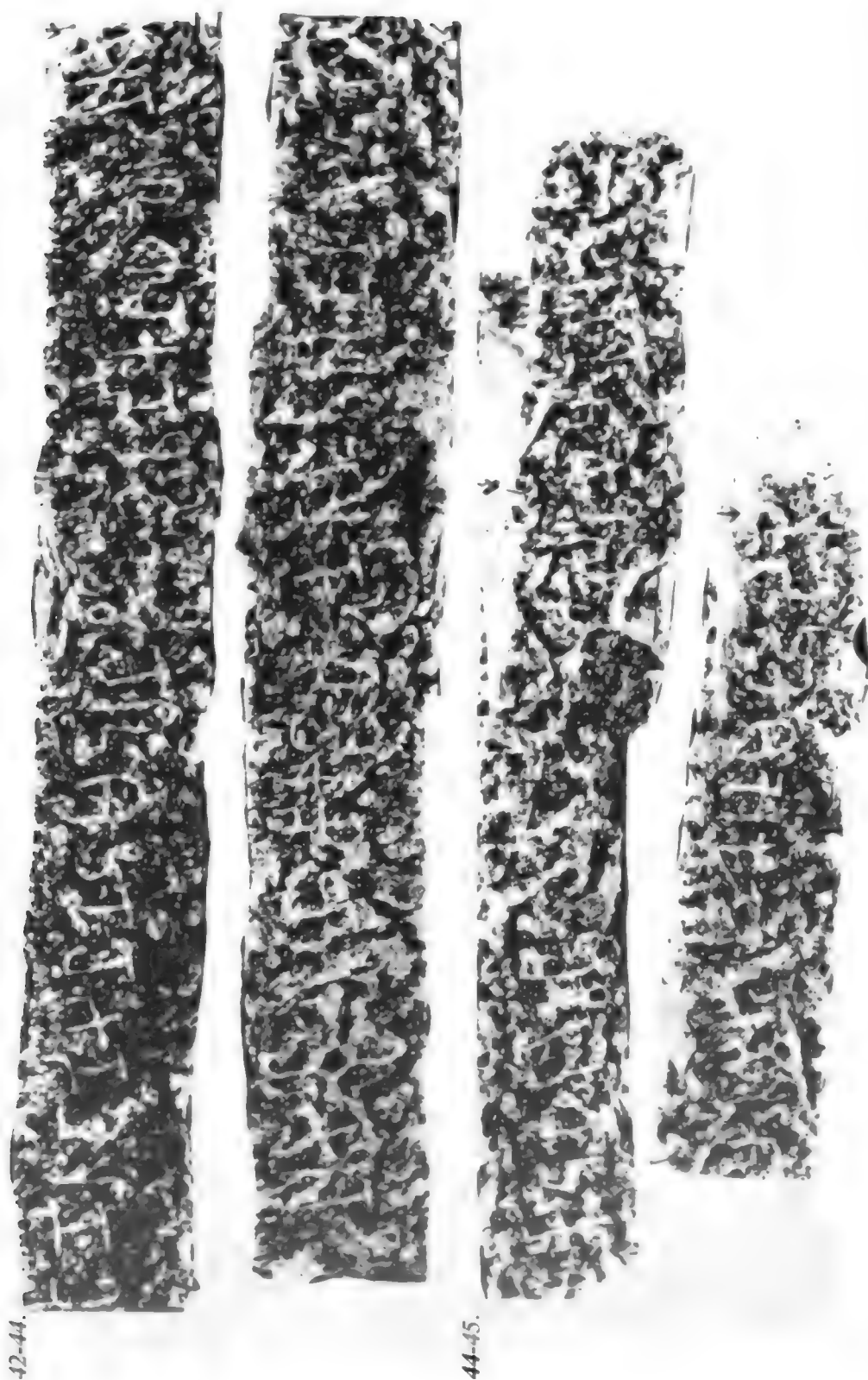


Plate 19. ALAGARMALAI 7-10. Inscriptions Nos. 42-45 (estampage in four segments).



卷之五

Plate 20. ALAGARMALAI 11-12 & 13. Inscriptions Nos. 46-47 & 48

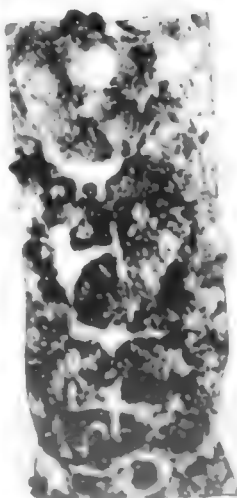
49.



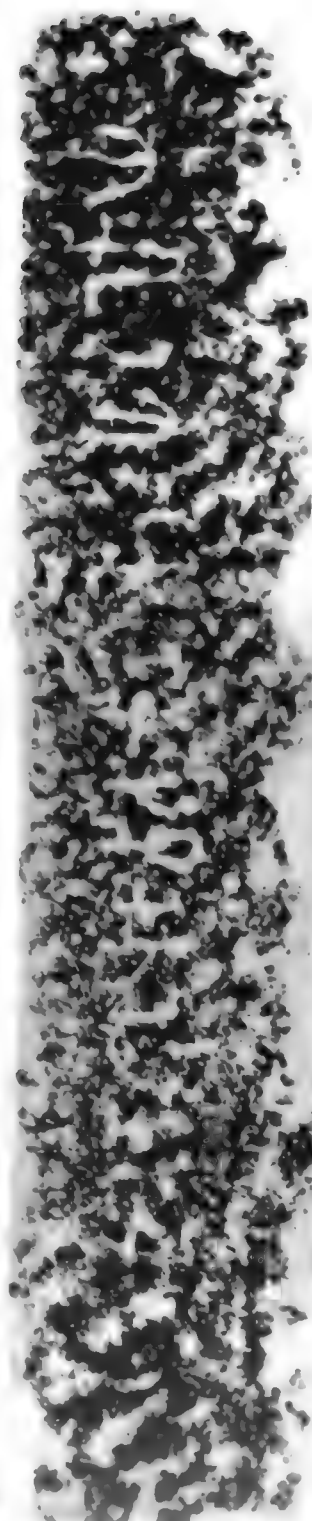
Plate 21. XIII. SITTANNAVASAL-A. Inscription No. 49



50.



51.



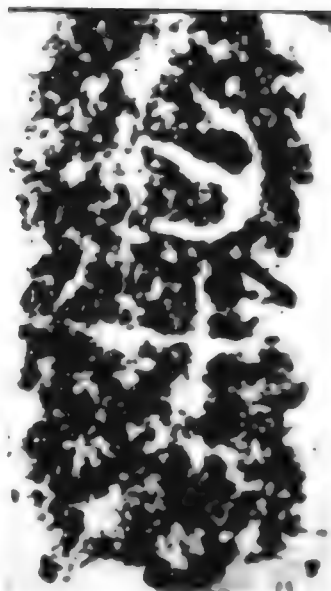
52.

Plate 22A. XIV. AIYARMALAI. Inscription No. 50

Plate 22B. XV. TIRUMALAI 1 & 2. Inscriptions Nos. 51 & 52

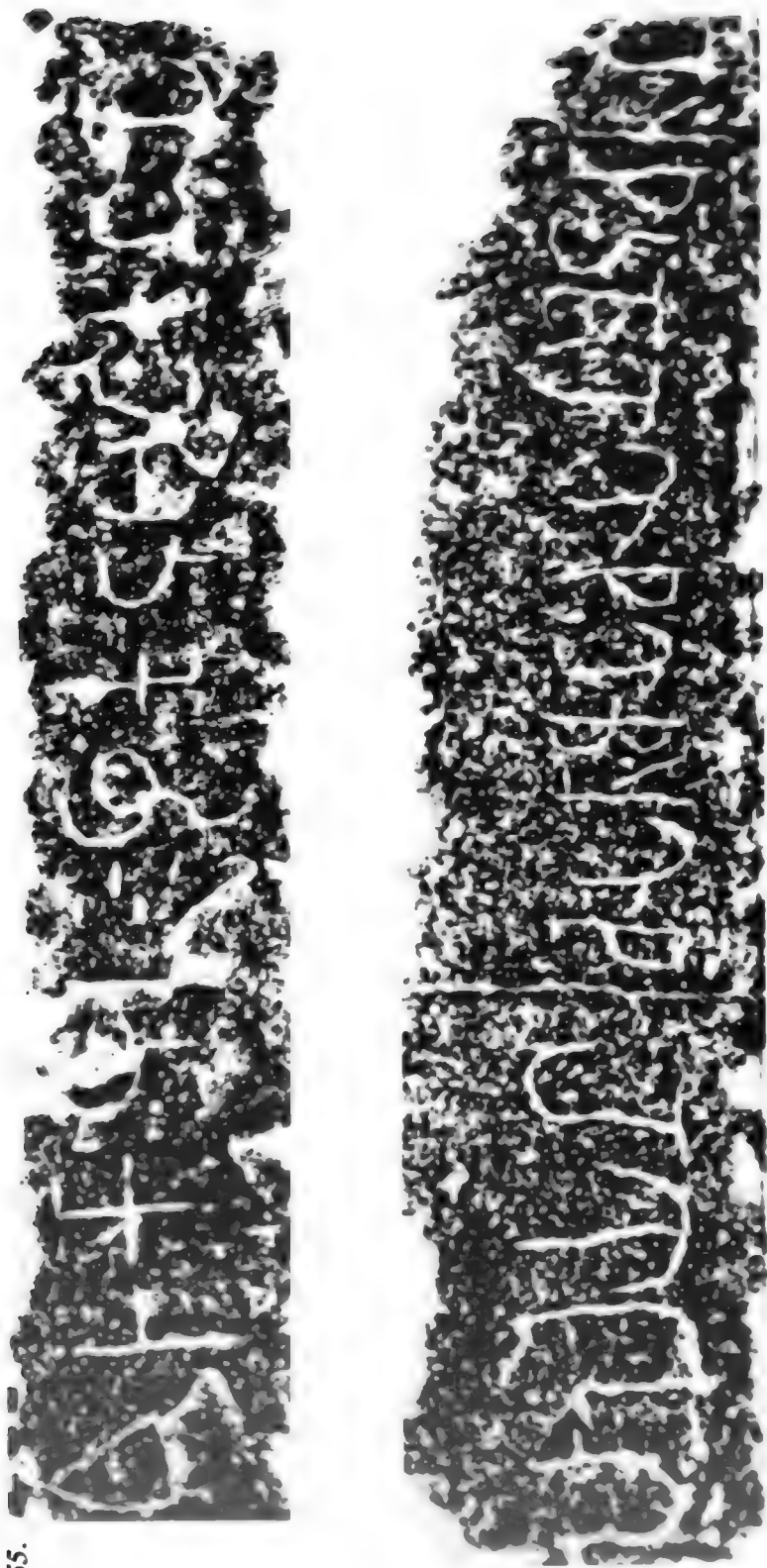


53.



54.

Plate 23. XVI. TIRUPPARANKUNRAM 1 & 2. Inscriptions Nos. 53 & 54 (inscription No. 54 in two segments).



55.

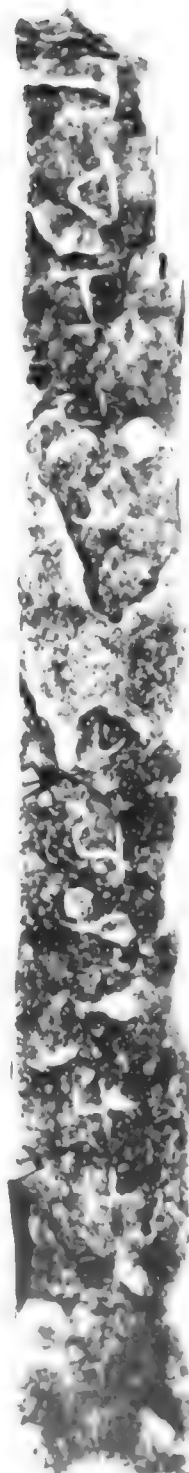
Plate 24. TIRUPPARANKUNRAM 3. Inscription No. 55 (estampage in two segments).



56.



57.



58.

Plate 25. XVII. MUTTUPPATTI 1-3. Inscriptions Nos. 56-58

(No. 56: estampage incomplete. No. 57: inscription in three segments).

59.

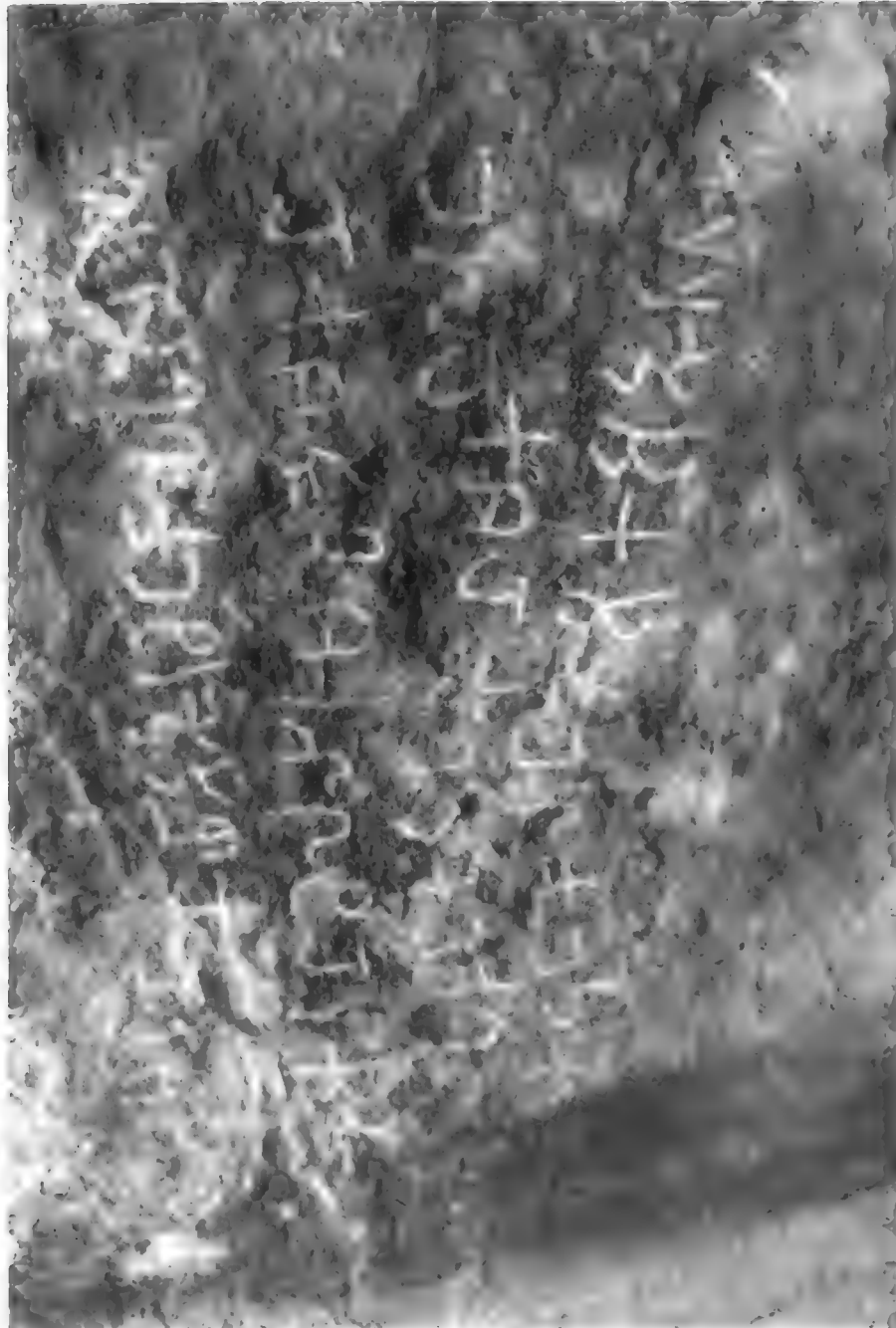


60.



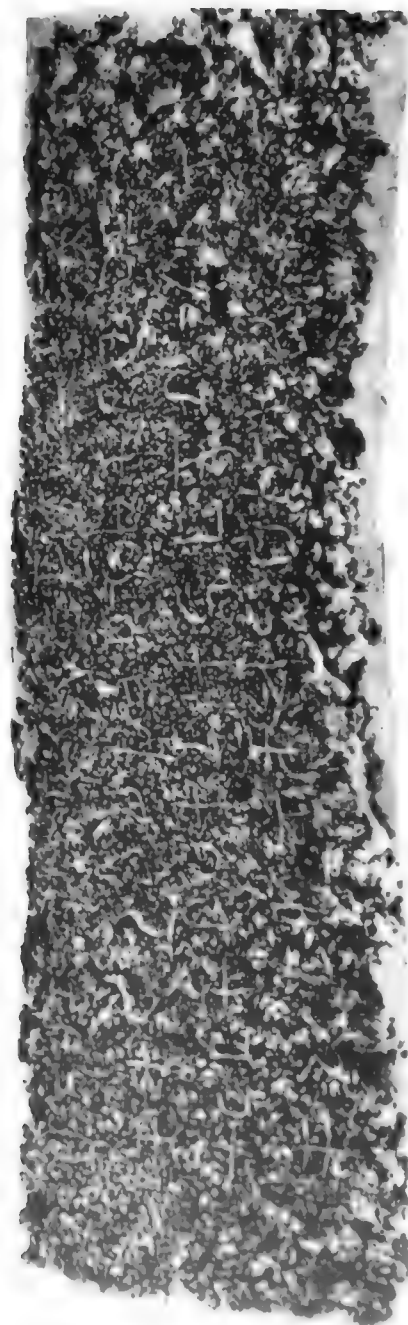
Plate 26A. XVIII. JAMBAL. Inscription No. 59

Plate 26B. XIX. ANAIMALAI. Inscription No. 60

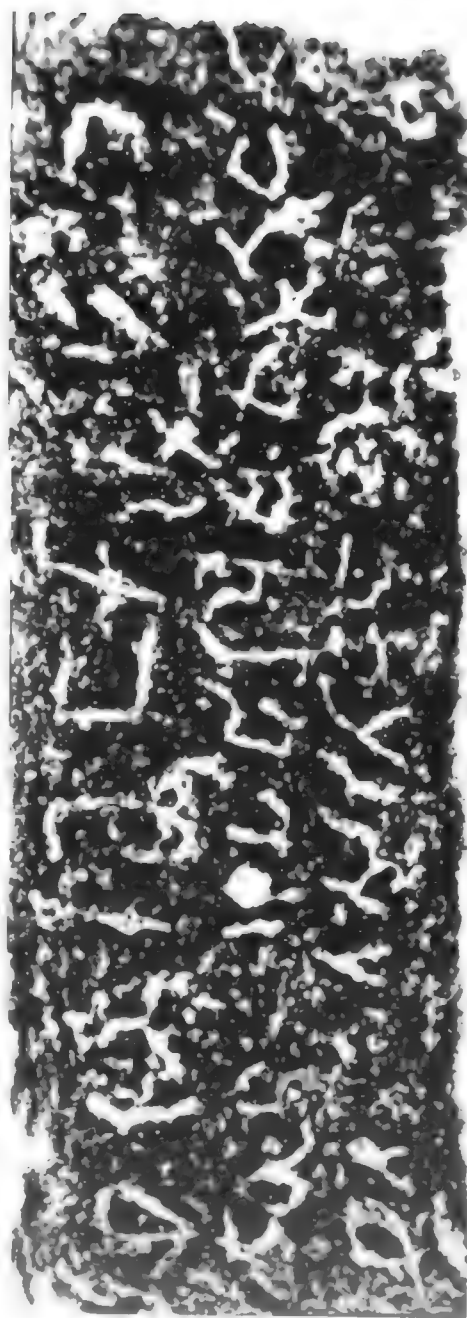


61.

Plate 27. XX. PUGALUR 1. Inscription No. 61  
Computer-enhanced print from direct colour photograph.

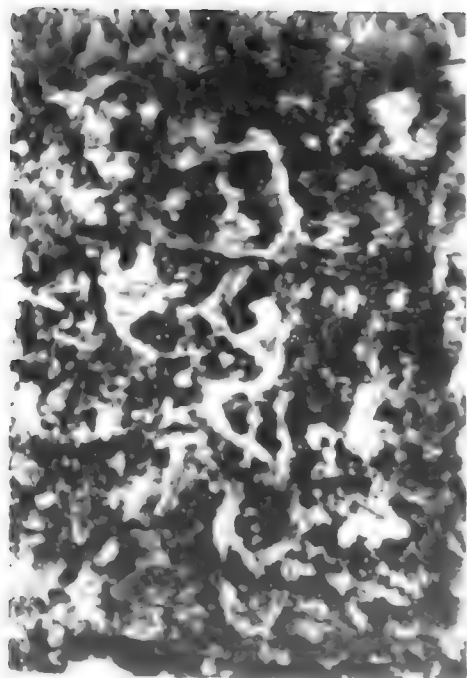


62.

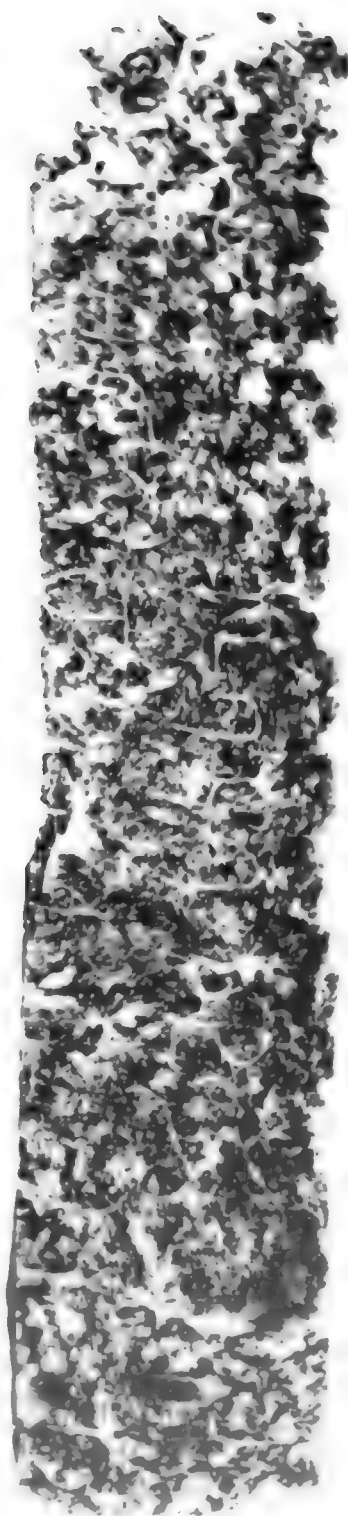


63.

Plate 28. PUGALUR 2 & 3. Inscriptions Nos. 62 & 63

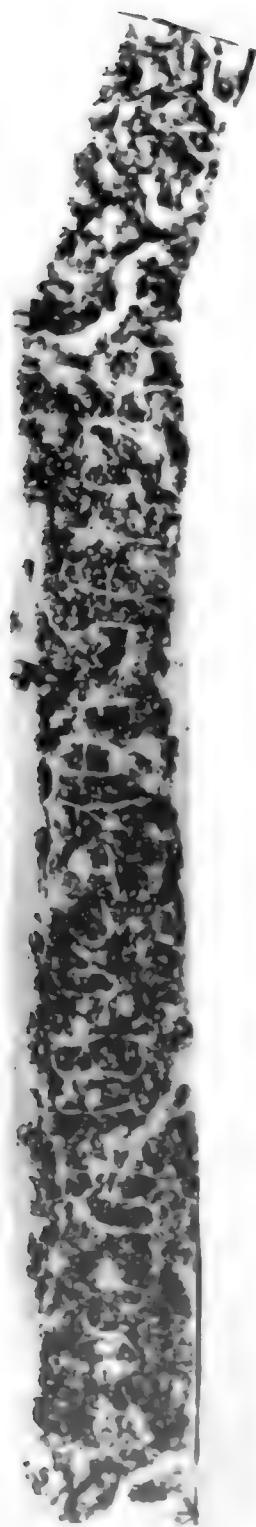


64.

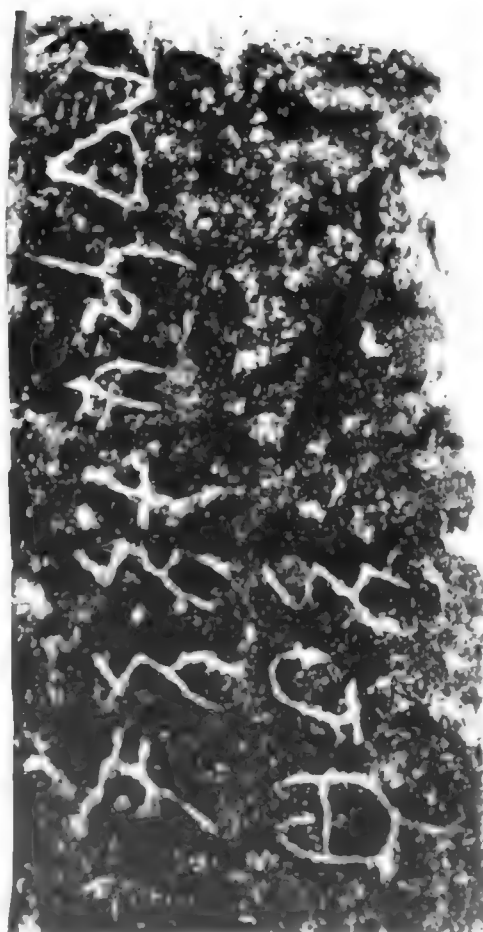


65.

Plate 29. PUGALUR 4 & 5. Inscriptions Nos. 64 & 65

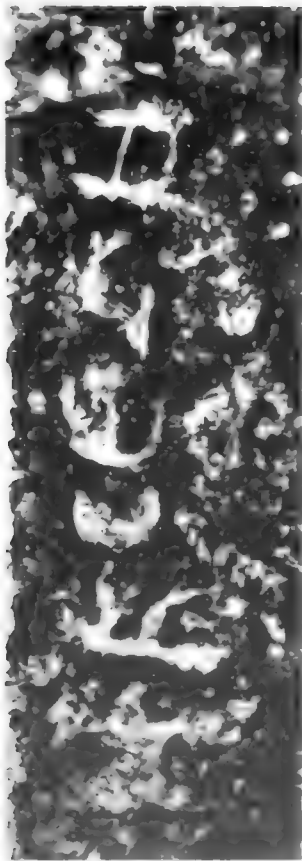


66.

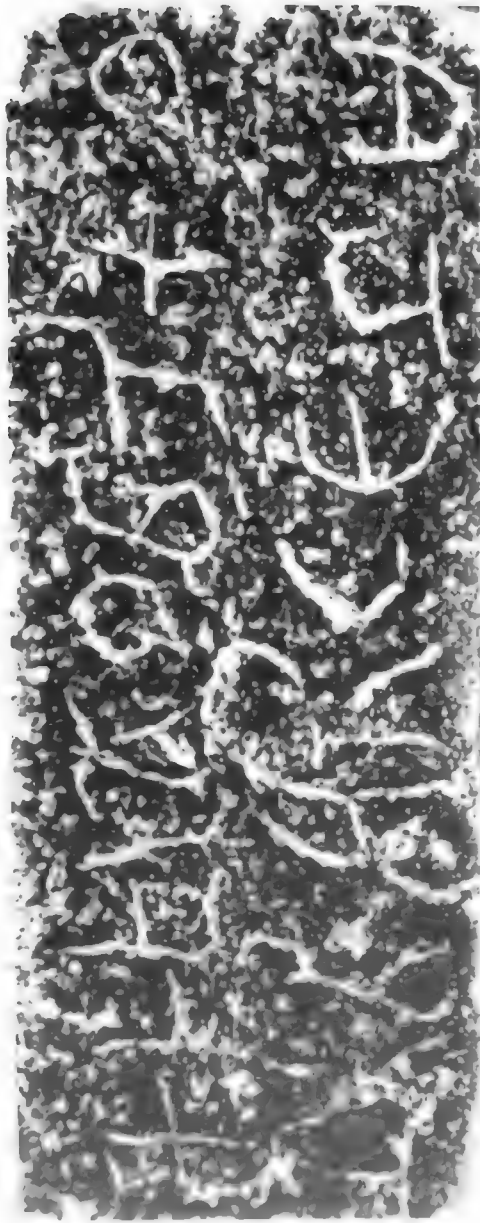


67.

Plate 30. PUGALUR 6 &amp; 7. Inscriptions Nos. 66 &amp; 67



68.

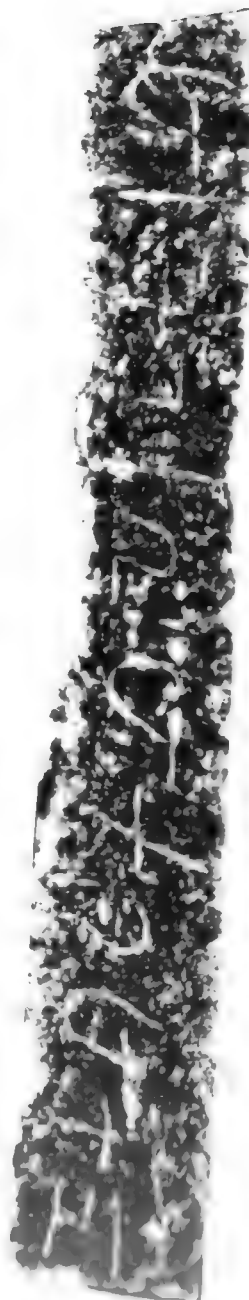


69.

Plate 31. PUGALUR 8 & 9. Inscriptions Nos. 68 & 69



70.



72.

Plate 32. PUGALUR 10 & 12. Inscriptions Nos. 70 & 72

73.

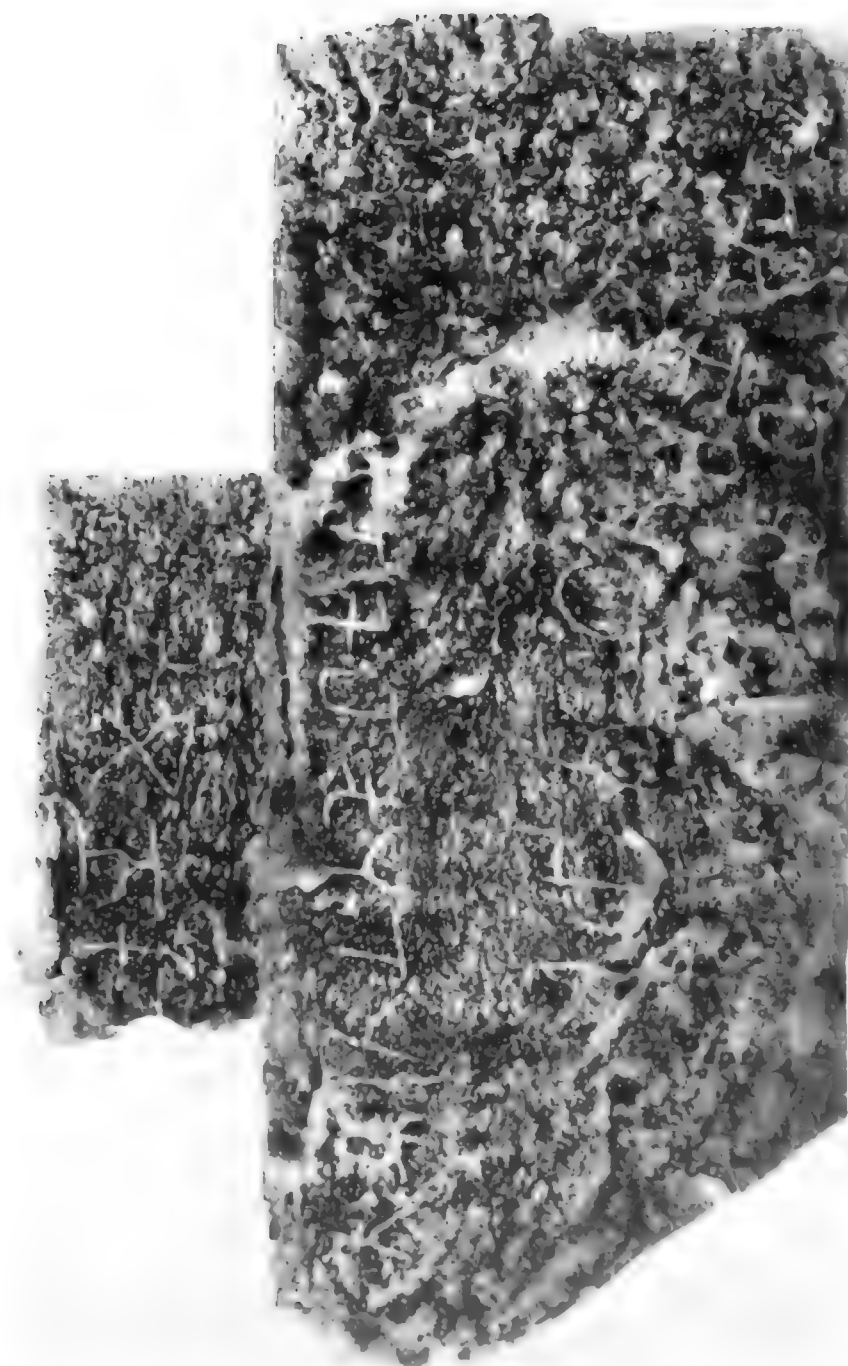
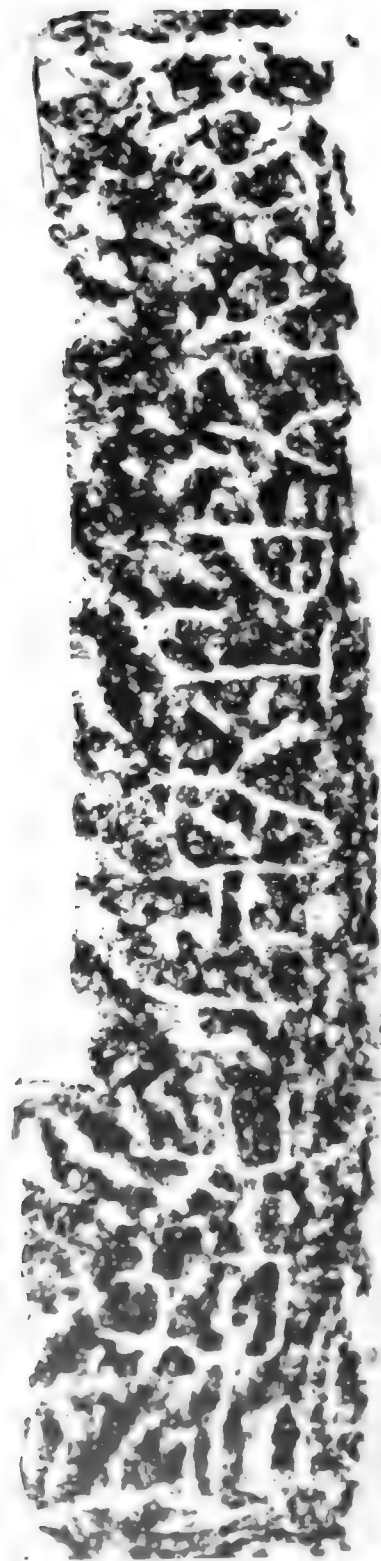


Plate 33. XXI. MAMANDUR. Inscription No. 73 (estampage in two segments).



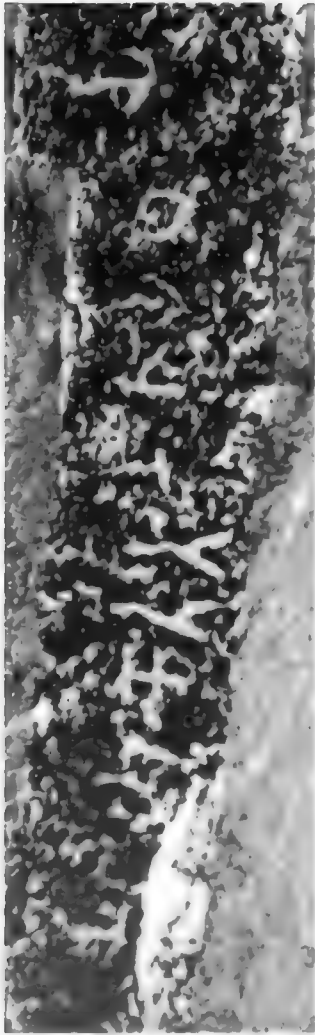
74.



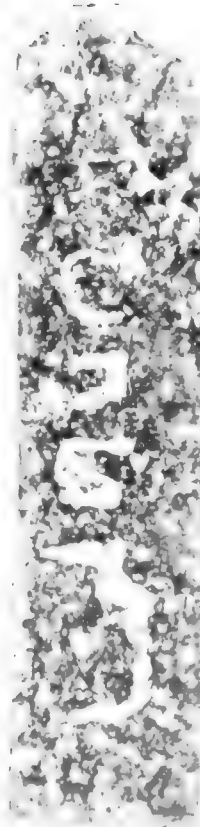
76.

Plate 34A. XXII. KUNNAKKUDI 1. Inscription No. 74

Plate 34B. XXIII. TONDUR. Inscription No. 76



77.



78.

Plate 35B. XXV. TIRUCHIRAPALLI-A. Inscription No. 78

Plate 35A. XXIV. KUDUMIYAMALAI. Inscription No. 77

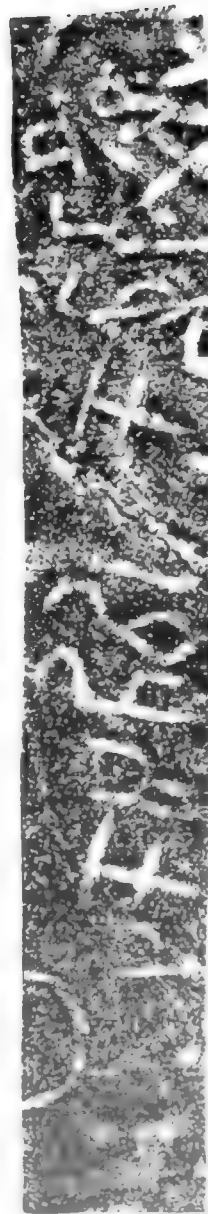


79.

Plate 36. XXVI. EDAKAL-A 1. Inscription No. 79



80.



81-82.

Plate 37. EDAKAL-A 2 & 3-4. Inscriptions Nos. 80 & 81-82  
Estampage and its photograph for Nos. 81-82 taken in 1897.

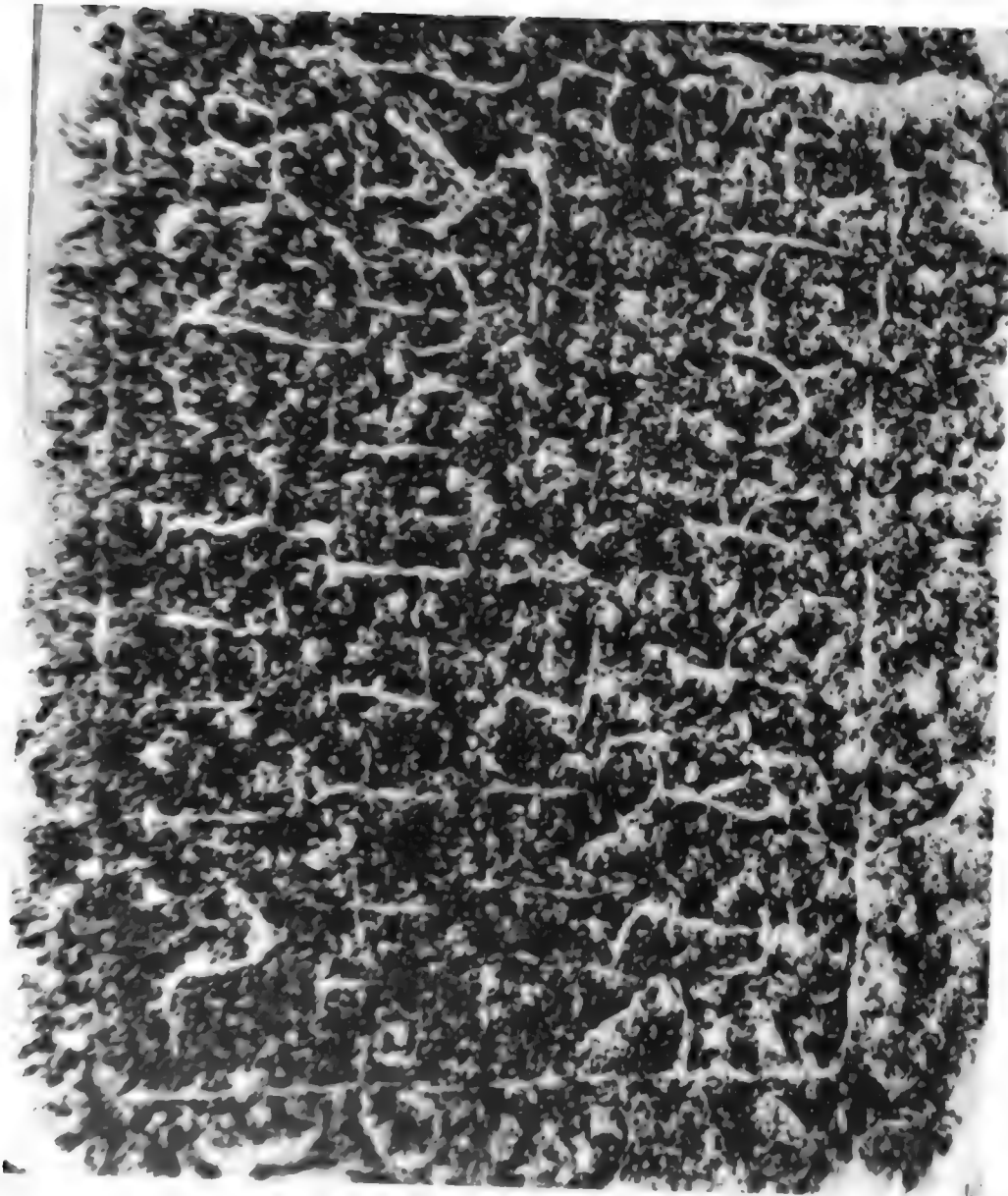


Plate 38. XXVII. NEKANURPATTI. Inscription No. 83

84.



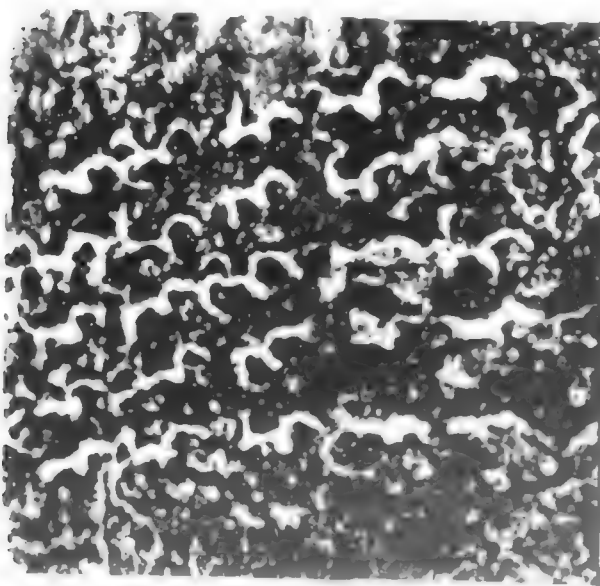
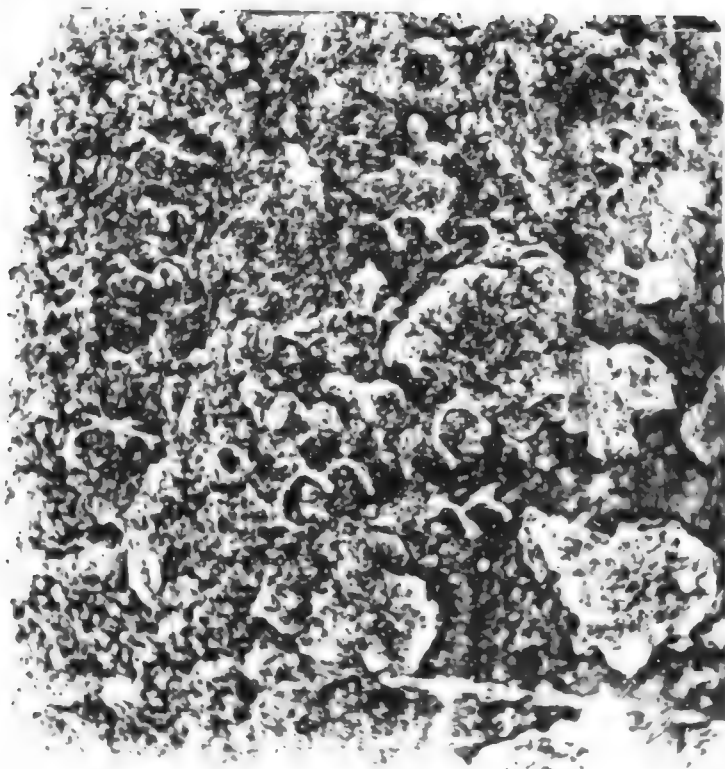
Plate 39. XXVIII. AMMANKOYILPATTI. Inscription No. 84

85.



Plate 40. XXIX. ARACHALUR 1. Inscription No. 85

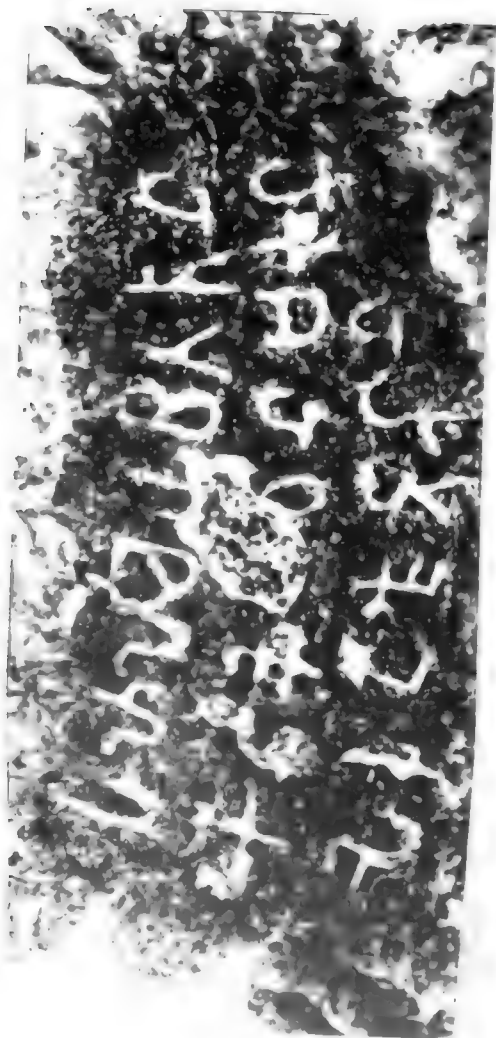
87.



86.

Plate 41. ARACHALUR 2 & 3. Inscriptions Nos. 86 & 87

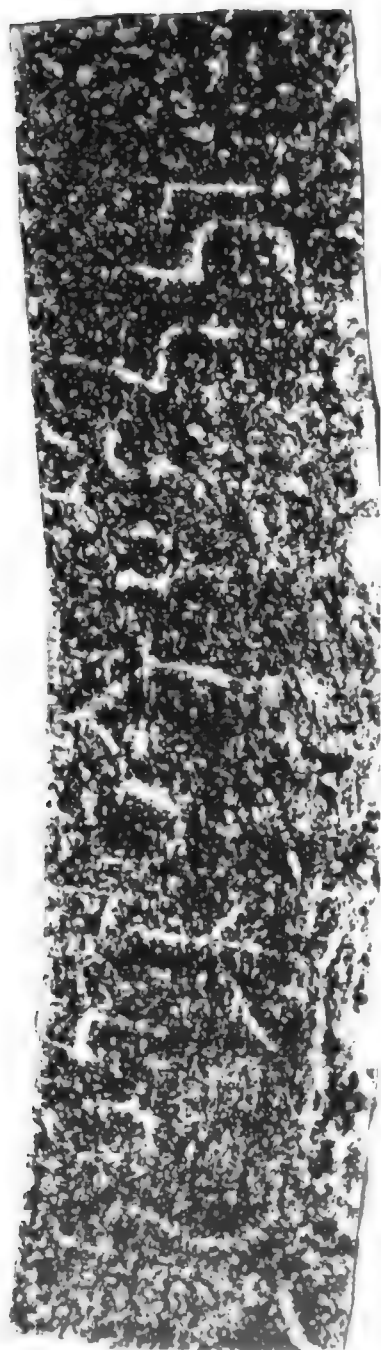
88.



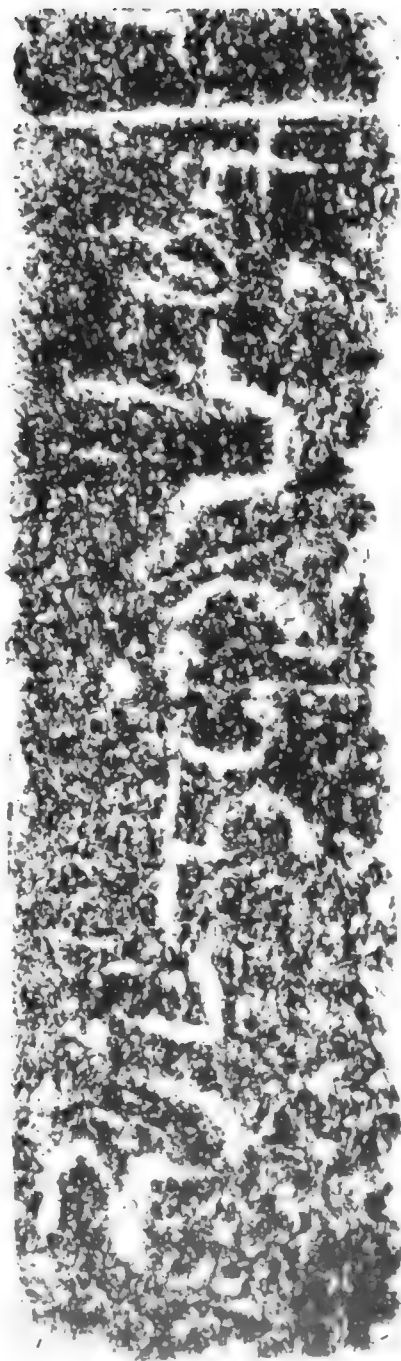
89.



Plate 42. XXX. MANNARKOIL 1 & 2. Inscriptions Nos. 88 & 89



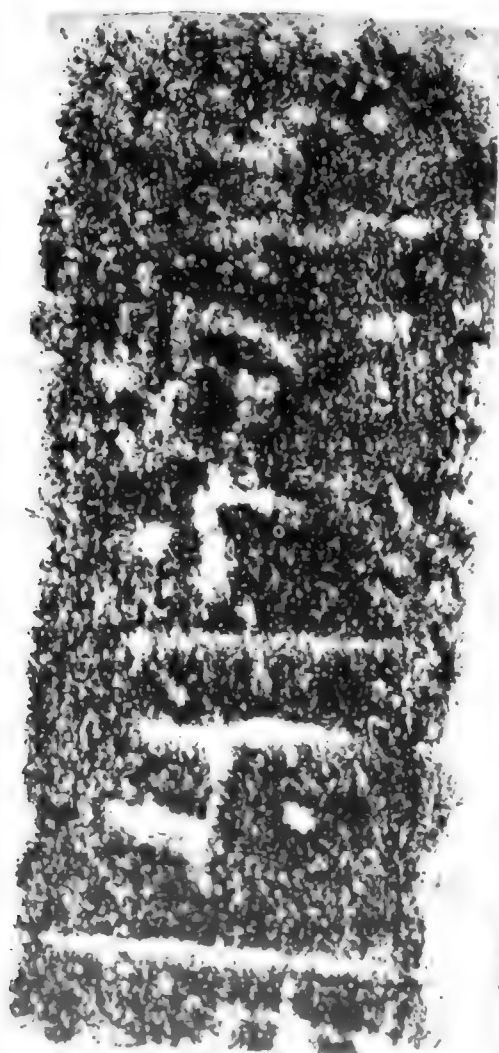
101.



102.

Plate 43. XXXI. SITTANNAVASAL-B 1 & 2. Inscriptions Nos. 101 & 102

103.



104.



Plate 44. SITTANNAVASAL-B 3 & 4. Inscriptions Nos. 103 & 104

105-106.



109.

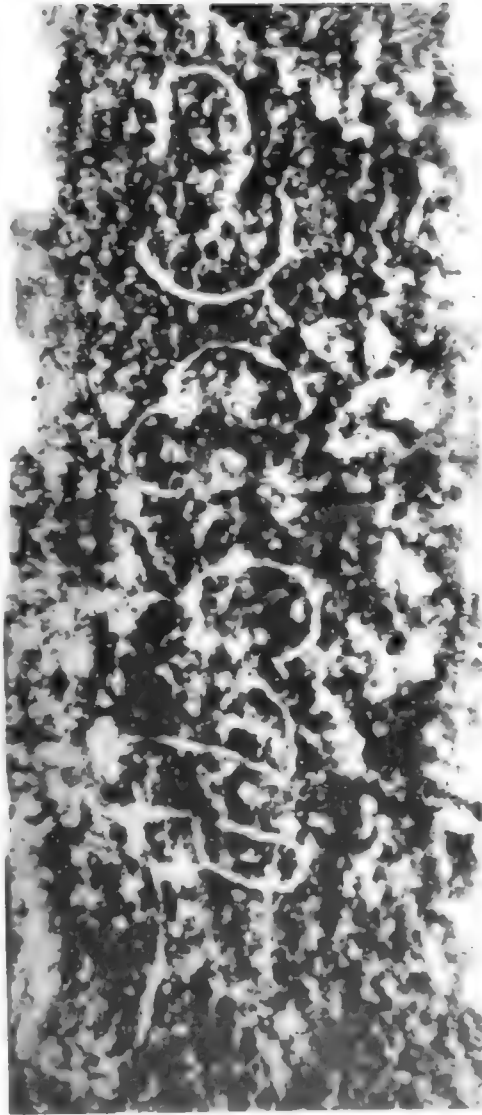


Plate 45A. SITTANNAVASAL-B 5-6. Inscriptions Nos. 105-106

(No. 106: estampage incomplete).

Plate 45B. XXXII. TIRUCHIRAPALLI-B 2. Inscription No. 109

110.



111.

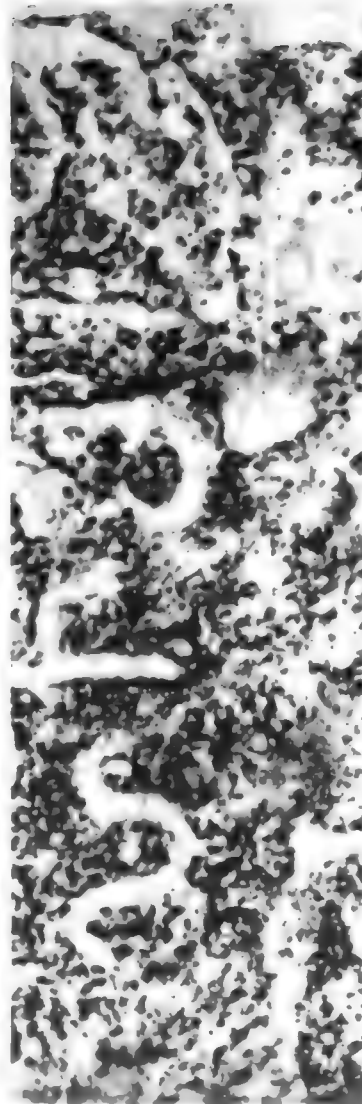


plate 46A. TIRUCHIRAPALLI-B 3. Inscription No. 110

Plate 46B. XXXIII. PERUMUKKAL. Inscription No. 111

112.



113.



Plate 47A. XXXIV. ARASALAPURAM. Inscription No. 112

Plate 47 B. XXXV. INDALUR. Inscription No. 113



Plate 48. XXXVI. ERETTIMALAI. Inscription No. 114  
(See Fig. 1.17 for a direct photograph.)

114.

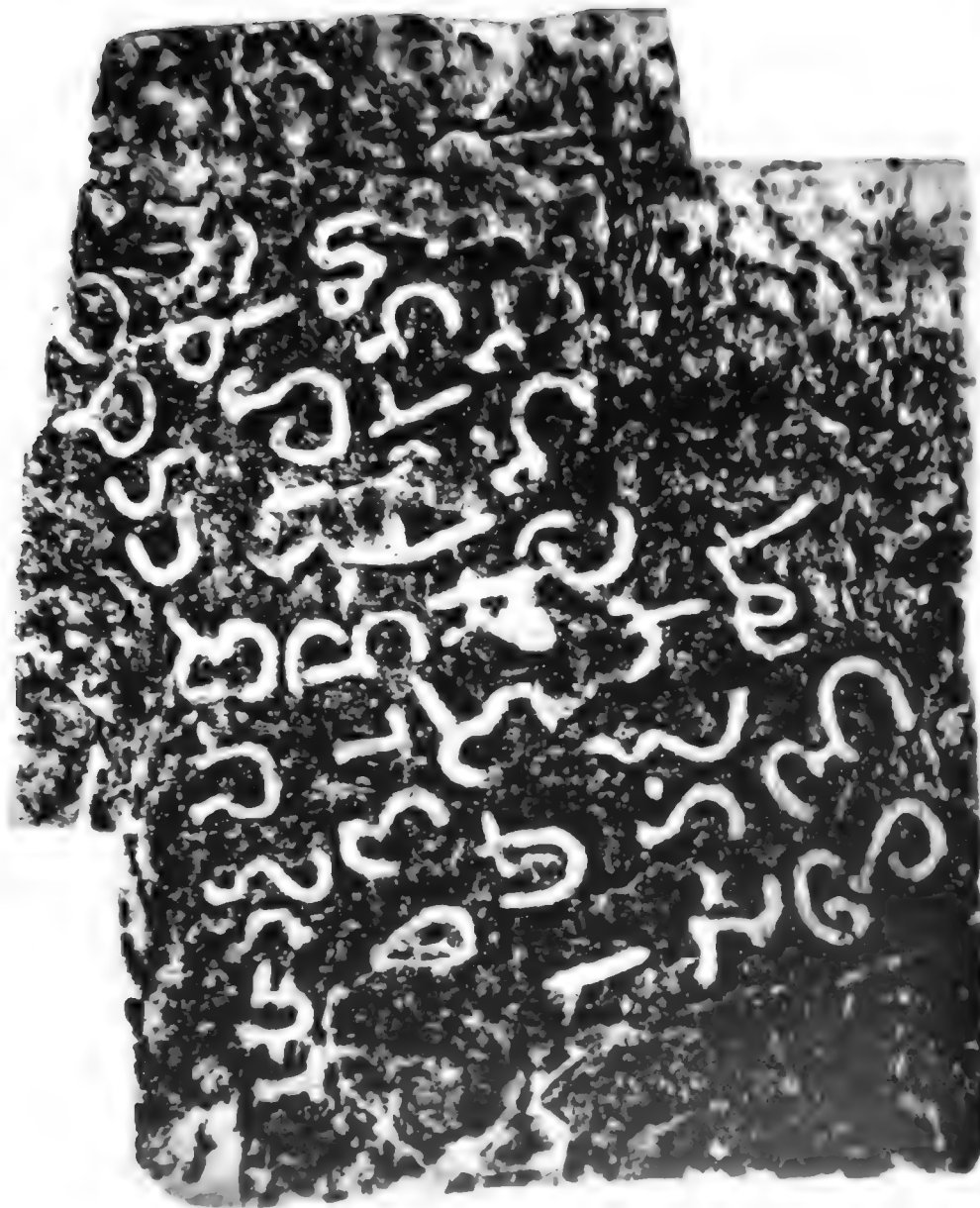


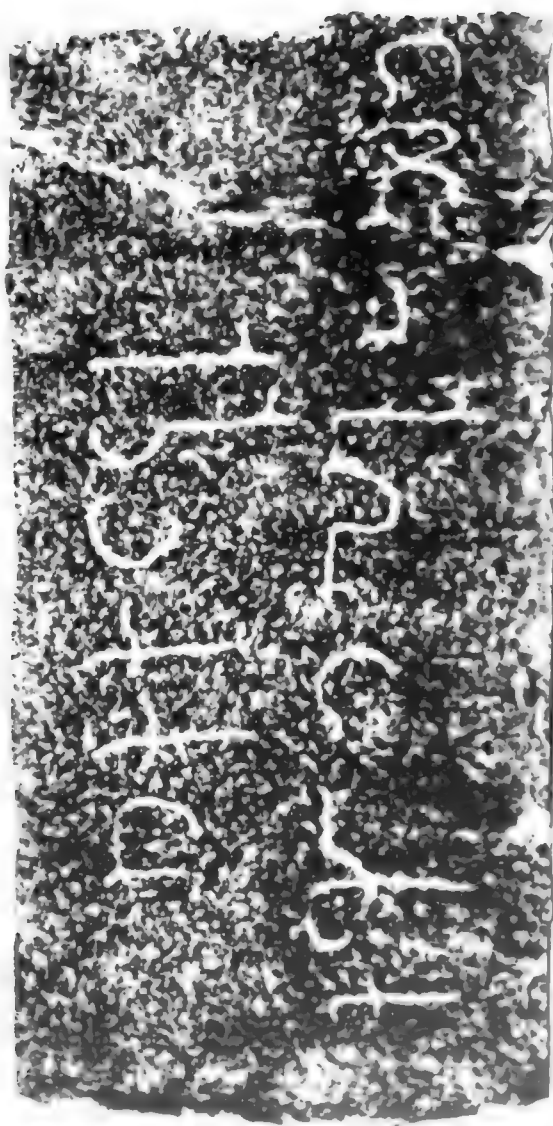
Plate 49. XXXVII. PARAIYANPATTU. Inscription No. 115

115.



116.

Plate 50 . XXXVIII. TIRUNATHARKUNRU. Inscription No. 116



117.

Plate 51. XXXIX. PILLAIYARPATTI. Inscription No. 117

118.



119.



Plate 52. XL. EDAKAL-B 1 & 2. Inscriptions Nos. 118 & 119



Plate 53. XLI. EZHUTTUKALLU. Inscription No. 120  
Computer-enhanced print from direct photograph.

120.

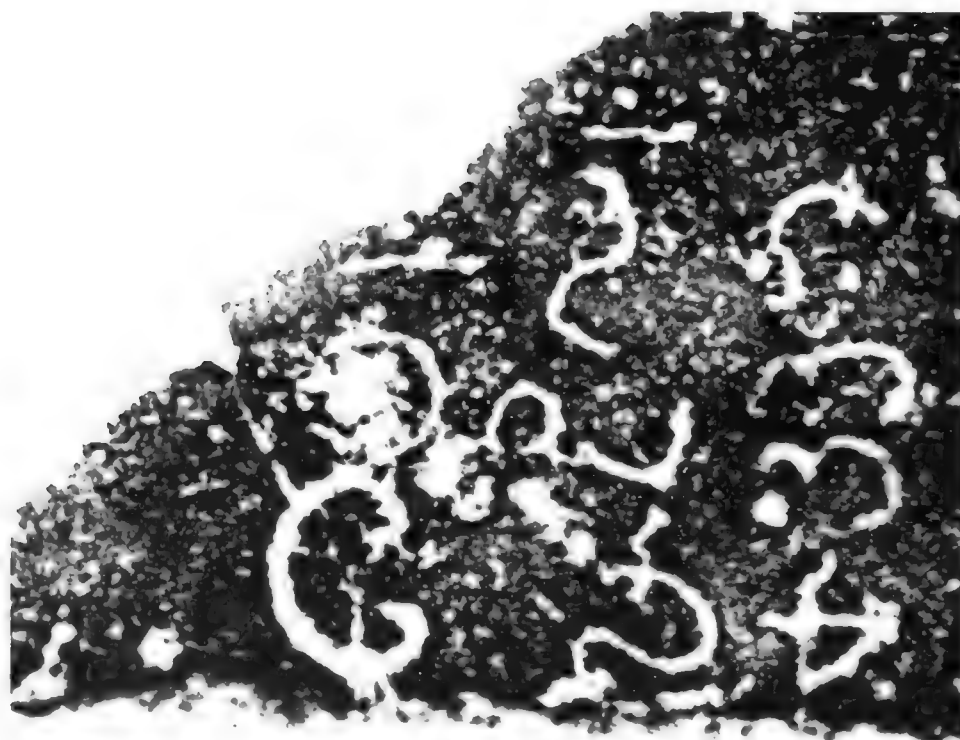


Plate 54. XLII. TAMATAKALLU. Inscription No. 121

121.



**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTIONS**



## COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTIONS

The Commentary is a detailed word-by-word study of the inscriptions included in the Corpus, supplementing the translation and notes with additional information on the language and contents. The purpose of the Commentary is to situate the Early Tamil inscriptions in the mainstream of Indian epigraphy by showing that their style and contents are similar to those of the contemporary religious and votive inscriptions elsewhere in the country, and that their language, when correctly understood, is no different in its basic features from the more familiar inscriptional Tamil of the succeeding periods or even Literary Tamil.

The Commentary is arranged in the following format:

**Headwords** (in bold italics) are listed as they occur in the Corpus in the order of inscriptions and the word order of each inscription. Each word is allotted a **Reference Number** (in bold) comprising the inscription number as in the Corpus followed by the word number in the inscription, separated by a dot. The inscriptional words which include composite names, noun phrases, etc., are segmented into minimal lexical units marked by alphabetic suffixes (a, b, c, etc.) for further analysis; e.g., 46.2 *aruvai-vaṇikaṇ* has two lexical segments: a. *aruvai* and b. *vaṇikaṇ*. When entries are repeated, detailed comments are made only on the first entry with cross references to it in later entries. The Inscriptional Glossary (Appendix I) arranged alphabetically serves as the reverse index to the Commentary.

**Emendations** are in italics enclosed within brackets next to the headwords. **Corrections** are also in italics and prefaced with the code 'Read'. Personal names and place names are marked N. and P. respectively. Grammatical parts of speech of other words are indicated by appropriate abbreviations. (See List of Abbreviations).

**Sections** of Chapters 1-7 dealing with relevant matters are indicated by cross-references.

The Commentary deals with the following matters:

**Meanings:** The literal (lexical) meaning of each word is supplemented, where necessary, with interpretation based on the inscriptional context (e.g., *koṭṭu* 'to hammer' occurs in the inscriptions with the meanings 'to carve, engrave').

**Grammatical notes:** The word-segments (minimal lexical units) are subjected to brief linguistic and grammatical analysis. See Chapter 7 (Grammar) for more detailed treatment.

**Citations:** Literary and inscriptional parallels are cited from the earliest available strata to illustrate the usage of the inscriptional words in the Corpus. Literary citations are prefaced with 'cf. LT' (Literary Tamil), and inscriptional citations with 'cf. (inscr.)'; '(inscr.)' refers only to Tamil inscriptions. Inscriptions from other languages are specified as such.

Citations from Literary Tamil (LT) are from classical Tamil works, mostly but not exclusively, from the Caṅkam Age. Texts of the Caṅkam classics (included in the compilations *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭuttokai* and *Paṭiṇṇēṇkīlkkāṇakku*) are cited from the editions published by S. Rajam (of

Murray & Co.). Citations are also given from the Tamil *nikaṇṭus* (*Tivākaram*, *Piṅkalantai* and *Cūṭāmaṇi*) and modern dictionaries, especially from *Tamil Lexicon* (TL) and *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (DEDR; entry numbers are prefaced with D.).

Citations of Tamil inscriptions include contemporary Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions on pottery, coins, seals, rings, etc. Inscriptional parallels are also cited from Pulankurichi and other pre-Pallava inscriptions (ca. 5-6 centuries A.D.) and from the succeeding Pallava-Pāṇṭiya (ca. 6-10 centuries A.D.) and Cōḷa-Pāṇṭiya (ca. 9-14 centuries A.D.) periods.

**Dravidian parallels:** Relevant lexical and inscriptional parallels are cited from the other literary Dravidian languages (Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu). Lexical references to the Dravidian languages are taken mostly from *DEDR*. Inscriptions in Old Kannada are cited mostly from A.N. Narasimha 1941 and G.S. Gai 1946; inscriptions in Old Telugu are cited mostly from K. Mahadeva Sastri 1969.

**Loanwords:** Loanwords from Indo-Aryan occurring in the Corpus are identified and parallels from Prakrit inscriptions (especially from South India and Sri Lanka) cited to illustrate their usage. Etymology of the loanwords is also investigated and their derivation from Sanskrit through Middle Indo-Aryan (or directly as in the Late Period) suggested. (See also the Etymological Indexes in Appendices IV to VI.)

**Contents:** Though the Early Tamil inscriptions are much fewer in number when compared with those of the later periods, their contents are of the utmost importance in studying the development of Tamil language and society in the Early Period. The historical inscriptions of the Early Pāṇṭiya and Cēra dynasties, the exclusive association of Jainism with the cave inscriptions and the political, social and economic conditions of the Early Tamil society as revealed in the inscriptions are briefly studied in the Commentary. See also Chapter 4 (Polity).

## COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTIONS

### EARLY TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS

#### I. MANGULAM

**1-3** The three longer inscriptions at this site have near-identical openings which may be studied together comparatively for a better understanding of their archaic orthography.

- 1.1 kaṇi-y** (n.) < *gaṇi* (Pkt.) < *gaṇin* (Skt.), title of the head of the order of Jaina monks  
**2.1 kaṇi-y** known as the *gaṇa*. See section 4.9.3(i) on the significance of the occurrence  
**3.1 kaṇi-i** of this term in the cave inscriptions.

The term *gaṇi* occurs frequently in Jaina Pkt. inscriptions (e.g.) *gaṇi aryya-buddha-śiri* (G. Bühler 1892, *EI.I*: pp. 371-397, No. xix); *gaṇi nandi* (G. Bühler 1894a, *EI. II*: pp. 195-212, No. xxiii). See also *gaṇin* 'Jaina ecclesiastic' (Lüders List:Index).

The monastic tradition of *gaṇa* and *gaṇi* continued in the Tamil country even in later times. Cf. (inscr.) *gaṇī vajranandī* of the *nandi-saṃgha* (*Pallava Inscr.* No.17:Paḷḷaṅkōvil Plates, Skt. passage, ca. 6th cent. A.D. The date of the original grant is cited in this Commentary for linguistic studies even though the Plates appear to be a later copy as judged from palaeography. See section 5.20.2.). Cf. *kaṇi cēkkara-maru-poṇṇiyan*, a Jaina teacher (*SII. I*: No. 66, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.).

The paragogic suffix **-y** (1.1 & 2.1) or **-i** (3.1) is added optionally after nouns ending in **-i** or **-ai**. The practice continued in later times also. Cf. (inscr.) *kuratti-y'nun'*, *aruṭṭuṇai-y'a* personal name' (*SII. V*: Nos. 320 & 352 respectively, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.). The paragogic suffix **-y** is also found in some of the palm-leaf manuscripts of *Puṛaṇāṇūru* (U.Ve. Swaminathaiyār, 6th edn., p. 18). See section 7.8.1.

- 1.2 nanta-a-siri-y-i kuv-aṇkē** N. of the senior Jaina monk, variously written. The name may  
**2.2 nanta-siri-y ku-aṇ** be normalised as Nanta-siri Kuvaṇ. He was the recipient of  
**3.2 nata-siri-y kuva[ṇ\*]** the gift of the hermitages recorded in these three inscriptions.

The largest stone bed, centrally situated and raised higher than the rest in the upper middle cave at this site, might have been his seat. Nanta-siri appears to be the monastic name assumed by the monk when he was ordained, and Kuvaṇ, his earlier given name or possibly the clan name, which indicates his Tamil origin.

**1.2.a nanta-a-    2.2.a nanta-    3.2.a nata-**

Bare stems from *nantaṇ/nataṇ* (N.) with elision of the PNG suffix **-aṇ** before adding the honorific suffix **-siri**.

Cf. *nam̐da* (Pkt.) < *nanda* (Skt.) lit., 'happiness'; occurs here as a personal name. Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *nam̐da* (Lüders List: No. 289); *nada* (with the nasal *m̐* dropped) (ibid. No. 1032); *nada* (Sinh. Pkt., Parānavitana 1970: Nos. 681 and 1105).

Cf. LT *nantaṇ* 'a personal name' (Aka. 251:5). Cf. *nataṇ* (48.4) and *iḷanataṇ* (17.1).

In *nanta-a-* (1.2.a), the attributive suffix *-a* appears to be superfluous when compared with *nanta-* (2.2.a) and *nata-* (3.2.a).

### 1.2.b *siri-y-i* 2.2.b *siri-y* 3.2.b *siri-y*

(n.) < *siri* (Pkt.) < *śrī* (Skt.) 'auspiciousness', an honorific affixed to proper names. While it is generally prefixed as an attribute, it may also be suffixed as a substantive as in this case.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *nam̐da-sirī* (fem.); *cam̐da-siri*, *nāga-siri*, *mūla-siri* (all masc.) (Lüders List: Nos. 1127, 1202-03); *khāravēla-siri* (ibid. No. 1345). Cf. also *śirī* (Sinh. Pkt.) in *śiriguta* 'a personal name'; (Parānavitana 1970: No. 529).

In later Tamil inscriptions *siri* is sometimes written as *ciri*. Cf. *ciri kaṅkaraicarū* (Pallava Inscr. No. 291, ca. 7th cent. A.D.); *ciri vicaiya-k-kurattiyār* (SII. V: No. 322, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

The paragogic suffix *-y-i* (1.2.b) is a variant of *-y*.

### 1.2.c *kuv-aṇkē* 2.2.c *ku-aṇ* 3.2.c *kuva[ṇ\*]*

(N.) The personal or clan name which may be normalised as *Kuvaṇ* is not attested elsewhere, but may probably be compared with *kuvāvaṇ*, N. of a chieftain (K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1915-16, *EI*. XIII: p. 139, ca. 8th cent. A.D.; *Pallava Inscr.* No. 106, 9th cent. A.D.).

Cf. LT *kuvavu* 'greatness' (Cūṭā. 8:10; *TL* cites *Te. kuvva* under this entry).

The PNG suffix *-aṇ* is added in free form in two variants of the word (1.2.c & 2.2.c). Such 'analytical' writing is a characteristic feature of the Early Ta. Br. inscriptions and does not represent 'alphabetic' writing with separation of consonants and vowels. See section 6.18 on 'analytical' writing.

*-kē* (1.2.c) is the dative suffix *-ku* with the addition of the emphatic particle *-ē*.

Sandhi: *ku + ē > kē*.

Cf. (inscr.) *nallaṅ-kilāṇē* (Pulankurichi Inscr. II. 11, ca. 5th cent. A.D., *Āvaṇam*, 1: pp. 57-69); *vajranandi-k-kuravar-k-kē* (Pallava Inscr. No. 17, ca. 6th cent. A.D.).

- 1.3 **dhammam** (n.) < *dhamma*, *dhama* (Pkt.) < *dharma* (Skt.). Cf. (Pāli inscr.) *dhammamā*,  
 2.3 **dhamam** *dhamam* (Asoka, CII. I: Gir. IV.9, XIII. 10); (Pkt. inscr.) *dhamma*, *dhama*  
 (Lüders List: Index); (Pkt. inscr.) *dē dhamō*... 'religious gift given by ...' (inscribed  
 pottery from Arikamedu, ca. 1st cent. A.D., I. Mahadevan 1973: No. V). The  
 meaning of the term in the present context is 'religious gift, charity, endowment'.  
 Cf. LT *tarumam* 'virtuous conduct' (*Tivā*. 1520); '*aṛam*' (*Cūṭā*. 8:39); *tarumamum*  
*takkārkkē* 'charity to the deserving' (*Nālaṭi*. 250). The term occurs in this sense  
 frequently in later Tamil inscriptions. Cf. *dharma* 'meritorious gift, charity' (*SII*.  
 I: Index).

- 1.4 **ittā-a** (intj.) 'lo, behold, look here!', ultimately derived from *ihtu* 'this', the proximate  
 2.4 **ītā** demonstrative pronoun (D. 410). Cf. LT *itā* (*Cīvaka*. 1232), *ītā* (*Pari*. 8:60).

The form **ittā-a** (1.4) appears to be a case of vowel-elongation (*uyir aḷapeṭai*)  
 to emphasise the sense of wonder already expressed by the interjection.

Cf. LT *ēe ōo eṇa viḷi ēṇpikka* 'as she called out 'hey' and 'oh'' (*Pari*. 19:61 cited  
 in V.S. Rajam 1992: pp. 258, 263).

**ītā** (2.4) may be read as *itā* also, as the character *ī* was also employed to write *i*  
 in the Early Ta. Br. inscriptions; e.g., *iḷaṇṇaṭṭikaṇ* (2.7). See section 6.14.  
 However, the reading **ītā** is more likely here as shown by the contrast with **ittā-**  
 (1.4). The variant **ītā** is also probably more ancient than *itā* (T. Murugarathanam  
 1994: pp. 15-20).

- 1.5 **neṭuñcaḷiyaṇ** (N.) The name may be normalised as Neṭuñceḷiyaṇ. He was most probably  
 2.5 **neṭiñcaḷiyaṇ** the reigning king of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty. See section 4.2.1 for the  
 identification.

1.5.a **neṭu(m)-** 2.5.a **neṭi(m)-**

(adj.) 'senior'. Cf. *neṭumai* 'greatness' (D. 3738). The attribute is prefixed to  
 distinguish the senior members of a family (father or elder brother) from the  
 junior members with the same name. See section 4.18.4.

Cf. LT *neṭuñcēralātaṇ* 'N. of a Cēra king' (*Patir*. 20:5); *neṭumai* (lit.) 'length'  
 (*Tivā*. 1374; *Cūṭā*. 8:13).

Cf. (inscr.) *teṇṇavar kō neṭumāraṇ* (*SII*. XIV: No. 44, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent.  
 A.D.).

The variant **neṭi-** (2.5.a) may be compared with LT *neṭiya-*, *neṭityōṇ* (TL).

Sandhi: *-m > -ñ-* before *-c*.

1.5.b & 2.5.b **caḷiyaṇ**

(N.) Cf. LT *celiyaṇ*, one of the generic names of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty (*Aka*.  
 36:13; *Pura*. 76:9; *Tivā*. 182; *Piṅkala*. 750; *Cūṭā*. 2:20). The name is also attested

in inscriptions (*Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ*: No. 1, ca. 8th cent. A.D.). Cf. *ceḷi* 'to prosper (as kingdom, family, country)' (D. 2789).

- 1.6 **paṇa-aṇ** (n.) Cf. *paṇavaṇ* 'servant' (TL) from *paṇ* 'service, work, employment' (D. 3884). The expression may be interpreted in this context as 'officer, high functionary' as he served under the king. The PNG suffix **-aṇ** is added in free form.

- 1.7 **kaṭal-aṇ vaḷutti-y** N. of the donor. He was probably a Pāṇṭiya prince or vassal. The name may be normalised as Kaṭalaṇ Vaḷuti.

**a. kaṭal-aṇ** (*kaṭalaṇ*) (N.) Cf. LT *kaṭalaṇ*, the chieftain of Viḷaṅkil (*Aka.* 81:13). The name was also borne by one of the Caṅkam poets (author, *Aka.* 72, etc.). This is an appellative noun derived from *kaṭal* 'sea' (D. 1118) with the addition of the PNG suffix **-aṇ** in free form. Kaṭalar are described as the people of the *neytal* (maritime) tract (*Tivā.* 300; *Piṅkala.* 600; *Cūṭā.* 2:72).

The name *kaṭāla-aṇa* (*kaṭalaṇ*) occurs in the Ta. Br. legend on a local coin from Sri Lanka (see No. 4, Table 1.6).

**b. vaḷutti-y** Read *vaḷuti-* (N.) One of the generic Pāṇṭiya names (*Aka.* 93: 9; *Pura.* 3:13; *Tivā.* 182; *Piṅkala.* 750; *Cūṭā.* 2:20).

Cf. *peruvāḷuti* (*peruvaḷuti*), Ta.Br. legend on an Early Pāṇṭiya coin (Nos. 1 & 2, Table 1.6).

Cf. (inscr.) *vaḷuti* (*SII.* XIV: No. 93, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 10th cent. A.D.).

Cf. *vāḷ* 'to flourish, be happy', *vaḷuttu* 'to bless, praise' (D. 5372). The doubling of consonants **-tt-** is superfluous here. Cf. *mattirai* (for *matirai*) (38.1).

**-y** is the paragomic suffix.

- 1.8 **koṭṭupitta-a** (v.) 'which was caused to be carved'; adjectival past participle, causative, from *koṭṭu* 'to hammer' (D. 2063).

**Analysis:** *koṭṭu* (stem) + *pi* (causative suffix) + *tt* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix) + *a* (additional participial suffix in free form which appears to be superfluous). Cf. **nanta-a-** (1.2.a) for another superfluous suffix in this inscription.

In the present context where stone beds and drip ledges were hammered and chiselled into shape from live rock in natural caves, the verb *koṭṭu* is best translated 'to carve'. The usage is attested in later Tamil inscriptions also. Cf. *paṭimam koṭṭuvittāṇ* 'he caused the image to be carved' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 85, 8th cent. A.D.). The word has been borrowed by IA from Dr. Cf. *koṭṭēti* 'to pound', *silā-koṭṭakō* 'stonecutter, mason' (Pāli).

Cf. LT *koṭṭal* 'to beat' (*Tivā.* addition after 1770; *Cūṭā.* 9:30).

- 1.9 **paḷi-iy** (*paḷli-*) (n.) Cf. *paḷli* 'hermitage, temple, especially of Buddhists and Jains, sleeping place, school' (D. 4018). The original meaning 'sleeping place' (*Aka.* 93:14, *Pura.* 33:20; *Tivā.* 979) was later extended to 'hermitage' (*Tivā.* 951; *Piṅkala.* 703; *Cūṭā.* 5:56). See section 4.9.8(i).

Cf. LT *māṭavar paḷli* 'the hermitage of the great ascetic' (*Maṇi.* 18:8); *paḷli* 'place of monks, a Jaina temple' (*Piṅkala.* 3800).

Cf. (inscr.) *tāpata-p-paḷli* 'hermitage of (Jaina) ascetics' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. II. 5, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *paḷli-c-cantam* 'gift of land to a Jaina hermitage' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 17, ca. 6th cent. A.D.); *i-p-paḷli uṭaiyārai nīkki* 'excluding those belonging to this hermitage' (ibid. No. 74, ca. 8th cent. A.D.).

The consonant *l* occurs without doubling. However, there is no doubt that long consonants existed in the inscriptional language during this period as proved by pairs like *paḷi-* and *paḷli* (89.4 & 88.1) in adjacent inscriptions. See section 6.17.

*pā ḷi* may not be equated with *pāḷi* 'hermitage' (D. 4112) though the meaning is the same, as there is no other instance of the sounds *l* and *ḷ* falling together in the Ta. Br. inscriptions.

*-iy* is a variant of the paragogic suffix *-y*. Cf. *kāviti-iy* (3.5) and *nelveḷi-iy* (7.1).

- 2.1-2.5 See under 1.1-1.5 respectively.

- 2.6 **sālakaṇ** (n.) 'sister-in-law's husband' < *sālaka* (Pāli) 'brother-in-law' < *syālaka* (Skt.) 'wife's brother' (MW).

Cf. LT *cakalaṇ* 'wife's sister's husband' (*Piṅkala.* 899; *Cūṭā.* 2:77), *cālakaṇ* 'sister-in-law's husband' (TL). The intended meaning here is 'sister-in-law's husband' as otherwise the donor would have described himself more directly and simply as the 'father-in-law' of *neṭiñcaḷiyaṇ*.

- 2.7 **iḷaṇcaṭikaṇ** (N.) lit., Caṭikaṇ, the junior. He is the son of **caṭikaṇ** (2.9).

a. *iḷa(m)-* (adj.) 'junior'. Cf. *iḷa*, *iḷam* 'young' (D. 513). See section 4.18.4.

Cf. LT *iḷamperuñceṇṇi* 'N. of a Cōḷa king' (*Aka.* 375:11); *iḷamai* 'youth' (*Tivā.* 1510; *Piṅkala.* 1948; *Cūṭā.* 8:27).

Cf. (inscr.) (*i*)*ḷaṇ-kūṭṭaṇ* 'a personal name' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. I. 20, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *iḷa(m)paḍuvaṇār* 'a personal name' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 92, 8th cent. A.D.).

Sandhi: *-m-* > *-ñ-* before *-c*.

b. **caṭikaṇ** See 2.9.

- 2.8 **tantai-y** (n.) 'father' (D. 3067). -y is the paragodic suffix.

Cf. LT *niṅ tantai tāy vāliyar* 'may your father and mother live (long)!' (*Pura.* 137:14-15); *tantai* 'father' (*Tivā.* 310; *Piṅkala.* 907; *Cūṭā.* 2:75).

- 2.9 **caṭikaṇ** N. of the donor. He is the father of Iḷaṇcaṭikaṇ through whom he claims kinship with Neṭiṇcaḷiyaṇ. The name is not attested elsewhere, but may probably be compared with Caṭaiyaṇ, a generic name of the Pāṇṭiyas occurring in inscriptions from the early medieval period (*SII.* XIV: Index). It is noteworthy that **caṭikaṇ** commences with *ca-* not permissible in LT (*Tol. Eḷu.* 62). Cf. **cam-** (101.1.a, 105.1.a). See section 7.6.2.1(ii).

- 2.10 **cē-iyā** (v.) 'which was made'; adjectival past participle from *cē* (LT *cey*) 'to make' (D. 1957).

**Analysis:** *cē* (stem) + *i* (past tense marker) + *y* (glide) + *a* (participial suffix). Cf. **cēvit-ōṇ** (18.3), **cēy-a** (31.2) and **cētavar** (35.3) for other similar forms. The form **cē-iyā** is not attested elsewhere; but the verb occurs as *cē* in early medieval inscriptions.

Cf. (inscr.) *cēta* (*ceyta*) (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 268, ca. 9th cent. A.D.); *cēvittāṇ* (*ceyvittāṇ*) (*SII.* V: No. 406, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.). See A. Velu Pillai 1976: pp. 5 and 143 for more examples from inscriptions of 6-9 cent. A.D. Cf. *Te. cēyu* 'to do', *cēta* 'doing' (D. 1957).

- 2.11 **paḷi-y** (*paḷli-*) (n.) 'hermitage'. -y is the paragodic suffix. See 1.9 for comments.

- 3.1 & 3.2 See under 1.1 & 1.2 respectively.

- 3.3 **veḷ-araḷi-y** (*veḷḷaraḷi-*) (P.) Written as two independent words **veḷ** and **araḷi**, followed by the paragodic suffix -y. Cf. *Tiru-veḷḷaraḷi*, a village in Tiruchirapalli District (*SII.* XIV: No. 12, Pāṇṭiya, 9th cent. A.D.). However, the place mentioned in the inscription may more plausibly be identified as the modern village of *Veḷḷari-paṭṭi* to the south of this hill (V. Vedachalam, personal communication). See Table 4.3.

a. **veḷ-** (adj.) 'white' (D. 5496a).

Cf. LT *veṇmai* 'white' (*Tivā.* 1389; *Piṅkala.* 1930; *Cūṭā.* 8:20); *veḷḷai* 'white' (*Tivā.* 2249; *Piṅkala.* 4098; *Cūṭā.* 11:265).

b. **araḷi** (n.) 'rock' (D. 321).

Cf. LT *araḷi* 'rock' (*Tivā.* 863; *Piṅkala.* 499; *Cūṭā.* 5:14).

- 3.4 **nikamatu** (*nikamattu*) (n. obl.) 'of the merchant guild'. See section 4.16.1.

Cf. LT *nikamam* 'a caravan of merchants' (*TL*); *niyamattu* 'of the market place'. (*Patir.* 15:19, 30:12); *niyamam* 'market' (*Tivā.* 2200); 'town, street' (*Piṅkala.*

3727); *nikamam* 'town of *marutam* region' (*Cūṭā*. 5:40); 'main street' (ibid. 5:47).

Cf. *nikamatōr* (6.2).

Cf. *nigama* (Skt.) 'a caravan or company of merchants, market place' (MW); *nigama* (Pāli) 'market town'.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *nigama* 'town' (*Bhārhut Inscrs.* No. A5).

-*tu* (-*ttu*) is the suffix of the oblique case.

**3.5 *kāviti-iy*** (n.) *kāviti* is an ancient title bestowed by the Pāṇṭiya kings on the Vēlālar (*Tol. Poruḷ*. 30, comm., Nacc.), ministers (*Matu*. 497-99; *Tivā*. 188; *Piṅkala*. 842), palace officials (*Cilap*. 22:9) and Vaiśyas including women (*Peruṇ*. 2.3:144-45). In the present inscription, the title is borne by an official (see 3.6 below) who is also a member of the merchant guild of Veḷḷarai. Cf. also *kāviti kōṇ* 'chief *kāviti*' (52.2). See section 4.6.9.

-*iy* is a variant of the paragogic suffix -*y*.

Cf. (inscr.) *śrī kaviti* 'a title' (Pallava, ca. 7th cent. A.D., Michael Lockwood 1993:p. 163); *peruṇkāviti* id. (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 119, 9th cent. A.D.); *kāvati* 'revenue officer' (*SII*. XIV:Nos.16 & 27, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 8-9 cent. A.D.); *kāvati* 'a title' (Line 9, Copper Plate of Rājasekhara, ca. 8-9 cent. A.D.; *kāvati-y-ār* id., Line 619, Tiruvalla Plates, ca. 9-10 cent. A.D. *TAS* II-III, reprint 1992); *kāviti* 'part of personal names' (*SII*. XIV:Nos. 79, 82, 83; 10th cent. A.D.).

The expression *kāviti* seems to be derived ultimately from *grihapati* (Skt.) 'householder' > *gahapati* (Pkt.); cf. *gapati/gapiti* (Sinh. Pkt.) 'title borne by merchants and others' (Paranavitana 1970:Intr.pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix). The term *gahapati* occurs in Prakrit inscriptions as a title with the same meaning. It is likely that *kāviti* had a somewhat similar significance in early times in the Tamil country also. In still later times, the term *kāviti* came to mean an 'accountant' as in medieval Tamil inscriptions.

Cf. LT *kāvitiyar* 'kaṇakkar (accountants)' (*Cūṭā*. 2:22).

Cf. (inscr.) *kāvitimai ceyya . . . cempiyaṇ peruṇkāvitikku* 'To Cempiyaṇ Peruṇkāviti to do duty as an accountant' (*SII*. II:No. 66, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.).

**3.6 *kālitika-*** Read *kālatika-*. From *kāl-atikaṇ* (n.) 'superintendent of pearls'. The error is probably due to the spoken form with accent on the first syllable. See section 4.6.7.

**a. *kāl*** (n.) 'pearl' (TL). Cf. *kāl* 'seed, stone, nut, kernel' (D. 1493) giving the clue to the etymology of the word.

Cf. LT *parūu-k-kāl-āram* 'garland of heavy pearls' (*Matu*. 681; *Cilap*. 4:41).

**b. *itika***- Read *atika*-. Attribute from *atikaṇ* (n.) 'superintendent, chief'. Cf. *atikaṇ* 'superior person' (TL); *adhika* (Pkt.) 'superintendent'; *adhyaksha* (Skt.) id.

Cf. LT *atikaṇ*, N. of several chieftains (*Aka.* 162:18; *Kurun.* 393:4); *atīkar* 'great personages' (*Cūṭā.* 12:99). Cf. *kaṇatikaṇ* 'chief of scribes' (40.1) for a similar designation. See section 4.6.6.

### 3.7 *antai asutaṇ* N. of the donor.

**a. *antai*** (n.) An honorific added as a term of respect to the name of a senior or elder person in the family or a person of rank or eminence in the village. In the Ta. Br. inscriptions, *antai* occurs either as a prefix as in this case or as a suffix; in the latter case, it is added either in free form as in *kuvira-antai* (31.1) or in bound form as in *koṭṭantai* (67.1). The honorific has survived in later times only as a bound suffix. See 66.2 for conclusive evidence on the meaning of *antai*. See section 3.2.2 (v) on the linguistic significance of the term.

Cf. (inscr.) *antai-y cāmpāṇ* 'a personal name' (Kodumanal, Ta. Br. inscription on pottery; K. Rajan 1997:Fig. 11).

Perhaps one of the last known occurrences of *antai* as an independent word is found in an early medieval inscription, *ivvūr antai ilaiyār pavaṇanti* 'Ilaiyār Pavaṇanti, the *antai* of this village' (M.D. Sampath 1968: pp. 157-162, 8th cent. A.D. The reading was checked again from the estampage by Sampath at my request).

**b. *asutaṇ*** (*assutaṇ*) (N.) Cf. *assuta* (Pāli), *assuda* (AMg.) < *aśruta* (Skt.), lit., 'unheard'. The expression is attested as a personal name in Skt. (MW).

### 3.8 *piṇa-u* (n.) 'cave' (?). Not attested elsewhere in this sense; but cf. *piḷavu* 'cleft, crevice' (D. 4194). This particular cave is in fact hardly more than a cleft in the rock. The proposed interpretation is tentative.

-u is the derivational suffix added directly to the stem.

### 3.9 *koṭupittōṇ* (*koṭuppittōṇ*) (v.) 'he who caused to be given'; past participial noun, causative, 3rd person masculine singular, from *koṭu* 'to give to 3rd person' (D. 2053).

**Analysis:** *koṭu* (stem) + *pi* (causative suffix) + *t* (past tense marker) + *ōṇ* (PNG suffix). The consonants -p- and -t- are not doubled. The use of the participial noun rather than the finite verb is a characteristic feature of the Ta. Br. inscriptions. See section 7.30.

Cf. LT *koṭuttal* 'to give' (*Piṇkala.* 3107; *Cūṭā.* 11:202).

The Corpus provides examples of both *koṭṭu* 'to carve' and *koṭu* 'to give', which may be distinguished from the context and the differing grammatical forms (see Inscriptional Glossary in Appendix I).

4.1 **kaṇi-y** (n.) 'title of the Jaina monk'. See 1.1.

4.2 **natti-y** N. of the senior Jaina monk. -y is the paragogic suffix.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *naṁdi*, *nadi* (Lüders List:Nos. 463-466 and 284 respectively) < *nandin* (Skt.). Note the omission of the nasal *m* and doubling of the following consonant. Cf. **natti** (69.3). See also **-nanti** (116.4.b) and **-ṇanti** (115.3.b) occurring as part of the personal names of Jaina monks.

4.3 **koṭṭiy-avaṇ** (**koṭṭi-**) (v.) 'he who carved (engraved)'; past participial noun, 3rd person masculine singular, from **koṭṭu** 'to hammer'.

**Analysis:** **koṭu** (**koṭṭu**) (stem) + *i* (past tense marker) + *y* (glide) + **avaṇ** (PNG suffix in free form). The consonant *ṭ* is not doubled. Cf. **koṭṭi-ōr** (**koṭṭi-ōr**) (6.3) and **koṭṭa-** (**koṭṭa-**) (12.2).

It appears from the context that this short inscription refers to the engraving by the monk of the longer main inscription (No. 1) in this cave. Cf. (Te. inscr.) **koṭṭali ... koṭṭe** 'the stonecutter engraved (the inscription)' (K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and M. Venkataramayya 1947-48, *EI*. XXVII: pp. 240-242, Inscription J, ca. 8th cent. A.D., cited in K. Mahadeva Sastri 1969:No. 24.)

Cf. LT **taṇ nāmam mēruviṇum kōṭṭiṇāṇē** 'he engraved his name even on Mt. Mēru', (Villi. *Pāyiram*:19).

5.1 **cantaritaṇ** N. of the donor, which may also be read as **cantāritaṇ**.

a. **canta-** Attribute from **Cantaṇ** (N.) Cf. **cantam** 'beauty' (D. 2328). **Cantaṇ** was one of the legendary liberal patrons (*Piṅkala*. 756; *Cūṭā*. 2:23).

Alternatively, the name may also be derived from **camda** (Pkt.) < **candra** (Skt.) 'moon; also a personal name'. Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) **camda**, **camda-siri** 'personal names' (Lüders List:Nos. 1156, 1202-04 respectively). Cf. **cantaṇ** (29.1.c, 43.2.b, 47.1.b).

b. **aritaṇ** (N.) which may also be read as **āritaṇ**. Cf. **harita** (Skt.) 'N. of several persons'; **hārita** 'a descendant of Harita' (MW). Cf. **ar-itaṇ** (8.2), **ar-iytaṇ** (18.2) and **āritaṇ** (60.5).

5.2 **koṭṭupitōṇ** (**koṭṭuppittōṇ**) (v.) 'he who caused to be given'. See 3.9.

6.1 **veḷ-aṇai** See 3.3.

6.2 **nikamatōr** (**nikamattōr**) (n., pl.) 'members of the **nikamam** (merchant guild)'. Cf. **nikamatu** (**nikamattu**) (3.4). The oblique case suffix -*t*- is not doubled. Cf. **nēgama** (Pkt.) < **naigama** (Skt.) 'members of a **nigama**'.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) **nēgama**, **nigamaputa** 'inhabitant of a **nigama**' (Lüders List:Index).

- 6.3 **koṭi-ōr** (*koṭṭi-*) (v.) 'they who carved'; past participial noun, 3rd person epicene plural, from *koṭṭu* 'to hammer'.

**Analysis:** *koṭu* (*koṭṭu*) (stem) + *i* (past tense marker) + *ōr* (PNG suffix in free form.) The consonant *-ṭ-* is not doubled and the glide *-y* is absent. See also 1.8 for further comments.

## II. ARITTAPATTI

- 7.1 **nelveḷi-iy** (P.) *-iy* is a variant of the paragogic suffix *-y*.

a. **nel** (n.) 'paddy' (D. 3753). Cf. **nel** (16.5).

b. **veḷi** (n.) 'open space, field' (D. 5498).

Cf. LT *veḷi* 'field' (*Piṅkala*. 4028; *Cūṭā*. 11:153).

- 7.2 **ciḷivaṇ atīvaṇ veḷiyaṇ** N. of the donor.

a. **ciḷivaṇ** (N.) This name occurs also in 19.3 but is otherwise not attested. Cf. **-caḷiyaṇ** (1.5.b & 2.5.b) (LT *ceḷiyaṇ*).

b. **atīvaṇ** (*atiṇṇaṇ*) (N.) Cf. *atiṇṇaṇ*, N. of a chieftain in the Ta. Br. legend on the lead coins of the Andippatti Hoard (No. 13, Table 1.6).

c. **veḷiyaṇ** (N.) Cf. LT *tittaṇ veḷiyaṇ*, *veḷiyaṇ vēṇmāṇ* 'personal names' (*Aka*. 152:5, 208:5 respectively).

- 7.3 **muḷāakai** (n.) 'cave'. Cf. **muḷa-ukai** id. (17.3.b). Neither form is attested elsewhere, but cf. *muḷai* 'large mountain cave, cavern' (D. 4994). Cf. LT *muḷai* 'cave' (*Aka*. 168:12, *Tivā*. 865; *Cūṭā*. 11:180, 263, 285). See section 3.2.2 (v).

- 7.4 **koṭupitōṇ** (*koṭuppittōṇ*) (v.) 'he who caused to be given'. See 3.9.

## III. TIRUVADAVUR

- 8.1 **pāṇkāṭa** (*-kāṭṭa*) 'of Pāṇkāṭ(u)'. (P.) in genitive case.

a. **pā-** (n.) 'expanse' (D. 4088). Cf. LT *pā aṭi yāṇai* 'elephant with broad feet' (*Puṛa*. 233:2). *-ṇ-* (< *-m-*) is an addition due to sandhi. Cf. *mā-ṇ-kāy* 'mango'.

b. **kāṭa** (*kāṭṭa*) 'of the *kāṭu*' (n.) 'forest, jungle' (D. 1438). *kāṭu* when suffixed to place names generally refers to 'uncultivated land' as distinguished from *nāṭu* 'cultivated land'. Cf. *erukāṭu-ūru* (52.1).

Cf. LT *kāṭu* 'forest' (*Tivā*. 713; *Piṅkala*. 537; *Cūṭā*. 4:55).

**kāṭa-** (*kāṭṭa-*) is analysed as *kāṭu* (stem) + *a* (genitive suffix). The consonant *-ṭ-* is not doubled. Cf. LT *kaḷḷiyaṇ-kāṭṭa* 'of the spurge jungle' (*Aka*. 53:7, 97:1).

8.2 **ar-itaṇ** (*aritaṇ*). N. of the donor. Cf. *harita* (Skt.) 'N. of several persons, a descendant of Harita' (MW). Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *harita-* 'part of a personal name' (Lüders List: No. 42). See section 6.19.2 on the pause between *r* and *i*.

8.3 **koṭṭupitōṇ** (*koṭṭupittōṇ*) (v.) 'he who caused to be carved'; past participial noun, causative, 3rd person masculine singular, from *koṭṭu* 'to hammer'.

**Analysis:** *koṭṭu* (stem) + *pi* (causative suffix) + *t* (past tense marker written without doubling) + *ōṇ* (PNG suffix). See 1.8 for further comments.

9.1 **upacaṇ** (*upaccaṇ*) (n.) 'preceptor, spiritual teacher'. See section 4.9.3 (iii).

The consonant -c- is not doubled. Cf. *upaca-aṇ* (*upaccaṇ*) (10.1 & 11.3).

Cf. *upajjha*, *upajjhāya* (Pāli); *uvajjhaya*, *uvajjhāya*, *uvajhāya*, *ōjjhāya* (AMg.) < *upādhyāya* (Skt.).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *upajhaya* (Lüders List: No. 1273); *uvajha* (K.G. Krishnan, ed. 1989: No. 80).

Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *uvajjar* (TAS. I, 1988 reprint: p. 340).

Cf. LT *ōcaṇ*, 'ācāriyaṇ' (*Piṅkala*. 783); *ōcaṇ* 'upāttiyāyaṇ' (*Cūṭā*. 2:7); *ōccaṇ* 'kaṇakkāyaṇ' (*TL Supplement*), all with the meaning 'teacher'; *uvaccaṇ* 'member of a caste of temple drummers and pūjāris of *kāḷi*' (*TL*). Cf. DEDR Appendix: No. 18 for derivation from IA.

Cf. (inscr.) *uvaiccaṇ* 'temple drummer' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 265, ca. 9th cent. A.D.); *uvaccaṇ* 'temple servant' (*SII*. XIV: Nos. 84 & 85, Pāṇṭiya, 10th cent. A.D.).

Cf. (inscr.) *śrīkōyil koṭṭum uvaccar* 'Uvaccar, drummers of the temple' (*SII*. XIX: No. 321, Cōḷa, ca. 10th cent. A.D.); *caṅku ūtum uvaccarkaḷ* 'Uvaccar who blow the conches' (*SII*. XIII: No. 170, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.).

9.2 **par-acu** (*paracu*) N. of the donor; lit., 'one who worships by singing'.

Cf. *paracu*, *paravu* 'to praise, extol, worship, adore, sing' (D. 3951). See section 6.19.2 for the pause between *r* and *a*.

Cf. LT *paraval* 'benedictory singing' (*Pari*. 10:116); *cen nāvalar paracum* 'extolled by eloquent poets' (*Tiruvā*. 34:1); *paravutal* 'to worship' (*Tivā*. 1637, 1780); *paravai* 'dance' (*Piṅkala*. 3788); *paracaivaṇ* 'the Uvaccar caste' (*TL*); *pāracavar* 'dancers' (*Tol. Poruḷ*. 91, comm., Nacc.); *pāracavar* 'uvaccar' (*Naṇṇ*. 115, comm., Caṅkara., Note by U.Ve. Swaminathaiyar).

Cf. (inscr.) *kūttāṭum pāracivaṇ* 'Pāracivaṇ, the dancer' (*SII*. XIV: No. 237, 12th cent. A.D.).

Pāracavar are the pipers, drummers and conch-blowers of the temple at Suchindram, who belong to the Uvaccar (Ōccar) caste (K.K. Pillay 1953: p. 248).

Paravar are the devil-dancers of the Tulu country (E. Thurston and K. Rangachari, vol. VI, reprint 1987: pp. 139-140). The names Paracaivaṇ and Pāracavaṇ are apparently later corruptions of \**paracavaṇ* (*paracu* + *avaṇ*) 'one who worships by singing and dancing', as indicated by their traditional occupations of singing, dancing and playing musical instruments in temples, the variant form Paravar for their name and, above all, their virtual identity with the Uvaccar. The accidental similarity with *pāraśava* (Skt.) seems to have given rise to the later legend that the Pāracavar were the offspring of a Brāhman through a Śūdra woman (ibid. p. 139). What is of exceptional interest in the present context is the very early association of the term *upaccaṇ* (LT *uvaccaṇ*) with *paracu* (\**paracavan* > LT *paracaivaṇ* / *pāracavaṇ*) as revealed in this inscription.

- 9.3 *uṛai* (n.) 'abode (of ascetics)' < *uṛai* 'to dwell, place of residence' (D. 710).

Cf. LT *iruṅkuṇṇattati uṛai iyaika* 'let (our) abode be at the foot of (the hill) Iruṅkuṇṇam' (*Pari.* 15:65). However, the expression *uṛai* in the cave inscriptions has the technical meaning 'abode (of ascetics)'. Cf. *uṛai* (24.4), *uṛai-y* (61.5 & 62.5) and *uṛaiyuḷ* (60.2).

- 9.4 *koṭṭupitōṇ* (*koṭṭupittōṇ*). See 8.3.

#### IV. KILAVALAVU

- 10.1 *upa[c]a-aṇ* (*upaccaṇ*) (n.) 'preceptor'. The consonant -c- is not doubled and the PNG suffix -aṇ is added in free form. See *upacaṇ* (*upaccaṇ*) (9.1) for discussion.

- 10.2 *toṇṭi* (P.) The place may be identified as Tondi, now a small port on the east coast. Cf. *toṇṭi* 'small arm of the sea' (*TL*). See section 4.20.4 (ii).

The Cēra port of Toṇṭi on the west coast was more famous in the Caṅkam Age. Cf. LT *ceṅkōl kuṭṭuvaṇ toṇṭi* 'Toṇṭi of Kuṭṭuvaṇ (the Cēra king) of upright sceptre' (*Aiṅk.*, *Toṇṭippattu*, 178:2-3). However, the eastern port of Toṇṭi is probably referred to in *Kuṇṭokai* (verses 210 & 238) where the city is specially associated with rice cultivation (U.Ve. Swaminathaiyar, *Kuṇṭokai*, 5th edn.: p. lxxxv).

The eastern port of Toṇṭi is more unambiguously mentioned in later works. Cf. *mīṇavaṇ toṇṭi* 'Toṇṭi of the Pāṇṭiyan' (*Pāṇṭikkōvai* cited in *Iṛai*. 11, comm.); *kuṇṭaticai-k-kaṇ toṇṭi eṇṇum pati* 'the eastern city of Toṇṭi'; (*Cilap.* 14:107, comm.).

- 10.3 *-(i)[l]avōṇ* (*illavōṇ*). N. of the preceptor who is the donor. The name literally means 'householder' from *illam* 'house, home' (D. 494).

Cf. LT *illōr* 'people at home' (*Kuṇṭun.* 111:7); *illavarid.* (*Aka.* 34:16, *Pari.* 6:101); *illōṇ* 'head (of the family), husband' (*Peru. Aka.*); *illavar* 'householders' are contrasted with *nōṛpavar* 'monks' in a Jaina work (*Aṇaṇṇi.* 15).

The expression **tonṭilavōṇ** occurring in the inscription is construed as **tonṭi** + **ilavōṇ** (**illavōṇ**) with elision of stem-final *-i*. See **kaṇṇiṭṭiṇ** (**kaṇṇi** + **iṭṭiṇ**) in *Pari.* 6:98 (cited by V.S. Rajam 1992:pp. 73-74). See also **aritiṇ** (**ariti** + **iṇ**) (34.2).

**ilavōṇ** (**illavōṇ**) is an appellative noun which may be analysed **ila** (**illa**) (stem) + **v** (glide) + **ōṇ** (PNG suffix). The consonant *-l-* is not doubled.

Alternatively, the phrase **tonṭi=(i)lavōṇ** may be explained as 'he who is from Tonṭi' on the analogy of constructions like **tonṭiyōr** (*Puṛa.* 17:13, *Cilap.* 14:107), **koṛkaiyōr** (*Matu.* 138), etc.

**10.4 koṭu** (v.) 'given'; adjectival participle without tense-marker or participial suffix (**viṇaittokai**) from **koṭu** 'to give'. See also **ama** (LT **amai**) (48.6) and **-āru** (LT **ār**) (114.2.b) for other examples of **viṇaittokai**.

**10.5 paḷi-i** (**paḷli-**) (n.) 'hermitage'. *-i* is the paragodic suffix. See 1.9 for comments.

## V. KONGARPULIYANKULAM

**11.1 kuṛa** (n.) 'cutting' (LT **kuṛai**). Cf. **kuṛu** (v.) 'to pluck'; **kuṛai** (n.) 'piece, section'; Ka. **kore** 'cutting, a cut-off piece'; (Te. inscr.) **kōra** 'a cut-off portion' (D. 1859). The expression refers to the cutting of one of the three sections of the long drip ledge Cf. **kuṛu** (12.1).

Cf. (inscr.) **cey-k-kuṛai** 'piece of land' (*SII.* V: No. 747, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.).

**11.2 koṭupitavaṇ** (**koṭuppittavaṇ**) (v.) 'he who caused to be given'; past participial noun, causative, 3rd person masculine singular, from **koṭu** 'to give'.

**Analysis:** **koṭu** (stem) + **pi** (causative suffix) + **t** (past tense marker) + **avaṇ** (PNG suffix). The consonants *-p-* and *-t-* occur without doubling. Cf. **koṭupitavaṇ** (53.2) and **koṭupita-avaṇ** (44.3).

**11.3 upaca-aṇ** (**upaccaṇ**) (n.) 'preceptor'. See 9.1 & 10.1.

**11.4 upaṛuva[ṇ\*]** (**uppaṛuvaṇ**). N. of the donor. This appears to be an occupational or family name. He is described as an **upaca-aṇ** (**upaccaṇ**) 'upādhyāya'.

Cf. Ta. **upparavar** 'a Telugu caste who are usually tank- and well-diggers and road-workers' (D. 626); **uppārakkāraṇ** 'one who plasters a wall' (*TL*); Ka. **uppāra** 'brick-layer, stonemason, plasterer' (D. 628). The occupational name occurs here as a personal name. See section 4.17.1.

**12.1 kuru** Read **kūru**. Cf. **kūru** 'section, division, share, part' (D. 1924).

Cf. LT **cata-kūru** 'hundred parts' (*Kampa.* 6.3.124).

Cf. (inscr.) **nālu kūru iṭṭa oru kūru** 'one share (of land) divided into four shares' (*SII.* I:No. 40, 11th cent. A.D.). See also **kuṛa** (11.1).

**12.2 koṭalku** (koṭtal-) 'for carving'; verbal noun in dative case from koṭtu 'to hammer'.

**Analysis:** koṭu (koṭtu) (stem) + al (suffix of the verbal noun) + ku (dative case suffix). The consonant -ṭ- occurs without doubling as in **koṭiy-avaṇ** (koṭṭiyavaṇ) (4.3) and **koṭi-ōr** (koṭṭi-ōr) (6.3). See also 1.8 for further comments.

**12.3 ṭṭavaṇ** (v.) 'he who gave'; past participial noun, 3rd person masculine singular, from ṭ 'to give (to inferiors)' (D. 2598).

**Analysis:** ṭ (stem) + tt (past tense marker) + avaṇ (PNG suffix).

Cf. LT **ṭṭavaṇ** 'he who gave' (*Maṇi*. 24:19); **ṭtal** 'to give (as gift)' (*Tivā*. 1627; *Piṅkala*. 2129). See **ṭṭa** (59.3).

**12.4 ceṭ-ataṇ-[ō]ṇ** N. of the donor.

**a. ceṭ- (ceṭṭ-)** (adj.) 'young, junior'. Cf. Ta. **ciṭu**, **ciṭṭu** 'small'; Ma. **ciṭṭu**, **ceṭṭu** id. (D. 1594).

Cf. LT **ciṭṭāṭṭu** 'of the small stream' (*Kali*. 108:27).

Sandhi: ceṭ(u) + ataṇ > ceṭ(r)-ataṇ. ceṭ- is written separately with elision of stem-final -u, and -r- is not doubled.

**b. ataṇ-ōṇ** (N.) Cf. **pēṭ-ataṇ** (13.2). The two persons whose names occur in adjoining inscriptions were probably related to each other. The personal names Ataṇ as well as Ātaṇ occur in the Corpus. (See Index to Personal Names in Appendix II).

Cf. LT **ataṇkōṭṭ-ācāṇ** 'teacher from Ataṇ-kōṭu' (*Tol. Pāyiram*).

Cf. (inscr.) **kuviraṇ ataṇ**, **ataṇ asaṭaṇ**, **kaṇṇaṇ ataṇ**: personal names in the Ta. Br. inscriptions on pottery from Kodumaṇal (Y. Subbarayalu, Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumanal 1996, unpublished: Nos. 31, 38 & 113 respectively). See 59.1.a for further discussion.

The PNG suffix -ōṇ is added here in free form to the personal name.

Cf. (inscr.) **kuvāvaṇ -cāṭṭaṇ=ēṇ** 'I, Kuvāvaṇ Cāṭṭaṇ' (*IPS*. No. 18, 9th cent. A.D.).

**13.1 pākaṇ-ūr** (pākaṇūr) (P.) The place is identified as modern Sholavandan near Madurai. Cf. **perumpākaṇūr** in an inscription on a stone slab found at Sholavandan Railway Station and said to be originally from a Śiva temple in the vicinity (*SII*. XIV: No. 64, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.). See Table 4.3.

**a. pākaṇ** (n.) 'elephant-driver, charioteer' (D. 4046).

Cf. LT **pākaṇ** 'elephant mahout' (*Aka*. 230:12; *Pura*. 220:2; *Cūṭā*. 2:36); **tēṭ-p-pākaṇ** 'charioteer' (*Cūṭā*. 2:37).

**b. ūr** (n.) 'village, city, town'. This is the most frequent suffix for place names, written mostly as a separate word as in this case, or sometimes in bound form. See 19.2 for further comments.

**13.2** *pē[r]ataṇ piṭaṇ* N. of the donor. Cf. *ceṛ-ataṇ* (12.4).

a. *pēr-* (adj.) 'senior'. Cf. *peru-* (*pēr-* before a vowel) 'great' (D. 4411). Cf. *pēr-ay-am* (35.2) and *nākapērūr* (56.1).

*ceṛ-* (LT *cīṛ-*) and *pēr-* which occur in adjoining inscriptions (Nos. 12 & 13) probably indicate the junior and senior members of a family having the same name. See section 4.18.4.

b. *ataṇ* (N.) The reading *-ataṇ* is preferred (to that of *-ātaṇ* which is also possible) having regard to the occurrence of *ceṛ-ataṇ* (12.4) in the adjoining inscription.

c. *piṭaṇ* (*piṭṭaṇ*) (N.) Cf. *piṭaṇ* (*piṭṭaṇ*) (65.2) and *piṭantai* (*piṭṭantai*) (66.2).

The name *pi(ṭ)taṇ* occurs in the Ta. Br. legend on a local coin from Sri Lanka (see No. 6, Table 1.6).

Cf. LT *piṭṭaṇ*, N. of a chieftain (*Aka.* 77:16, 143:12; *Pura.* 170:8, 172:8).

**13.3** *itta*

'this' (pron.) in the accusative case. Cf. *itai/ittai* (*itu + ai*) (TL). Cf. *itu* 'this' from the proximate demonstrative base *i-* (D. 410); 'this' in the inscription refers to the third and last section of the long drip ledge carved above the three inscriptions (Nos. 11-13).

Cf. LT *ittai-y-ellām* 'all this' (*Kali.* 85:35, comm., Nacc.); *ittai mey-y-eṇa-k-karuti* 'considering this as truth' (*Tiruvā.* 26:7).

The form *ittai* is probably derived from *iḥtu* (*iḥtu + ai*) where the loss of the *āyṭam* *h* is compensated by doubling of the following consonant. Cf. *ittā-a* (1.4). See section 7.3.3.

*-a* functions here as the accusative case suffix corresponding to LT *-ai*. According to *Tol.* (*Col.* 109-110), *-a* may occur as the accusative case suffix for human nouns in poetry. This usage is not attested in LT. In the present case *itta* may be considered as a variation of LT *ittai* (*ai ~ a*). See section 7.7.1.

**13.4** *vepōṇ*

(*veppōṇ*) (v.) 'he who has endowed'. Cf. LT *vaippōṇ*; non-past participial noun, 3rd person masculine singular, from *ve* (LT *vai*) 'to put'. Cf. Ma. *vekka* 'to put, deposit', *veppu* 'deposit' (D. 5549).

**Analysis:** *ve* (stem) + *p* (non-past tense marker) + *ōṇ* (PNG suffix). The consonant *-p-* is not doubled.

Cf. LT *veṇkōṭu koṇṭu viyal aṛai vaippavum* 'taking the white (elephant) tusks and having deposited (them) on the wide rock (for drying)' (*Nagr.* 114:1).

Cf. (inscr.) *vātāpi koṇṭa naraciṅka-p-pōttaracar vayttatu* 'this was endowed by Naraciṅka Pōttaracar who took Vātāpi' (*Pallava Inscr.* No. 42, 7th cent. A.D.); *pavaṇanti vaitta aṛam* 'charity endowed by Pavaṇanti' (ibid. No. 74, 8th cent. A.D.); *ittēvar-k-kē-y ivaṇē vaitta tiruviḷakku* 'the sacred lamp endowed by himself

to the same deity' (*SII. XIV*:No. 41, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.). The verb *vai* 'to endow' is the most frequent expression to refer to temple endowments in medieval Tamil inscriptions. See also **vaika** (*vaikka*) (16.2).

## VI. MARUKALTALAI

### 14.1 **veṇkāsipāṇ** N. of the donor.

a. **veṇ-** (adj.) Cf. *veḷ* 'pure, bright' (D. 5496a).

Sandhi: *veḷ-* > *veṇ-* before *-k*.

Cf. LT Veṇkaṇṇaṇār (author, *Aka*.130), Veṇkoṇṇaṇār (author, *Kurun*.86); *veṇmai* 'vāl (purity)' (*Tivā*. 1389; *Piṅkala*.1930; *Cūṭā*. 8:20).

b. **kāsipāṇ** (N.) Cf. *kāśyapa* (Skt.), a patronym from *kaśyapa*, N. of a mythical ṛishi; N. of many persons (MW). The name occurs several times in the Corpus in variant forms like **kasapaṇ** (*kassapaṇ*) (45.2), **kāsipāṇ** (14.1.b), **kāyapaṇ** (61.4.b, 62.4.b, 63.2.b), **kāyipaṇ** (60.7.b, 76.1.b) and **kāyvaṇ** (*kāyivaṇ*) (104.2). See also **kaccavanu** (*kaccavaṇu*) (119.2.a).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *kasapa* (*Bhārhut Inscrs.* No. B17); *kassapa* (K.G. Krishnan, ed. 1989:No. 109); *kāsapa* (Lüders List:No. 158); *kassava* (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 3, ca. 4th cent. A.D.); *kaśaba* (Sinh. Pkt., Paranavitana 1970:No. 93c).

Cf. LT Kācipaṇ Kīraṇār (author, *Naṭṭ*. 248); *kācipaṇ* 'one of the seven presiding deities of the seven musical notes' (*Tivā*. addition to 1886; *Piṅkala*.1418; *Cūṭā*. 10:39).

Cf. (inscr.) *kāśyapar*, N. of one of executors of a charitable endowment (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 100, 9th cent. A.D.); *kacavaṇ* 'a personal name' (*SII. II*:No. 94, 11th cent. A.D.).

### 14.2 **kuṭupita** (*kuṭuppitta*) (v.) 'which was caused to be given'; adjectival past participle, causative, from *kuṭu* (LT *koṭu*) 'to give'. Cf. LT *koṭuppitta*.

**Analysis:** *kuṭu* (stem) + *pi* (causative suffix) + *t* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix). The consonants *-p-* and *-t-* are not doubled.

Cf. **kuṭupitō[r\*]** (45.4); The form *kuṭu* occurs in later inscriptions also.

Cf. (inscr.) *kuṭutta* 'which was given' (*SII. XIV*:Nos. 5,8, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 8-9 cent. A.D.); *kuṭuttāṇ* 'he gave' (*SII. I*:No. 75, Cēra, 11th cent. A.D.).

### 14.3 **kal kañcaṇam** A stone structure (?)

a. **kal** (n.) 'stone, boulder' (D. 1298), here used attributively. Elsewhere in the Corpus, **kal** stands for various stone artefacts like stone beds (48.7), rock shelters (61.15, 62.15 & 101.3) and stone stopper (114.3).

Cf. LT *kal* 'stone' (*Tivā.* 868; *Piṅkala.* 3313; *Cūṭā.* 5:15)

Cf. (inscr.) *perum pataṇ kal* 'the (touch) stone of Perumpattaṇ' ca. 3-4 cent. A.D. (see section 1.15 and Fig. 1.24E); *kal=tiru-k-kōyil* 'sacred stone temple' (*ARE* 358/1959-60, Pāṇṭiya, 7th cent. A.D.).

b. *kañcaṇam* (n.) The meaning is uncertain, though the context indicates some kind of a stone structure. Cf. *kañcaṇa* (AMg.) 'a divine *vimāna*' (*PSM*) < *kāñcana* (Skt.) 'a particular form of temple' (MW).

## VII. VARICHIYUR

15.1 *paḷ[i]-y* (*paḷli-*) (n.) 'hermitage'. -y is the paragogic suffix. See 1.9.

15.2 *koṭupi...* (*koṭuppi...*) (v.) fragmentary; '... caused to be given'; probably past participial noun, causative, from *koṭu* 'to give'.

**Analysis:** *koṭu* (stem) + *pi* (causative suffix)... The consonant -p- is not doubled.

16.1 *īṭā* (intj.) 'lo, behold, look here!' See 2.4.

16.2 *vaika* (*vaikka*) (v.) 'to endow'; infinitive from *vai* 'to put, deposit'.

**Analysis:** *vai* (stem) + *k* (non-completive tense marker) + *a* (suffix of the infinitive). The consonant -k- is not doubled. Cf. *vepoṇ* (*veppōṇ*) (13.4).

16.3 *nūru* (num.) 'one hundred' (D. 3729).

Cf. LT *nūru ceṇuvāyīṇum* 'even if it be a hundred fields' (*Puṛa.* 184:3); *nūru* 'one hundred' (*Tivā.* 2188; *Piṅkala.* 2262; *Cūṭā.* 8:81).

Cf. (inscr.) *kācu nūru* 'one hundred *kācu*' (*SH.* XIV:No. 8, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 8-9 cent. A.D.).

16.4 *kala-* (n.) Attribute from *kalam* (n.) 'a measure of capacity' especially for paddy equal to about 29 kg. by weight.

Cf. LT *kalam eṇ aḷavē* 'a measure known as *kalam*' (*Tol. Eḷu.* 168). (This meaning is recorded in *TL* but not in D. 1305.)

The term *kalam* occurs very frequently in later Tamil inscriptions for quantities of paddy endowed to temples.

Cf. (inscr.) *nellu nūru-k-kalam* 'hundred *kalam*s of paddy' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 139, 9th cent. A.D.).

16.5 *nel* (n.) 'paddy' (D. 3753).

Cf. LT *nel viḷai kaḷaṇi* 'field growing paddy' (*Puṛa.* 29:13); *nel* 'paddy' (*Piṅkala.* 2973; *Cūṭā.* 4:38).

One hundred *kalam*s of paddy were endowed for maintenance of the monastery. See section 4.15.1.

17.1 *i/ānataṇ* N. of the donor.

a. *i/a-* (adj.) 'young'. See 2.7.a.

b. *nataṇ* 'a personal name'. See 48.4.

17.2 *karu-iyā* (v.) 'which was carved'; adjectival past participle from \**karu-u* 'to carve'.

**Analysis:** *karu-u* (stem) + *i* (past tense marker) + *y* (glide) + *a* (participial suffix).

The verb is not attested elsewhere, but is clearly related to *karu* (n.) 'mould, matrix'; *karukku* (n.) 'engraving, carving, embossed work'; cf. Te. *karuvu* 'mould', Ka. *karu* (n.) 'embossed work, bas-relief' (D. 1280). See *karukiya* (*karukkiya*) 'which was carved' (112.4). See section 3.2.2 (v).

17.3 *nalmu/a-ukai* (n.) 'auspicious cave'.

a. *nal-* (adj.) 'good' (D. 3610).

Cf. LT *naṇmai* 'goodness' (*Tivā.* 1463; *Piṅkala.* 1789; *Cūṭā.* 11:159).

b. *mu/a-ukai* (n.) 'cave'. This form is not attested elsewhere, but is clearly related to *mulai* 'cavern' (D. 4994). The derivational suffixes *-u-kai* are added directly to the stem. See *mu/ākai* (7.3).

## VIII. VIKKIRAMANGALAM

18.1 *e-iyil* Read *eyil*. (P.) Cf. *eyil* 'fortress, wall, fortification, city, town' (D. 808). The reversal of *-yi-* as *-iy-* is a scribal error. There were several places with this name in ancient Tamil country.

Cf. LT *eyil* 'city, fortified town' (*Puṛa.* 3:9, *Naṇṇ.* 43:11); *eyil* 'city, fortification' (*Tivā.* 930); *ēl-eyil* 'name of a fortified town' (*Puṛa.* 33:8).

Cf. (inscr.) *eyil-kōṭṭam*, name of a territorial division which included Kanchipuram (*SII.* XII:No. 66, 9th cent. A.D.).

18.2 *ar-iytaṇ* (*ariytaṇ*). N. of the donor. Cf. *ar-itaṇ* (8.2). See section 6.19.2 for the pause between *r* and *i*.

18.3 *cēvit-ōṇ* (*cēvittōṇ*) (v.) 'he who caused to be made'; participial noun, causative, 3rd person masculine singular, from *cē* (LT *cey*) 'to make'.

**Analysis:** *cē* (stem) + *vi* (causative suffix) + *t* (past tense marker) + *ōṇ* (PNG suffix in free form). The consonant *-t-* is not doubled. See *cē-iyā* (2.10) for further comments.

19.1 *em* (pron.) 'our'. First person plural oblique form of *yām* 'we' (exclusive) (D. 5154).

19.2 *ūr* (n.) 'village, town, city' (D. 752). The expression occurs here as an independent word in *em ūr* 'our village'. Elsewhere in the Corpus, *ūr* is the most frequent

suffix to place names occurring either in free form as in *pākaṇ-ūr* (13.1) or bound as in *tēṇūr* (73.2). (See Index to Place Names in Appendix III.)

Cf. LT *em ūr* 'our village' (*Narr.* 276:7); *ūr* 'village' (*Tivā.* 930; *Piṅkala.* 475).

Cf. (inscr.) *ivv=ūr* 'this village'. (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 17, ca. 6th cent. A.D.).

**19.3 *ciḷivaṇ-a*** 'of Ciḷivaṇ'. N. of the donor in genitive case. The name occurs in 7.2 also, but is otherwise not attested. It may probably be compared with *ceḷiyaṇ*, a generic name of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty (*Tivā.* 182).

*-a* is the most frequent genitive suffix in the Ta. Br. inscriptions. See section 7.27.4.

Cf. LT *avara . . . kayam* 'their ponds' (*Pura.* 15:9-10); *marāatta kōṭu* 'branch of the tree' (*Kurun.* 99.4); *niṇa yāṇai* 'your elephant' (*Pari.* 19:85); *verina-t-tōl* 'skin of the back' (*Pari.* 21.5).

**19.4 *tāṇa*** (n.) 'gift, charity'. Cf. *dāna* (Pkt.) < *dāna* (Skt.).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *dānam* (*Bhārhut Inscrs.* Word Index).

The word-final nasal *m* is omitted apparently under the influence of Pkt. inscriptional orthography. Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *dāna* (for *dānam*) (*Amaravati*, C. Sivaramamurti 1977 reprint: Nos. 59, 64, 79; *Bhārhut Inscrs.* Word Index). The omission may also be due to nasalisation in the spoken language.

Cf. LT *tāṇam tavam iraṇṭum* 'both charity and penance' (*Kuraḷ.* 19); *tāṇam* 'gift' (*Piṅkala.* 2128; *Cūṭā.* 9:9).

Cf. (inscr.) *tēvar tāṇam āka* 'as gift to the deity' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 121, 9th cent. A.D.).

**20.1 *antai-y pikaṇ*** N. of the father of the donor.

**a. *antai-y*** (n.) 'an honorific'. *-y* is the paragogic suffix. See 3.7.a for comments.

**b. *pikaṇ*** (*pikkaṇ*) (N.) Cf. LT *pikkam* 'young of elephant' (*TL*) < *pikka* (Skt.) 'young elephant' (MW). The consonant *-k-* is not doubled.

**20.2 *makaṇ*** (n.) 'son' (D. 4616). As may be expected, this is the most frequent kinship term occurring in the Corpus (see Inscriptional Glossary in Appendix I).

Cf. LT *niṇ makaṇ yāṇṭuḷaṇō* 'where is your son?' (*Pura.* 86:1-2); *makaṇ* 'son' (*Tivā.* 276; *Piṅkala.* 833; *Cūṭā.* 2:80).

Cf. (inscr.) *vēḷ marukaṇ makaṇ* 'son of Vēḷ Marukaṇ' (*Pulankurichi Inscrs.* II.2, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *kantaparup(a)=ēṇātiyār makaṇ* 'son of Kantaparupa Ēṇātiyār' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 276, ca. 6th cent. A.D.).

- 20.3 ven-a** Read *veṇ-* 'of Veṇ'. N. of the donor in genitive case. The name is derived from *veṇ* 'victory'. Cf. Ta. *veṇ*, *veṇṇi* 'victory'; Ma. *venni* id. (D. 5493). Cf. *veni* for *veṇi* (*veṇṇi*) (70.2.a); *veṇṇi* 'victory' (*Tivā*. 2139); *veṇṇi*, *veṇṇi* id. (*Piṅkala*. 1767; *Cūṭā*. 8:32).

Cf. LT *veṇ* 'victory, victorious' (*Aka*. 60:12, 62:12; *Puṛa*. 19:4, 141:7).

The dental *n* is a scribal error for the alveolar *ṇ*. This is one of the earliest attestations for the falling together of the sounds *n* and *ṇ* in Tamil. Cf. *atiyaṇ neṭumān-* (59.2) and *kaccavanu* (119.2.a) with similar error. See section 7.7.2.

The genitive suffix *-a* is added in free form. See 19.3 for discussion.

- 20.4 tāṇa** (n.) 'gift'. See 19.4.

- 21.1 pētalai** (*pēttalai*) (P.) lit., 'devil's place'. Cf. place names like Kuḷittalai, Cīttalai, etc.  
a. *pē* (n.) Cf. *pēy* 'devil, goblin'; Ma. *pē* 'demon' (D. 4438). Alternatively, cf. *pēya* (AMg.) 'demon' < *prēta* (Skt.) 'departed soul'.

Cf. LT *pēy* 'demon' (*Tivā*. 36; *Piṅkala* 209; *Cūṭā*. 1:45).

b. *talai* (n.) 'word used as a locative case suffix' (TL). Cf. *tala* (Te.) 'place' (D. 3103).

Cf. LT *nanantalai ulakam* 'the world is a wide place' (*Puṛa*. 221:11; *Kuṛun*. 6:3); *talai* 'iṭam (place)' (*Tivā*. 1023; *Piṅkala* 719; *Cūṭā*. 5:65).

- 21.2 kuviraṇ** N. of the donor. Cf. *kubēra*, *kuvēra* (AMg.) < *kubēra* (Skt.) 'god of riches and treasure; regent of the northern quarter' (MW).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *kupira* (*Bhārhut Inscrs.* No. B1); *kubira* (Sinh. Pkt., Parānavitana 1970:No. 469); *kubēra* (K.G. Krishnan, ed. 1989:No. 66. I).

Cf. LT *kupēraṇ* 'Kubēra' (*Tivā*. 11; *Piṅkala*. 195; *Cūṭā*. 1:29).

- 22.1 ceṅkuviraṇ** N. of the donor.

a. *ce(m)-* (adj.) 'good'. Cf. *cem-* 'straight', *cemmai* 'goodness' (D. 2747).

Cf. *ceṅkāyapaṇ* (61.4 & 62.4), *centaṇṭaṇ* (109.1 & 110.1).

Cf. LT *ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ* 'N. of a Cēra king' (*Cilap*. 26:224); *ceṅkōl* 'upright sceptre i.e., just rule' (*Puṛa*. 35:14); *cemmai* 'greatness' (*Tivā*. 1363; *Cūṭā*. 8:10).

Cf. (inscr.) *ceṅcaṭai īcar* 'god of the fair matted locks (Śiva)' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 245, 9th cent. A.D.); *cempon* 'pure gold' (*SII*. XIV:No. 20, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 8-9 cent. A.D.).

Sandhi: *-m* > *-ṇ-* before *-k*.

b. *kuviraṇ* 'a personal name'. See 21.2.

- 23.1 **ku[vi]rā** (*kuvira* + *ā*) 'of Kuviraṇ'. N. of the donor in genitive case; construed as *kuviraṇ* + *ā* (genitive suffix). Cf. **kuviraṇ** (21.2). The genitive suffix *-ā* is added to the noun stem after elision of the PNG suffix *-aṇ*. See section 7.16.6. cf. **nali-y-ūr-ā** (65.1) and **nalli-y-ūr-ā** (66.1) for other occurrences of the genitive suffix *-ā*.
- 23.2 **tāṇa** (n.) 'gift'. See 19.4.

### IX. METTUPPATTI

- 24.1 **amaṇaṇ** (n.) 'Jaina monk' < *camaṇaṇ*. Cf. *samaṇa* (Pkt.) < *śramaṇa* (Skt.) 'an ascetic or monk of non-Vēdic religions'; A Jaina monk (in Ta.). Cf. **amaṇṇaṇ** (61.2 & 62.2). See section 4.9.3(ii) for discussion.

Cf. (Pāli inscr.) *samaṇa* (Asoka, *CII.I:Gir.* III.5). Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *samaṇa* (K.G. Krishnan, ed. 1989:Nos. 38, 64); *śamaṇa* (Sinh. Pkt., Parānavitana 1970: No. 103).

The term denotes exclusively Jaina monks in the Tamil tradition.

Cf. LT *camaṇum puttaram*, *camaṇar cākkīyar*, thus clearly distinguishing the Jainas from the Buddhists (*Tēvā*. I:4.10, 24.10 respectively); *camaṇīrkāḷ* 'Oh ye Jainas!' (*Maṇi*. 5:52); *amaṇar* 'Jainas' (*Tēvā*. III:40.10); *camaṇar*, *amaṇar* 'Jainas' (*Piṅkala*. 318).

Cf. (inscr.) *amaṇ-cērkkai* (*śramaṇāśrama* in Skt. portion) 'Jaina hermitage' (*Pallava Inscr.* No. 17, ca. 6th cent. A.D.); *amaṇaṇ kāṇi* 'land granted to a Jaina monk' (*SII*. XIV:No. 45, Pāṇṭiya, 9th cent. A.D.).

- 24.2 **matirai** (P.) same as Maturai (Madurai), the ancient capital of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom. The name is written variously as **mattirai** (38.1), **matira** (27.1), **matiray** (36.1) or **matirai** (24.2). While the literary form is *maturai* (*Puṇa*. 32:5, *Matu*. 699; *Tivā*. 943; *Piṅkala*. 464; *Cūṭā*. 5:41), the preferred inscriptional form is *matirai*. Cf. Pulankurichi Inscr. II. 4, ca. 5th cent. A.D.; also see *SII*. I-III:Indexes.

The expression *matir-ay* may perhaps be interpreted literally as 'a walled (city)'. Cf. (Ta.) *matil*, (Tu.) *madulu*, (Te.) *maduru*, (Konḍa) *madru* 'wall, fortification' (D. 4692). Cf. also (Ta.) *matalai*, (Ko.) *madl* 'cornice, lintel of doorway' (D. 4689). It is perhaps significant that *kapāṭapuram*, said to be the still more ancient capital of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom and seat of the Iṭaiccaṅkam (*Iṭai*. 1, comm.), also means literally 'city with (fortified) portals'. Cf. *dvārakā* (Skt.) 'name of a city'.

- 24.3 **attiraṇ** N. of the Jaina monk. The name is not attested elsewhere, but may perhaps be connected with *attiri* < *atri* (Skt.), N. of a ṛishi (MW).
- 24.4 **uṇai** (n.) 'abode of ascetics'. See 9.3.

**24.5 utayaṇasa** 'of Udayaṇa(ṇ)', N. of the donor in genitive case. The genitive suffix is added to the stem after elision of the PNG suffix *-(a)ṇ*.

Cf. *udayana* (Skt.) 'N. of several kings and authors' (MW); *udayaṇa* (AMg.) 'N. of a prince, son of Satānīka, the king of Kauśāmbī' (PSM); LT *utayaṇaṇ*, hero of *Peruṅkatai* (ed. U.Ve. Swaminathaiyar, 5th edn., 1996). It is interesting that the inscriptional form *utayaṇa(ṇ)* is identical with the one occurring in the original manuscript, which has been altered by Swaminathaiyar to *utayaṇaṇ* (ibid. Intr. p. xxviii; see also R. Vijayalakshmy 1981:p. 1, note 2).

The name is of exceptional interest. Udayana was the hero of *Bṛihatkaṭhā* which is said to have been composed in Paisācī Pkt. by Guṇāḍhya. The work is not extant. It was rendered into Tamil with the title *Peruṅkatai* by Koṅkuvēḷir, a Jaina author. The present inscription which is much earlier, shows that the story of Udayana was known in the Tamil country and persons were named after him from an early period.

The addition of the Pkt. genitive suffix *-sa* (*-ssa*) shows the influence of Pkt. on the Ta. Br. inscriptions. For another example from a coin-legend, see No. 1, Table 1.6.

**25.1 antai ariyti** N. of the donor.

**a. antai** (n.) 'an honorific'. See 3.7. a.

**b. ariyti** (N.) Cf. *hārīti* (Skt.), patronymic from *hārīta* (MW).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *hariti* (K.G. Krishnan, ed. 1989: No. 75); *hariti* (Sinh. Pkt., Paranavitana 1970:No. 93b); *haritī* (Lüders List:No. 907); *hārīti* (ibid. No. 1186); *hārītī* (ibid. Nos. 1195-96).

Cf. LT Varumulai Āritti (fem.) (author, *Kurun.* 176).

For the occurrence of the diphthong *-iy-* in this name, see *ar-iytaṇ* (18.2). Cf. also *ariti* (34.2).

**26.1 antai irāvataṇ** N. of the donor.

**a. antai** (n.) 'an honorific'. See 3.7.a.

**b. irāvataṇ** (N.). Cf. *irāvat* (Skt.) 'a personal name', lit., 'possessing food' > *airāvata* 'a descendant of Irāvat' (MW).

Cf. LT *ayirāvatam* 'one of the eight mythical elephants' (*Tivā.* 2433; *Piṅkala.* 20 & 3074).

**27.1 [m]atira** (P.) Variant of *matirai*. See 24.2 for comments.

**27.2 antai [v]isuvāṇ** N. of the donor.

a. **antai** (n.) 'an honorific'. See 3.7.a.

b. **visuvāṇ** (*vissuvāṇ*) (N.)

Cf. LT *viccuvaṇ* 'a personal name' (*Cūḷā. Mantira*. 338); *vicuva-nāḷ* (TL), *viccuva-nāḷ* 'the asterism Uttirāṭam (Uttarāshāḍha)' (*Tivā*. 100; *Piṅkala*. 259; *Cūṭā*. 1:76).

Cf. *vissa* (AMg.) 'the asterism Uttarāshāḍha, the deity presiding over it' < *vaiśva* (Skt.) 'N. of the asterism Uttarāshāḍha' (from *viśva*).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *visa-* (*Bhārhut Inscrs.* No. A1), *visa-* (Lüders List:No. 238), *vesa-* (*Bhārhut Inscrs.* No. B14), parts of personal names derived from *viśva* (Skt.); *veśa* (Sinh. Pkt.) (< *vaiśva*) 'personal name derived from the asterism Uttarāshāḍha' (Paranavitana 1970:Glossary).

**visuvāṇ** may also be derived from: *visuva* (AMg.) < *vishuvat* (Skt.) 'equinox'; or, *vissua* (AMg.) < *viśruta* (Skt.) 'renowned'. See also **vesaṇ** (*vessaṇ*) (50.2).

**28.1 antai cēnta-a** 'of Antai cēnta(ṇ)', N. of the donor in genitive case.

a. **antai** (n.) 'an honorific'. See 3.7.a.

b. **cēnta-a** The genitive suffix **-a** is added to the noun stem after elision of the PNG suffix **-aṇ**. Cf. **vira-a** (79.1.c).

Cf. LT *cēntaṇ* 'a personal name' (*Kuṇṇ*. 258:4; *Naṭṭ*. 190:3).

Cf. (inscr.) *kō-c-cēntaṇ-kūṇṇaṇku* 'of King Cēntaṇ Kūṇṇaṇ' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. II. 1, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *kō māṇṇaṇ-cēntaṇ*, N. of a Pāṇṭiya king (*ARE* 358/1959-60, 7th cent. A.D.); *cēntaṇ pūtaṇ*, *purayaṇ cēntaṇ*, *cēntaṇ vēḷāṇ*, *tuppaṇ cēntaṇ* 'personal names' (*SII*. V:Nos. 307, 311, 330 & 366 respectively, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

**28.2 tāṇa** (n.) 'gift'. See 19.4.

**29.1 cantantai cantāṇ** N. of the donor. The composite name may be interpreted as Cantāṇ, son of Cantantai.

a. **canta-** From *cantāṇ* (N.) The PNG suffix **-aṇ** is dropped in sandhi. See 5.1.a for further comments.

b. (**a**)**ntai** (n.) added as a bound honorific suffix. Cf. **piṭantai** (*piṭṭantai*) (66.2) and **kōṇṇantai** (67.1). See 3.7.a and 66.2.b for further comments.

c. **cantāṇ** Personal name of the donor. See 5.1.a for further comments.

**30.1 patiṇ-[ū]r** (*patiṇūr*) (P.). The suffix **-ūr** is added separately.

a. **patiṇ-** (num. adj.) from *pattu* 'ten' (D. 3918). e.g., *patiṇāru* 'sixteen'. Apparently an attribute here, though its significance is not clear.

b. *ūr* (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

**30.2 *atai*** (n.) variant of *antai*, honorific. See 3.7.a for comments on *antai*. In *atai* the nasal *-n-* is omitted. Cf. *nataṇ* (48.4) for Nantaṇ. Cf. *attaṇ* 'elder, person of rank or eminence' (D. 142). The donor was important enough to be described as the *a(n)tai* of Patiṇūr not needing to be identified by his personal name. Cf. *nākapērūr atai-y* (56.1-2).

Cf. (inscr.) *ivvūr=antai* 'the *antai* of this village' (*Pallava Inscr.* No. 74, ca. 8th cent. A.D.).

Even though *atai* is regarded here as a variant of *antai*, the possibility of reading *atai* as *attai* by doubling the consonant *-t-* cannot be ruled out. The existence of *attai* as a masculine honorific may be inferred from the name *añci-y-attai makaḷ nākaiyār* 'Nākai, the daughter of Añci-y-attai' (author, *Aka.* 352). The traditional reading and interpretation, *attaimakaḷ* 'aunt's daughter', is doubtful, as invoking such an unusual relationship in describing a person is not met with elsewhere. Apparently *attai* as a masculine honorific went out of use to avoid the confusion with the more common *attai* (fem.) 'aunt'.

**31.1 *kuvira-a[n]tai*** N. of the donor.

a. *kuvira-* From *kuviraṇ* (N.) The PNG suffix *-aṇ* is dropped when adding the honorific suffix *antai*. See *kuviraṇ* (21.2).

b. *antai* (n.) 'an honorific'. See 29.1.b.

**31.2 *cēy-a*** (v.) 'which was made'; adjectival past participle from *cē* (LT *cey*) 'to make'.

**Analysis:** *cē* (stem) + *y* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix). See comments on *cē-iyā* (2.10). In the present instance, *-y-* occurs as the past tense marker in the place of *-i-*. See section 7.29.1.

Cf. LT *āay* 'having become' (*Patir.* 67:20) where *-y-* occurs as the past tense marker. (See S. Agesthalingom 1979:p. 130 for discussion and more examples.) The inscriptional form is, however, not attested elsewhere.

**31.3 *tāṇa*** (n.) 'gift'. See 19.4.

**32.1 *kuvira-antai vēḷ-a*** 'of Kuvira-antai Vēḷ', N. of the donor in genitive case.

a. *kuvira-* From *kuivraṇ* (N.). See 31.1.a.

b. *antai* (n.) 'an honorific'. See 29.1.b.

c. *vēḷ-a* Cf. *vēḷ* 'petty ruler, chief'; *vēḷir* 'a class of ancient chiefs in the Tamil country' (D. 5545).

Cf. LT *neṭuvēḷ āvi* 'N. of a chieftain' (*Aka.* 1:3); *pāri vēḷ* id. (*Puṛa.* 105:8); *vēḷir* 'petty rulers' (*Tivā.* 184; *Piṅkala.* 754; *Cūṭā.* 2:21).

Cf. (inscr.) ...*tantai vēl* 'a personal name' (Y. Subbarayalu, Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions from Kodumaṇal 1996, unpublished: No. 115); *vēl marukaṇ* 'a personal name' (Pulankurichi Inscr. II.2, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *vēl centil* 'a personal name' (SII. XIV:No. 17, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 8-9 cent. A.D.).

-a is the genitive suffix.

32.2 *tāṇa* (n.) 'gift'. See 19.4.

33.1 *tiṭi-il-a* 'of Tiṭi-il'. (P.) in genitive case. Cf. *tiṭi* (58.1). The village made a collective gift (of stone beds).

Cf. (inscr.) Tiṭiyūr (in Singikulam, Tirunelveli District) where there was an ancient Jaina *paḷli* on the hill known as Jīṇagiri-malai (ARE B. 269/1940-41, Pāṇṭiya).

a. *tiṭi* (*tiṭṭi*) (n.) Cf. *tiṭṭi*, *tiṭṭu*, *tiṭṭai* 'raised ground, elevation' (D. 3221).

b. *il-a il* (n.) 'place' (D. 494). A derivative suffix with locative signification. It is not a case suffix here as it is followed by -a, the genitive suffix.

Cf. LT *il* 'place' (*Piṅkala*. 666; *Cūṭā*. 5:65).

33.2 *tāṇa* (n.) 'gift'. See 19.4.

## X. KARUNGALAKKUDI

34.1 *eḷai-y-ūr* (*eḷaiyūr*) (P.)

a. *eḷai-y* (n.) probably variant of *eṭai* (LT *iṭai*) 'middle' (D. 448) or 'the herdsman caste' (D. 450), referring either to the geographical location or the occupational caste composition of the village. -y is the paragodic suffix (or glide in this case).

The alternation of *i/e* is discussed in 43.2.a. The alternation between -ṭ- (phonetically -ḍ-) and *l* is also attested in Old Tamil and in inscriptions.

Cf. LT *eṭupputi* (for *eḷupputi*) (*Kuṟun*. 147:4), *eṭuppi* (for *eḷuppi*) (*Cilap*. 4:79, 5:133); *ēṭakam/ēḷakam* 'goat, sheep'; *nāṭi/nāḷi* 'unit of time' (TL).

Cf. (inscr.) *piḷāri* (for *piṭāri* < *bhaṭāri*), *paḷāra* (for *bhaṭāra*), (TAS. II-III, 1992 reprint, Tiruvalla Plates, ca. 9-10 cent. A.D., Lines 46 & 564 respectively); *erumai-y nāḷ kāmunaṭaṇ* 'the Gāmuṇḍa of Erumaināḍ(u)' (SII. XXVI:No. 260 Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.).

Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *nāḷ gaṇḍigar* 'village headman' where also *nāḷ* stands for (G. S. Gai 1946:No. 62.2). Cf. *kaḷu-* (for LT *kaṭu*) (44.1.a).

b. *ūr* (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

sense 01  
 Cf. (inscr.) ur  
 Nos. 88 and 12  
 meeting in ass  
 village, w  
 Cf. Mude  
 There is a l  
 ēr-ay-am (pērayam) 'r

- 34.2 **ariti=ṇ** (*ariti-iṇ*) 'of Arit(i)', N. of the donor in genitive case. **aritiṇ** is construed as *ariti* + *iṇ* (genitive case suffix) with elision of stem-final *-i* (See also 10.3). Cf. *hariti*, *haritī* (Pkt.) < *hārīti* (Skt.). See **ariyti** (25.1.b) for further comments.
- 34.3 **paḷi** (*paḷli*) (n.) 'hermitage'. See 1.9.

## XI. MUDALAIKULAM

### 35.1 **vēmpīṭ-ūr** (*vēmpīṭūr*) (P.)

The village may be identified as Vēmpaṭṭūr in Teṇ-kaḷavaḷi-nāṭu (modern Vempattur in Ramanathapuram District) (*ARE B.* 322-344/1959-60). The place is associated with the Caṅkam poets, Kaṇṇaṇ Kūttanār (author, *Kuṟun.* 362) and Kumaraṇār (author, *Puṇa.* 317). U.Ve. Swaminathaiyar has noted that this village has been famous for producing Tamil savants and poets from the days of the Kāṭaiccaṅkam up to the present. (*Caṅka kāla pulavarkaḷ*: pp. 409-411). The village is mentioned as *kaḷavaḷi-nāṭtu vēmpaṭṭūr* in the Larger Siṅṇamaṇūr Plates of Rājasimha (*Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ*: No. 5, Line 163, 10th cent. A.D.). See Table 4.3.

The inscriptional name **vēmpīṭ-ūr** may be analysed as *vēmpil* (basic name) + *tt* (suffix of the oblique case) + *ūr* (suffix of the place name); *-iṭ* (*-iṭṭ* < *il* + *tt*) is oblique suffix with locative signification. The consonant *-ṭ-* is not doubled.

*vēmpil* (*vēmpu* + *il*) is attested in an inscription as another name of *vēmpaṭṭūr* (modern Veppattur in Thanjavur District) (*SII.* XIV:No. 10, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

a. **vēmp(u)** (n.) 'neem' (D. 5531). Villages named after the neem tree are quite common in Tamil Nadu.

Cf. LT *vēmpu* (*Tivā.* 644; *Piṅkala.* 2679; *Cūṭā.* 4:17).

b. **il** (n.) 'place'; occurs here with locative signification. See 33.1.b.

c. **ūr** (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

The plural verb **cēṭavaṭ** (see below) indicates that **ūr** occurring here in free form suffixed to the place name, stands not merely for the 'village' in the literal sense of the term, but also for the 'assembly' of the village. See section 4.6.12.

Cf. (inscr.) *ūrōm*, *ūṇavar* 'members of the village assembly' (*Pallava Inscr.* Nos. 88 and 126 respectively, ca. 8-9 cent. A.D.); *ūrāl yicainta ūrōm* 'the village meeting in assembly' (*SII.* V:No. 307, Cōḷa-Pāṇṭiya, 11th cent. A.D.).

**vēr-ay-am** (*pērayam*) 'large tank'.

There is a large water reservoir with a circumference of about 2 km. near the village, which may probably be the one mentioned in this inscription. Cf. Mudalaikuḷam, lit., 'crocodile tank', the modern name of the village.

The three segments of the word are written separately. The use of initial vowels in non-initial positions is the result of such 'analytical' writing, a characteristic feature of the Early Ta. Br. inscriptions. Cf. *avviru-a-ar-um* (45.3) and *ca-a-aṣaṇ* (46.3).

a. *pēr-* (adj.) 'large'; *peru-* > *pēr-* before a vowel. See 13.2.a.

b. *ay-am* (*ayam*) (n.) 'spring, tank, pond' (D. 188).

Cf. LT *pū malintu aruvi ārkum ayam* 'the pond filled with flowers by the freshes' (*Aka.* 262:13-14); *ayam* 'tank' (*Tivā.* 895; *Piṅkala.* 3073; *Cūṭā.* 11:154).

*-am* is the nominative neuter singular suffix written in free form.

35.3 *cētavar* (v.) 'they who made (constructed)'; past participial noun, third person epicene plural, from *cē* (LT *cey*) 'to make' (D. 1957). Cf. LT *ceytavar*. Cf. 35.1 above on the significance of the plural verb here.

Analysis: *cē* (stem) + *t* (past tense marker) + *avar* (PNG suffix). See 2.10 for further comments.

## XII. ALAGARMALAI

36.1 *matiray* (P.) Variant of *matirai*. See 24.2.

36.2 *poṇ-kolvaṇ* 'goldsmith'.

Cf. LT *poṇ viṇai-k-kollaṇ* 'goldsmith' (*Cilap.* 16:110). Cf. *poṇ-vāṇikaṇ* (69.2).

a. *poṇ* (n.) 'gold' (D. 4570).

Cf. LT *poṇ* 'gold' (*Tivā.* 1025; *Piṅkala.* 1232-33; *Cūṭā.* 6:2, 3).

b. *kolvaṇ* (n.) 'smith'. The word is not attested elsewhere, but cf. *kol*, *kollaṇ* 'blacksmith' (D. 2133). See section 3.2.2(v).

36.3 *ataṇ ataṇ* N. of the goldsmith. The name may be interpreted as *Ataṇ*, son of *Ataṇ*. This is confirmed by the more explicit text *ataṇ makaṇ ataṇ ataṇ* (No. 40), though the latter is a different person judging from his vocation.

a & b. *ataṇ* (N.) Cf. *ceṛ-ataṇ* (*ceṛṛataṇ*) (12.4) and *pē[r]ataṇ* (13.2). See 12.4.b for further comments.

37.1 *ṇākaṇ* Read *nākaṇ* (N.) See *nākaṇ* (48.2).

38.1 *mattiraike* Read *matirai-* (P.) in the possessive-locative case. Doubling of the consonants *-tt-* is superfluous, as in *vaḷutti-* for *vaḷuti* (1.7.b). Cf. *matirai* (24.2).

*-ke* is the dative case suffix (*ku* + *ē*), with possessive-locative signification here, meaning 'at, in, belonging to'. The addition of the emphatic particle *-ē* signifies that the place name qualifies all the personal names which follow (in Nos. 39-45).

Cf. LT *em uṛaiviṇ ūr-k-kē* 'in our town' (*Narr.* 67:12, cited in V.S. Rajam 1992:pp. 352-353).

Cf. (inscr.) *tirumukam ... talaikku vaittu* 'placing the royal order on the head' (*Pallava Inscr.* No. 17, ca. 6th cent. A.D., cited in A.Velu Pillai 1976: pp. 63-64).

### 39.1 *upu-vāṇikaṇ* 'salt merchant'.

Cf. LT *uppu vāṇikar* 'salt merchants' (*Piṅkala.* 786; *Cūṭā.* 2:31).

**a. *upu* (*uppu*) (n.) 'salt' (D. 2674a).**

*upu* (*uppu*) is written in the original as *ū pu*. See section 6.15. The consonant *-p-* occurs without doubling.

Production and sale of salt were major commercial activities in ancient Tamil country. The Caṅkam poems frequently refer to the production of salt along the coastal belt and its transport by wagon to the inland areas. Salt was exchanged for paddy in barter, their value being the same by volume.

Cf. LT *nellum uppum nērē* 'paddy and salt are equal (in price)' (*Aka.* 390:8). For a good summary of the references to salt in Caṅkam literature, see *CIPK.* I: pp. 336-338.

Cf. (inscr.) *uppu kō-c-ceykai* 'manufacture of salt, king's right' (*Pallavar Ceppēṭukaḷ*: No. 9, Line 32, 8th cent. A.D.).

**b. *vāṇikaṇ* (n.) 'merchant, trader'. Cf. *vaṇik* (Skt.) 'merchant, trader' (MW). The term occurs in the Ta. Br. inscriptions as *vaṇikaṇ* (43.1.b, 46.2.b) as well as *vāṇikaṇ* (39.1.b, 42.1.b, 69.2.b).**

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *vaṇija*, *vāṇija* (Lüders List:Nos. 355, 269 respectively); (Sinh. Pkt. inscr.) *vaṇijha* (Paranavitana 1970:Nos. 356-57).

Cf. LT *aṛavilai vaṇikaṇ* 'trader earning religious merit by charity' (*Pura.* 134:2); *peruṅkuṭi vāṇikar* 'merchants of distinguished lineage' (*Cilap.* 5:41); *vaṇikar* 'traders' (*Tivā.* 192; *Piṅkala.* 776; *Cūṭā.* 2:25); *vāṇikaṇ 'ceṭṭi* ' (*Cūṭā.* 11:65).

Cf. (inscr.) *aṛukai vāṇikar* 'cloth merchants' (*Pallava Inscr.* Nos. 145 & 147; ca. 9th cent. A.D.). Cf. *vaṇikar*, *vāṇikar* 'merchants' (*SII.* XII:No. 236, 13th cent. A.D.).

### 39.2 *viyakaṇ* N. of the salt merchant. Cf. *visaka* (Pkt.) < *visākha-*, *vaiśākha* (Skt.) 'N. of an asterism'.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *visaka* 'a personal name' (Lüders List:Nos. 643, 1332); (Sinh. Pkt. inscr.) *viḥaka* id. (Paranavitana 1970:No. 413).

Cf. LT *vicākai* (fem.) (*Maṇi.* 22:83); *vicākaṇ 'Murukaṇ*' (*Tivā.* 7; *Piṅkala.* 110; *Cūṭā.* 1:24); *viyākaṇ 'Skanda*' (*TL*).

Cf. (inscr.) *viyākam* 'the asterism Viśākha' (*SII*. XIV:No. 16A, Line 17, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.). Cf. *viyakkaṇ* (84.4.a).

**40.1 kaṇatikaṇ** The composite expression is construed as *kaṇa* + *atikaṇ* and interpreted as 'chief of scribes'. See section 4.6.8.

**a. kaṇa-** (n.) Cf. *kaṇa* (Skt.) 'writer, scribe; the occupation of this class is writing, accounts' (MW). In the Early Brāhmī inscriptions of Sri Lanka, *kaṇa* (< *kaṇa*) occurs with the meaning 'scribe' (Paranavitana 1970:Intr. p. xcv.)

Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *śrī kaṇa* 'scribe', *śrī kaṇa-agraṇya* 'worthy to be counted foremost among the scribes', *śrī kaṇa-agraṇī* and *śrī kaṇa-adhipa* 'leader of scribes', (L.D. Barnett 1915-16, *El*. XIII: p. 17, Rāshtrakūṭa, Jaina, 13th cent. A.D.).

Cf. LT *kaṇam* 'learning' (*Tivā*. 2046); 'reckoning' (*Piṅkala*. 1842); 'mathematics' (*Cūṭā*. 10:31); *kaṇam* 'village accountant', *kaṇam* 'accountant' (*TL*).

Cf. (inscr.) *kaṇattāṇ* 'accountant' (*SII*. I:No. 40; III:Nos. 15, 16 & 18; 11th cent. A.D.); *ivvūr kaṇattāṇ* 'the accountant of this village' (*SII*. XXVI: No. 700, 12th cent. A.D.). See also *kaṇaka* 'accountant', title attached to the same person (40.2).

**b. atikaṇ** See 3.6.b.

**40.2 kaṇaka-** (*kaṇakka-*). Attribute from *kaṇakaṇ* (*kaṇakkaṇ*) (n.) 'accountant' < *gaṇaka* (Skt.) 'one who reckons' (MW). See section 4.6.8.

Cf. *gaṇaka* (Pāli) 'accountant, an office at the king's court' (*PED*). *Ataṇ*, donor's father, is described as a *kaṇaka* 'accountant' as well as the *kaṇatikaṇ* 'chief of scribes'. The scribe figures often as a donor in Pkt. inscriptions. Cf. *lēkhaka* 'clerk (scribe)' (Lüders List:Nos. 209, 1037, 1045, etc.); *rāja-lipikara* 'royal scribe' (*ibid.* No. 271).

Cf. LT *camaya-k-kaṇakkar* 'those well-versed in religious learning' (*Maṇi*. 27:2); *kaṇakkāyar* 'teacher' (*Nālaṭi*. 314); *kaṇakku* 'alphabet and numbers' (*Tivā*. 1854; *Piṅkala*. 2085); *kaṇakkaṇ* 'accountant, arithmetician'; *neṭuṇkaṇakku* 'alphabet' (*TL*).

Cf. (inscr.) *kaṇakka paṇṭāri* 'accountant-treasurer' (*SII*. XIV:No. 74, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 8-10 cent. A.D.); *kaṇakkar ākavum* 'as accountant also' (*Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ*. No. 5, Line 167, 10th cent. A.D.). See 40.1.a also for further comments.

**40.3 ataṇ** N. of donor's father. See 12.4.b for further comments.

**40.4 makaṇ** (n.) 'son'.

**40.5 ataṇ ataṇ** N. of the donor. See 36.3.

**41.1 *sapamitā*** (*sappamittā*). N. of the Jaina nun who is apparently one of the donors. The consonants -p- and -t- are not doubled.

Cf. *sappamittā* (Pkt.) < *sarpamitrā* (Skt.), lit., 'companion of the serpent (deity)'.

**a. *sapa-*** (*sappa-*). Cf. *sappa* (Pkt.) < *sarpa* (Skt.) 'serpent, snake, serpent-demon' (MW).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *sapagutā* < *sarpaguptā* (Skt.) 'a personal name (fem.)' (*Bhārhut Inscrs.* No. A 78).

Cf. LT *carppam* 'snake' (*Piṅkala.* 2601; *Cūṭā.* 3:47).

**b. *mitā*** (*mittā*). Cf. -*mittā* (Pkt.) < -*mitrā* (Skt.) 'part of personal names (fem.)'; < *mitra* (Skt.) 'friend, companion' (MW).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *mitā* (*mittā*) 'a personal name (fem.)' (Lüders List:No. 307); *nāgamitā* (*nāgamitrā*) 'N. of a nun' (Amaravati, C. Sivaramamurti 1977 reprint: No. 67).

**41.2 (*ā*)-*iṇa*** (v.) 'who is, alias'; adjectival past participle from *ā* 'to be, becoming' (D. 333).

**Analysis:** *ā* (stem) + *iṇ* (past tense marker added directly to the stem) + *a* (participial suffix). The verb form, though formally in the past tense, has no tense significance.

Cf. LT *vaḷaṇ aṟu paitiram aṇṇa āyiṇa paḷaṇam* 'fields which became infertile land' (*Patir.* 19:18-19).

The expressions *ā-iṇa* or *āyiṇa* occur frequently in Tamil inscriptions with the meanings 'who is, also known as or alias'.

Cf. (inscr.) *cēṇāpati ēṇāti ā-iṇa cāttañ-cāttaṇ* 'Cāttaṇ Cāttaṇ alias Cēṇāpati Ēṇāti (*Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ:* No. 1, Lines 139-140, ca. 8th cent. A.D.); *pāṇṭimārācar ā-iṇa kō mārañ-caṭaiyaṇ* 'King Māraṇ Caṭaiyaṇ who is the Pāṇṭiya emperor' (*SII.* XIV:No. 12, Pāṇṭiya, 9th cent. A.D.); *perumpiṭuku muttaraiyaṇ=āyiṇa kuvāvaṇ māraṇ* 'Perumpiṭuku Muttaraiyaṇ alias Kuvāvaṇ Māraṇ' (K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer 1915-16, *El.* XIII:p. 139, ca. 8th cent. A.D.).

Cf. Te. *ayina* 'which is or has become' (D. 333). Cf. (Te. inscr.) *a-ina*, *ayna*, *ayina* (K. Mahadeva Sastri 1969:Index).

Sandhi: *sapamitā* + *ā-iṇa* > *sapamitā-iṇa*.

**41.3 *pamitti*** (*pammitti*). (n.) 'Jaina nun'. -m- is not doubled. See section 4.9.4(i).

Cf. LT *pammai* 'Jaina female ascetic' (*Cīvaka.* 2630; *Kayā.* 118); *paimmai* id. (*Tivā.* 280; *Piṅkala.* 932); *paimai* id. (TL).

The inscriptional form *pamitti* (*pammi-tti*) may also be compared with *pammaṇ* 'Jaina novice' (*Aruṅkala.* 168).

Cf. *bambhī* (AMg.) 'N. of a daughter of Ṛishabhadēva' (PSM); *brāhmī* (Skt.) 'one of the divine mothers' (MW).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *bahma*- (Lüders List:No. 18); *bama*- (*bamma*-) (K.G. Krishnan, ed. 1989:No. 122); *bammanī* (Lüders List:No. 1050); *bama* (Sinh. Pkt., Parānavitana 1970:No. 130).

**42.1 *pāṇita-vāṇikaṇ* 'gur merchant'.**

a. *pāṇita*- Attribute from *pāṇitam* (n.) 'juice of sugar cane, sugar candy' (TL); Cf. *phāṇita* (Pāli) 'juice of sugar cane, raw sugar, molasses' (PED) < *phāṇita* (Skt.) 'the inspissated juice of sugar cane'; *phāṇi* 'unrefined sugar, molasses' (MW).

Cf. LT *pāṇitam* 'sugar candy' (Tivā. 1121; *Piṅkala*. 1141; *Cūṭā*. 6:28).

b. *vāṇikaṇ* (n.) 'trader'. See 39.1 b.

**42.2 *neṭumalaṇ* N. of the *gur* merchant.**

a. *neṭu*- (adj.) 'senior'. See 1.5.a.

b. *malaṇ* (*mallan*) (n.) 'wrestler, great or famous man' < *mal* 'wrestling, boxing' (D. 4730).

Cf. LT *āmūr mallan* 'N. of a chieftain' (*Pura*. 80); *mallan* 'great, famous man' (*Piṅkala*. 837).

Cf. (inscr.) *mallan viṭamaṇ* (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 268, ca. 9th cent. A.D.); *kaṇṇan mallan* (*SII*. XIX:No. 309, Cōḷa, 10th cent. A.D.).

**43.1 *koḷu-vaṇikaṇ* 'trader in ploughshares'.**

a. *koḷu* (n.) 'bar of metal, ploughshare' (D. 2147).

Cf. LT *nāñcil āṭiya koḷuvaḷi maruṅkiṇ* 'by the side of the furrow made by the ploughshare when the plough moved' (*Patir*. 58:17); *koḷu* 'part of plough' (Tivā. addition to 1259; *Piṅkala*. 1638; *Cūṭā*. 7:50).

Cf. (inscr.) *koḷu* 'tax on ploughshare'; *koḷuvāram* 'cultivator's share of the produce' (*SITI*. III. 2:Glossary).

b. *vaṇikaṇ* (n.) 'trader'. See 39.1 b.

**43.2 *eḷacantaṇ* N. of the trader in ploughshares.**

a. *eḷa*- (adj.) 'young'. Cf. LT *iḷa*- id. (D. 513). The form *iḷa*- occurs 10 times and the form *eḷa*- 3 times in the Corpus (see Etymological Index:Dravidian). It appears that both forms existed in the spoken language at this early period. See Bh. Krishnamurti 1958a on the alternation of *i* / *e* in South Dravidian.

b. *cantaṇ* 'a personal name'. See 5.1.a.

**44.1 kaḷumāra nataṇ** N. of the donor. He was probably a Pāṇṭiya prince or vassal judging from his name. Cf. LT *kaṭumāṇ māraṇ* (*Puṛa*. 198:27). See section 4.2.3.

**a. kaḷu-** (adj.) Cf. *kaṭu-* 'ferocious', *kaṭumai* 'ferocity' (D. 1135).

The attribute *kaṭu(m)-* is often prefixed to personal names of princes and chieftains. See *kaṭu(m)-* (61.9.b) for further comments.

The inscriptional form *kaḷu-* is a variant of LT *kaṭu-*. See 34.1.a for discussion on *ṭ / l* alternation.

**b. māra-** Attribute from *māraṇ* (N.), one of the generic names of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty (*Tivā*. 182; *Piṅkala*. 750; *Cūṭā*. 2:20).

Cf. (inscr.) *kō māraṇ-cēntaṇ* 'King Māraṇ Cēntaṇ' (*ARE* 358/1959-60, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 7th cent. A.D.). The Pāṇṭiya kings of the early medieval period had the names Māraṇ Caṭaiyaṇ and Caṭaiyaṇ Māraṇ in alternating sequence (*SII*. XIV:Intr.).

**c. nataṇ** 'a personal name'. See 3.2.a.

**44.2 tāra-aṇi-i** (n.) 'drip ledge' (?). The expression is not attested elsewhere. The interpretation suggested here, based on etymology and contextual evidence, is tentative.

**a. tāra-** (n.) Cf. *tārai* 'line, stripe, way, path' (*TL*) < *dhārā* (Skt.) 'continuous line' (MW).

Cf. LT *tārai* 'way' (*Tivā*. 1007; *Piṅkala*. 3628; *Cūṭā*. 5:62); *cala-tārai* 'drainage pipe', *nīr-t-tārai* 'rain water' (*TL*). Cf. also *tāram* 'water', *tārai* 'stream (as of water)' < Skt. *dhāra* (*TL*).

Alternatively, *tāra* may be connected with *dāra* (Skt.) 'rent, cleft' (MW); *dāra* (AMg.) 'to tear asunder, break' (*PSM*). Cf. *darī* (Pāli) 'cleavage, cleft' (*PED*). Thus *tāra* may probably signify the 'drip ledge' which is a cleavage made on the brow of the cavern.

**b. aṇi-i** (n.) 'that which is joined'. Cf. *aṇi* 'to join with' (D. 120). *-i* is the paragogic suffix. Since the inscription is engraved below the drip ledge running across the brow of the cave, it is probable that the carving of the drip ledge to drain off the rainwater is referred to here.

**44.3 koṭupita-avaṇ** (*koṭuppittavaṇ*) (v.) 'he who caused to be given'; past participial noun, causative, 3rd person masculine singular, from *koṭu* 'to give'.

**Analysis:** *koṭu* (stem) + *pi* (causative suffix) + *t* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix) + *avaṇ* (PNG suffix in free form). The consonants *-p-* and *-t-* are not doubled. Cf. *koṭupitavaṇ* (*koṭuppittavaṇ*) (11.2, 53.2).



#### 46.2 *aṟuvai-vaṇikaṇ* 'cloth merchant'.

Cf. LT Maturai *aṟuvai-vāṇikaṇ* *ḷlavēṭṭāṇ-ār* (author, *Aka.* 124);

Cf. (inscr.) *aṟukai-vāṇikaṇ kumaraṇ* 'Kumaraṇ, the cloth merchant' (*Pallava Inscr.* No. 146, 9th cent. A.D.); *aṟuvai-vāṇiya-c-cēri* 'quarters of the cloth merchants' (*SII.* XIV:No. 94, Pāṇṭiya, 10th cent. A.D.).

a. *aṟuvai* (n.) 'cloth, garment' (D. 318).

Cf. LT *tū veḷ aṟuvai* 'pure, white cloth' (*Pura.* 286:5); *aṟuvai* 'cloth' (*Tivā.* 1321; *Piṅkala.* 3110; *Cūṭā.* 7:68).

b. *vaṇikaṇ* (n.) 'trader'. See 39.1. b.

#### 46.3 *eḷa-a aṭaṇ* N. of the cloth merchant.

The inscriptional name *aṟuvai-vaṇikaṇ eḷa-a aṭaṇ* has an intriguing similarity with the name of the Caṅkam poet Maturai *aṟuvai-vāṇikaṇ ḷlavēṭṭāṇ-ār* cited above. U.Ve. Swaminathaiyar has noted that the name *Vēṭṭāṇār* is obscure (*Caṅka kāla pulavarkaḷ*:p. 351). Can *ḷlavēṭṭāṇ* be a later form of *ḷḷa(v)a a(ṭ)ṭaṇ*? See discussion on the word-segments below.

a. *eḷa-a*- Attribute from *eḷa-aṇ*, a personal name. Cf. *ḷḷavaṇ* (67.1.c).

Cf. (inscr.) *vaḷḷal=eḷavaṇ putukkiṇā(ṇ)* '(the structure) was renovated by *Eḷavaṇ*, the *vaḷḷal* (liberal patron)' (*SII.* XVII:No. 400, Jaina, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

b. *aṭaṇ* (*aṭṭaṇ*). (N.) Probably from *aṭu* 'to destroy, conquer'; *āṭu* 'killing, victory' (D. 77).

Cf. LT *aṭṭaṇ*, 'destroyer' (*Tēvā.* V:4.1, VII:80.8); *aṭutal* 'to kill' (*Tivā.* 1675); *āṭṭaṇ atti* 'N. of a person' (*Aka.* 222:7); *āṭṭar* 'petty chieftains' (*Āciriya.* 55).

Alternatively, cf. also (Pkt. inscr.) *aṭha* (*aṭṭha*) 'a personal name' < *artha* (Skt.) (Lüders List:No. 181).

#### 47.1 *tiyaṇ cantāṇ* N. of the donor.

a. *tiyaṇ* (N.) < *tissa* (Pkt.) < *tishya* (Skt.) 'the asterism Tishya; born under the asterism' (MW). Cf. (Pāli inscr.) *tisa* 'the asterism Tishya' (Asoka, *CII.* I:Dhau. Sep. I.17); *tisa* (Pkt.) 'a personal name' (Lüders List:Nos. 447, 1332, 1337); *tiśa* (Sinh. Pkt.) id. (Paranavitana 1970:Glossary; frequent).

Cf. LT *tai* 'name of a month' < *taishya* (Skt.).

Cf. (inscr.) *tiyaṇ kuṭṭi* 'a personal name' (*SII.* V: No. 327, Pāṇṭiya, ca 9th cent. A.D.). See section 4.19.4(i).

b. *cantāṇ* 'a personal name'. See 5.1.a.

#### 48.1 *kaṇi* (n.) 'title of the Jaina monk'. See 1.1.

- 48.2 *nākaṇ*** N. of one of the two senior Jaina monks mentioned in this inscription.  
The Nākar (Skt. *nāga*) were an ancient autochthonous people inhabiting the South Asian countries. See section 4.18.1(iv).  
Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *nāga* (Lüders List: Nos. 451, 1048, 1062). Cf. (Sinh. Pkt. inscr.) *naga* (Paranavitana 1970: Glossary).  
Cf. LT *nākanāṭu* 'the Nāga country' (*Cilap.* 1:21; *Maṇi.* 8:54); *nākapuram* 'name of a city' (*Maṇi.* 24:169); *nākar* 'the Nāga race' (*Pari.* 11:67); *nākaṇ* 'a personal name' (*Puṇa.* 179:12).  
Cf. (inscr.) *nākaṇ kālaṇ* 'a personal name' (*SII.* V: No. 374, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).
- 48.3 *kaṇi*** (n.) 'title of the Jaina monk'. See 1.1.
- 48.4 *nataṇ*** 'a personal name'. See 3.2.a.
- 48.5 *iruvar*** (num. pron.) 'the two persons', referring to the two senior Jaina monks named in the inscription. See also 45.3.b.
- 48.6 *ama*** (v.) 'who abide'; adjectival participle. Cf. *amai* 'to abide, be settled' (D. 161).  
Cf. LT *amaital* 'remaining' (*Aka.* 357:12); *amaikuvar* 'they will stay' (ibid. 223:2).  
The verb stem *ama* (LT *amai*) itself functions here as the participle without tense-marker or participial suffix (*viṇaittokai*). See also *koṭu* (10.4) and *uḷḷāru* (114.2).
- 48.7 *kal*** (n.) 'stone (beds)'; the plural is indicated by the context. See also 14.3.a.

### XIII. SITTANNAVASAL-A

- 49.1 *erumināṭu*** (P.) An ancient region, probably the same as Erumaināṭu, generally identified as the Mysore region of Karnataka. See section 4.20.2.  
Cf. LT *erumai-kuṭanāṭu* (*Aka.* 115:5); *erumai-nalnāṭu* (ibid. 253:19). The region lay to the west of the Tamil country. It was watered by the Ayiri river and was ruled by the chief of the Vaṭukar (ibid. 253:18-20). Erumaiyūraṇ was probably a chieftain of this territory (ibid. 36:17).  
Cf. (inscr.) *erumai-y nāl kāmunaṭaṇ* 'the Gāmuṇḍa from Erumaināḍ(u)' (*SII.* XXVI: No. 269, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.; identified as the territory of 'Mahishamaṇḍala, same as Mysore'; ibid., Intr. p. iii).  
**a. *erumi*** (n.) Cf. Ta. *erumai*, Ka. *erme*, Tu. *erme*, Go. *ermi* 'buffalo, female buffalo' (D. 816). It is likely that *erumi* is not a scribal error for *erumai*, but preserves an ancient dialectal form from a region to the north-west of the Tamil country.

Cf. LT *erumai* 'buffalo' (*Tivā.* 430; *Piṅkala.* 2476; *Cūṭā.* 3:15).

b. *nāṭu* (n.) 'country, district, province' (D. 3638). The word occurs in Caṅkam literature with the meaning 'country', and in later Tamil inscriptions also with the meanings 'territory or its assembly'. (Y. Subbarayalu 1973:pp. 19-55).

-*nāṭu* in the present instance is probably to be read -*nāṭtu* in the oblique case even though the consonant -*t*- is not doubled. Cf. *pāṇāṭtu* (115.2).

Cf. LT *nāṭu* 'country' (*Tivā.* 855; *Piṅkala.* 457; *Cūṭā.* 5:9).

Cf. (inscr.) *pāṇṭi-nāṭtu*; *koṅku-nāṭtu* (Pulankurichi Inscr. I.15, ca. 5th cent. A.D.).

**49.2 *kumuḷ-ūr* (*kumuḷūr*) (P.)** Native place of the resident Jaina nun.

Cf. LT *kumilī-nāḷal*, the native place of the poet Nappacalaiyār (author, *Aka.* 160).

Cf. (inscr.) *kumilūr* (*Pallava Inscr.* No. 89, Line 96, 8th cent. A.D.); *kumuḷūr* (*ibid.* No. 203, 9th cent. A.D.); *kumilī nāṭu* (*SH.* III:No. 75, Line 11, 11th cent. A.D.); *kumilī gaṇa* 'a Jaina order of monks' (probably named after the place of its origin) (*Pallava Inscr.* No. 366, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

There are at present villages named *Kumuḷūr* in Tiruchirappalli District and *Kumuḷi* in Madurai District. However, as these places are not associated with *Erumaināṭu* they cannot be identified as the village mentioned in the inscription.

a. *kumuḷ* (n.) Cf. Ta. *kumil* 'the coomb teak tree'; Ka. *kumuḷe* 'Gmelina arborea' (D. 1742). Deer liked to eat the fruits of the tree, resembling golden beads. (*Narr.* 6:7-8). The village was probably named after this tree.

Cf. LT *kumil* (*Tivā.* 667; *Piṅkala.* 2685; *Cūṭā.* 4:25).

b. *ūr* (n.) 'village'. The word is written separately. See 19.2 for further comments.

**49.3 *piṛanta*** (v.) 'who was born'; adjectival past participle from *piṛa* 'to be born' (D. 4422).

**Analysis:** *piṛa* (stem) + *nt* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix).

Cf. LT *piṛappu* 'birth' (*Tivā.* 1504; *Piṅkala.* 2212; *Cūṭā.* 8:71)

**49.4 *kavuṭi-i*** N. of the Jaina nun to whom the stone bed in the cave was gifted. See section 1.3.2 for the significance of the term.

The paragogic suffix -*i* is added in free form as in *kaṇi-i* (3.1), *paḷi-i* (10.5).

Cf. (Ka.) *gavuḍi*, *gavuḍiti*, *gauḍi*, *gaumḍi*, *gavumḍi* 'wife of a *gāvumḍa*, wife of a village officer' (KSP Kannada Dictionary); *gauḍi* 'feminine of *gauḍa*' (Kittel).

Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *sāta gauḍi* 'a personal name (fem.)' (*Epi. Car.* V:Cn. 230); *nāgavve gauḍigam* 'to Nāgavve Gauḍi' (ibid. VI:No. 30); *gavuḍigam* 'to the gauḍi' (ibid. VI:No. 104). There was also a Jaina sect called *gauḍa* (*gauḷa*, *gauḷi*) *saṁgha* (G. Jawaharlal 1994:pp. 73-74; ARE B.158/1946-47).

Cf. *grāma- kūtaka* (Skt.) 'the chief of a village' (MW) > *gāma-uḍa* (AMg.) 'village headman' (PSM) > *gavuṇḍa*, *gaunḍa*, *gauḍa* (Ka.) id.

**49.5 *teṅku-ciṟupocil*** (P.) Cf. (inscr.) *teṅ ciṟuvāyil nāṭu*, an ancient territorial division which lay immediately to the east of this hill (*IPS.* Nos. 25, 320 and 636; Y. Subbarayalu 1973, Map No. 4). See section 4.20.3(i).

**a. *teṅku*** (n.) 'south'. Cf. *teṅku* (*teṅ + ku*) 'south' (D. 3449). The dative suffix *-ku* indicates direction (e.g., *kiḷakku* 'east', *mēṅku* 'west'). It is added to the noun stem here without sandhi.

Cf. LT *tekku*, *teṅku* 'south' (*Tivā.* 849; *Piṅkala.* 14; *Cūṭā.* 11:299).

**b. *ciṟu-*** (adj.) 'small' (D. 1594).

Cf. LT *ciṟumai* 'smallness' (*Tivā.* 1365; *Piṅkala.* 2227).

**c. *pocil*** (n.) The word is not attested in Tamil; but cf. Ka. *hosilu* 'entrance'. (KSP *Samikshipta Kannada Nighaṁṭu*); To. *pōṣ* 'entrance', *pōṣ-ār* 'doorway', cognate with Ka. *bāgil* 'entrance, doorway' (D. 5354). The linguistic evidence seems to suggest that the inscriptional form *pocil* is related to Ka. *hosilu* (< \* *posil*) and Ta. *vācal*, *vāyil*.

The place name *teṅku-ciṟupocil* may thus be equated with *teṅ ciṟu vāyil* mentioned in the later Tamil inscriptions of this region.

**49.6 *iḷaiyar*** (n., pl.) Cf. *iḷaiyar*, an ancient martial clan in the Tamil country. According to tradition, the *iḷaiyar* hailed originally from the Tuḷu country. See section 4.18.1(i).

Cf. LT *pōr val iḷaiyar* 'iḷaiyar well-versed in warfare' (*Aka.* 74:2); *veṅ vēl iḷaiyar* 'iḷaiyar of the victorious spear' (ibid. 104:3). Pulli of Vēṅkaṭam was the chieftain of the 'illiterate' *iḷaiyar* (ibid. 83:9-10). The clan was also known by the names *iḷaṅkōcaror koṅkiḷaṅkōcar* (*Aka.* 216:11, *Cilap. Urai.* 2, respectively). The expression *iḷaiyar* is sometimes taken to mean 'servants, hunters or warriors'; but these meanings are derived from the occupations of the clan.

The clan name occurs as *iḷamakkaḷ* in inscriptions; a member of the clan is generally called *iḷamakaṇ*, *iḷaiyāṇ* or *iḷaiyār*.

Cf. (inscr.) *ūrōmum iḷamakkaḷum* 'we, the members of the village assembly as well as the iḷamakkaḷ' (*Pallava Inscr.* No. 82, 8th cent. A.D.). See *eḷamakaṇ* (56.5).

- 49.7 ceyta** (v.) 'which was made'; adjectival past participle from *cey* 'to make' (D. 1957).  
**Analysis:** *cey* (stem) + *t* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix). See also *ceyita* (76.6).

Cf. LT *cey* 'to do, make' (*Tivā.* 1966; *Piṅkala.* 2291; *Cūṭā.* 9:2).

- 49.8 atīṭ-aṇam** Read *atīṭ-aṇam* (*atīṭṭāṇam*) (n.) 'seat'. Cf. *adhīṭṭhāna* (Pāli) 'fixed permanent abode' (*PED*), 'resting place' (*DPL*); < *adhishṭhāna* (Skt.) 'abode, seat' (MW). The expression corresponds to LT *irukkai*.

Cf. (Pāli inscr.) *adhīṭṭhāna* 'establishment' (Asoka, *CII.* I:Gir. V.4). Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *adhīṭṭhāna* 'capital city' (Amaravati, C.Sivaramamurti 1977 reprint:No. 102).

The term occurs in the Ta. Br. inscriptions in the sense of 'stone beds' carved on the floor of the caves, generally provided with raised pillow-lofts at the head side for the use of resident Jaina monks. See No. 63 which mentions the cutting (carving) of the *atīṭṭāṇam* and No. 76 which refers to *atīṭṭāṇam* 3 ('three stone beds') in the cave.

The pause between *ṭ* and *-a* (read *-ā*) seems to be an archaic orthographic convention in lieu of doubling the consonant. Cf. *ataṭ-aṇam* (*atīṭṭāṇam*) (50.3). See section 6.19.1.

**Early contacts with Karnataka** The most remarkable feature of the inscription is the evidence it provides for the interaction of the Jains from Karnataka with their co-religionists in the Tamil country at such an early date. This inscription also attests to the influence of Old Kannada on Old Tamil in this early period. See section 3.2.4 for discussion.

#### XIV. AIYARMALAI

##### 50.1 paṇaituṇai (P.)

a. *paṇai* (n.) 'palmyra palm' (D. 4037). The place was apparently named after the tree. Cf. LT *paṇai* 'palmyra tree' (*Tivā.* 700; *Piṅkala.* 2755; *Cūṭā.* 4:10).

b. *tuṇai* (n.) 'waterfront', ('bathing ghat' D. 3370).

Cf. LT *viravu maṇal akal tuṇai* 'the broad waterfront with a sandy stretch' (*Aka.* 25:2).

The term is generally suffixed to names of places on the seashore or river banks which served as fording points. The place was probably on the bank of the River Cauvery flowing not far from this site.

- 50.2 vessaṇ** (*vessaṇ*). N. of the donor. Cf. *vessa* (Pkt.) < *vaiśya* (Skt.) 'man of the third class or caste whose business was trade as well as agriculture' (MW).

Cf. LT *vaicikaṇ peṇumē vāṇika vāḷkkai* 'the Vaiśya lives by trading' (Tol. Poruḷ. 632); *vayicciyar* 'Vaiśya' (Tivā. 192); *vaiciyar* 'Vaiśya'. (Piṅkala. 773; Cūṭā. 2:25).

Alternatively, the name may also be derived from *vissa* (AMg.) < *vaiśva* (Skt.) 'the asterism Uttarāśāḍha'. The personal name *veśa* derived from the asterism occurs several times in the Early Brāhmī inscriptions of Sri Lanka (Paranavitana 1970: Nos. 214, 215, etc.). Cf. *visuvaṇ* (*vissuvaṇ*) (27.2.b). See section 4.19.4(iv).

**50.3 *ataṭ-aṇam*** Read *atiṭ-āṇam* (*atiṭṭāṇam*) (n.) 'seat'. See 49.8 for further comments.

## XV. TIRUMALAI

**51.1 *karaṇṭai*** (n.) 'cave, cavern, abode of ascetics'.

The *nikaṇṭus* list *karaṇṭai* and *kāṇṭai* with virtually identical meanings:

*karaṇṭai* (Tivā. 980; Piṅkala. 703; Cūṭā. 5:56).

*kāṇṭai* (Tivā. 867; Piṅkala. 502, 3346; Cūṭā. 5:14).

The variant readings can be traced to the palaeography of the medieval period when the character *ra* and the medial *-ā* sign became indistinguishable. We learn from the present inscription that *karaṇṭai* is the correct reading. *karaṇṭai* is probably connected with *karaṭu* 'hillock, low hill' (TL), 'roughness, unevenness' (D. 1265).

**52.1 *erukāṭu-ūru*** (*eru-k-kāṭtu*-) (P.) Native place of the donor.

Cf. LT *Erukāṭṭūr*, the native place of the Caṅkam poet Tāyaṅkaṇṇaṇār (author, *Pura*. 397). The place has been identified as *Erukkaṅkāṭu* in Thanjavur District by U.Ve. Swaminathaiyar (*Pura*., 6th edn.: p. 597). However, the place mentioned in the present inscription has to be located in the Pāṇṭiya country, judging from the frequency and distribution of its name in the inscriptions of this region. Cf. *erukāṭur* (55.1) and *ekkāṭṭūru* (117.1). The name *erukkāṭṭūru* also occurs in a newly-discovered label inscription at Sittannavasal assigned to ca. 7th cent. A.D. (S. Rajavelu 1995b). *Erukkaṭṭa* (*Erukāṭṭa*) has been identified as a village occupied by Kulaśēkhara in his fight with the Sinhalese forces led by Laṅkāpura (Malala.).

The place name may be derived from *eru-kāṭu*-.

**a. *eru*** (n.) 'manure' (D. 813).

Cf. LT *eru* 'manure' (*Kurun*. 113:5); *eru-maṇṇam* (*Cilap*. 17: *Uraippāṭṭu* 5).

Cf. *erukkaṭṭu* 'land manured by folding of sheep and herding of cattle'; *erukkaḷam* 'site for dunghill' (TL).

b. **kāṭu** (n.) 'forest', jungle' (probably to be read *kāṭtu-* in the oblique case by doubling of the consonant). See 8.1.b for further comments.

c. **ūru** (n.) 'village'. The word is added in free form as a suffix to the place name. See **ūr** (19.2) for further comments.

The present instance provides the earliest inscriptional attestation of the tendency to add the euphonic *-u* suffix to words ending in liquid consonants. Other instances in the Corpus belong to a later period (83.3, 85.2, 112.1.b, 114.2.b, 116.5, 117.1.c & 119.2.a). (Cf. A. Velu Pillai 1976:pp. 19 and 25, note 10. He attributes the tendency to the influence of Kannada or Telugu.)

Cf. LT *ūru maṇṇum* 'in the village' (*Tēvā*. III. 29:1).

Cf. (inscr.) *amparu, ollaiyūru, kūṭalūru*, etc., 'place names' (Pulankurichi Inscr. I & II, ca. 5th cent. A.D.).

**52.2 kāviti kōṇ** (n.) 'chief *kāviti*', title of the donor whose personal name is not recorded.

a. **kāviti** (n.) 'a title'. See 3.5.

b. **kōṇ** (n.) 'great man' (D. 2177).

The term *kōṇ* occurs in the Corpus either as an independent word (73.4 & 117.2) or as a suffix (52.2.b, 61.9.c, 62.9.c & 62.11.b) with the meanings 'prince, chief or an eminent person (of the place)'.

Cf. LT *em kōṇ*. . . *āy aṇṭiraṇ* 'Āy Aṇṭiraṇ, our chieftain' (*Puṛa*. 374:15-16); *kōṇ* 'lord' (*Tivā*. 175; *Cūṭā*. 2:10).

Cf. (inscr.) *pūṇkuṭināṭṭu-k-kōṇ, aḷaṇṇūrṇāṭṭu-k-kōṇ* 'titles of petty chieftains or eminent persons of the respective places'. (*SII*. V:No. 362; *ibid*. XIV:No. 16A respectively; Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

**52.3 koṛiya** (*koṛiya*) (v.) 'which was carved'; adjectival past participle from *koṛu* (*koṛru*) 'to cut, carve'.

**Analysis:** *koṛu* (*koṛru*) (stem) + *i* (past tense marker) + *y* (glide) + *a* (participial suffix). The consonant *r* is not doubled.

The verb *koṛu* (*koṛru*) is not attested in LT, but may be compared with the following: *koṛru* (n.) 'masonry' (*TL*); *kuṛru* (v.) 'to pound, strike' (D. 1850a) > *kuṛriya* (participle); *kottu* (n.) 'masonry' (*TL*); *kottu* (v.) 'to carve' (D. 2091); > *kottiya* (participle). The verb *koṛru* is, however, attested in a later inscription.

Cf. (inscr.) *koṛriṇa vāyikkālukku vaṭakku* 'to the north of the excavated channel' (Kāppalūr inscription of Rajendra Cōḷa, 1028 A.D. *Āvaṇam* No. 9, 1998, pp. 30-31).

Cf. Ka. *koṛi*, *koṛe* 'to cut, excavate' (D. 1859); (Ka. inscr.) *koṛedu* (adverbial participle from *koṛe* 'to cut, carve') (A. N. Narasimhia 1941:p. 216); (Te. inscr.) *kōṛa* 'a cut-off portion' (cited in D. 1859).

52.4 *paḷi-y* (*paḷli-*) (n.) 'hermitage'. -y is the paragogic suffix. See 1.9.

## XVI. TIRUPPARANKUNRAM

53.1 *antuvāṇ* N. of the donor.

Cf. LT *antuvāṇ* 'a Cēra king' (*Patir. Patikam* 7); *antuvāṇ kīraṇ* 'a liberal patron' (*Pura.* 359:colophon). It is significant that a poet named Antuvāṇ was associated with the hill at Tirupparankunram: *paraṅkunṛattu antuvāṇ pāṭiya cantukeḷu neṭuvarai* 'the lofty hill covered with sandal trees, praised in song by Antuvāṇ of Paraṅkunṛam' (*Aka.* 59:11-12). Antuvāṇ sang rapturously of this hill: *paraṅkunṛu imayakkunṛam nikarkkum* 'Paraṅkunṛam equals the Himalaya mountain!' (*Pari.* 8:11). It seems that a learned family or clan of Antuvāṇs lived at Tirupparankunram, who were deeply attached to the hill.

53.2 *koṭupitavāṇ* (*koṭuppittavāṇ*) (v.) 'he who caused to be given'. See 11.2.

54.1 *mārāyatu* Read *mārāyatu* (*mārāyattu*); oblique form of *mārāyam* (n.) 'honour or title bestowed by the king' (*Tol. Poruḷ.* 63:5; *Cilap.* 25:142); here probably 'one so honoured'. -tu (LT -ttu) is the suffix of the oblique case. See section 4.6.10.

Cf. *mahārāja* (Skt.) 'king'; (Pkt. inscr.) *rāyan* 'king' (Lüders List:No. 1113); *maharaya* (*mahā-rāya*) (K.G. Krishnan, ed. 1989:Nos. 80, 84).

Cf. LT *mārāyam* (*Iṇiya.* 5:1).

Cf. (inscr.) *pāṇṭi mārāya-p-peruṅkollaṇ cirivallavāṇ* 'a personal name' (*Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ*: No. 4, Lines 234-235, Pāṇṭiya, 9th cent. A.D.); *mārāyaṇ* 'a personal name or title' (*SII.* XVII:No. 597; Cōḷa, 10-12 cent. A.D.).

54.2 *kaya[m\*]* (n.) 'tank' (D. 1251)

Cf. LT *kayam mūḷku makaḷir* 'women bathing in the tank' (*Kuṛun.* 9:6); *kayam* 'tank' (*Tivā.* 895; *Piṅkala.* 3298; *Cūṭā.* 11:154).

Cf. (inscr.) *pāṇṭiyaṇ kaya-tt-ellai* 'the boundary of the Pāṇṭiyaṇ tank (*kayam*)' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 17, ca. 6th cent. A.D.).

55.1 *erukāṭur* Read *erukāṭūr* (*erukkāṭṭūr*) (P.) See 52.1.

a. *eru* (n.) 'manure'. See 52.1.a.

b. *kāṭ(u)*- (n.) 'forest, jungle'. See 52.1.b.

c. *ur* Read *ūr*. (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

### 55.2 *iḷa-kuṭumpikaṇ* Title of the donor.

**a. *iḷa-*** Read *iḷa-* Attribute from *iḷam* (n.) which may be interpreted in one of two ways:

(i) *iḷam* (P.) 'Ceylon' (Sri Lanka) (D. 550; < Skt. *siṃhala-*, Pkt. *sīhala-* ?).

Cf. LT *iḷattu uṇavum* 'food from *iḷam*' (*Paṭṭiṇa*. 191); *ilaṅkai iḷattu* 'of *iḷam* (in) Sri Lanka' (*Peruṇ*. 1.58:37); *iḷam'ciṅkaḷam*' (*Tivā*. addition to 945; *Piṅkala*. 467; *Cūṭā*. 5:41).

Cf. (inscr.) *matiraiyum iḷamum koṇṭa* 'he who took Maturai and *iḷam*'. (*SII*. XXIV: No. 7, Cōḷa, 10th cent. A.D.).

(ii) *iḷavaṇ* (N.) 'one of the caste of toddy-drawers'. Cf. *iḷam* (n.) 'toddy, arrack' (D. 549).

Cf. LT *iḷam* 'toddy' (*Cūṭā*. 11:254).

Cf. (inscr.) *ivvūr ellaiyil teṅkum paṇaiyum iḷavar ēra-p-perātār-ākavum* 'the *iḷavar* shall not be entitled to climb the coconut and palm trees within the limits of this village' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 89, Lines 36-37, 8th cent. A.D.).

**b. *kuṭumpikaṇ*** (n.) may also be translated in two ways:

(i) Cf. *kuṭumbika* (Skt.) 'taking care of a household'; *kuṭumbin* 'a householder'; (MW); *kuḍumbiya* (AMg.) 'a member of a family' (AMD). (Sinh. Pkt. inscr.) *kuṭubika* 'householder' (Paranavitana 1970:No. 233; according to him, the term has almost the same significance as *gahapati*; *ibid.* Intr.p. lxxxix).

(ii) Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *kuṭumbika* 'husbandman' (Lüders List: No. 1147).

Cf. LT *cēṭa-k-kuṭumpiyaṇ* 'a personal name' (*Cilap.* 30:52, 135).

Cf. (inscr.) *kuṭumpiyar* 'husbandmen' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. II.8, ca. 5th cent. A.D.).

On the whole, rendering *iḷa-kuṭumpikaṇ* as 'a householder of the family of toddy-drawers' seems preferable as the personal names in this inscriptions point to Karnataka rather than to Sri Lanka.

### 55.3 *polālaiyaṇ* N. of the donor. Sandhi: *polāl(a) + aiyaṇ* > *polālaiyaṇ*.

**a. *polāl(a)***- An obscure expression, probably a place name or a caste-name. A somewhat similar expression (with several variant forms) occurs in later Kannada inscriptions. Cf. *polāḷa*, *poḷāḷa*, *pōḷāḷuva*, etc. (*Epi. Car.* XIII:Index).

Cf. (Ta. inscr.) *karunāṭaka puḷalaya ceṭṭi*, *karunāṭaka puḷalaiyaṇ* (*SII*. VIII: Nos. 634 & 636 respectively, Cōḷa, 11-12 cent. A.D.).

**b. *aiyaṇ*** an honorific suffix. Cf. *ai* 'lord, master'; *ayyaṇ*, *aiyaṇ*, 'superior person, master' (D. 196a; alternative derivation from *ayya* (Pāli) < *ārya* (Skt.) suggested with a query). The variant *ayaṇ* (*ayyaṇ*) occurs in this inscription itself (55.5.b).

Cf. (Pāli inscr.) *aya-* (Asoka, *CII*. I:Brah.1). Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *aya-* 'frequent prefix to personal names' (*Bhārhut Inscrs.* Word Index). See No. 6, Table 1.5, for a pottery inscription in Ta. Br. with *-aya* (*-ayya*) (masc.) and *-ayai* (*-ayyai*) (fem.) as honorific suffixes after personal names.

Cf. LT *aiya!* (*Aka.* 81:15, *Kurun.* 139:6); *eṇ ai* 'my lord' (*Pura.* 84:1); *ayyaṇ* 'elder person' (*Tivā.* 173); *aiyaṇ* id. (*Piṅkala.* 907, 3238; *Cūṭā.* 2:9, 11:156).

**55.4 *ceytā[ṇ\*]*** (v.) 'he who made'; past participial noun, 3rd person masculine singular, from *cey* 'to make'. The word-final *ṇ* has not been engraved. It may be an omission or its absence may indicate nasalisation in the spoken language. The verb form is treated here as a participial noun and not as a finite verb on account of the syntax, the predicate preceding the subject. Cf. *ceyitaṇ* (73.7).

**Analysis:** *cey* (stem) + *t* (past tense marker) + *ā(ṇ)* (PNG suffix).

Cf. LT *ceytāṇai* (participial noun in accusative case) (*Kali.* 147:48).

**55.5 *āycayaṇ neṭucātaṇ*** N. of the person (probably a stonemason) who made (carved) the stone beds gifted by the donor.

*āycayaṇ* (*āyccayyaṇ*) the first part of the composite name, written without doubling the consonants *-c-* and *-y-*. The name may be segmented *āycca* + *ayyaṇ*.

Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *eḍav=āyccayya* 'a personal name' (G. S. Gai 1946:Index).

**a. *āyca-*** (*āycca-*) Attribute from *āyccaṇ* (N.). Cf. *āicca* (AMg.) < *āditya* (Skt.) 'sun', employed here as a personal name. See section 3.3.5(iii) and Table 3.3.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *ādica* 'sun' (Amaravati, C. Sivaramamurti 1977:No. 97).

Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *āyca gāvunḍa*, *āyca seṭṭi* 'personal names' (G. S. Gai 1946:Index); (Te. inscr.) *āyica śarmma* 'a personal name' (ARE B. 63/1963-64).

Cf. LT *ātittaṇ* 'sun' (*Tivā.* 57; *Piṅkala.* 179; *Cūṭā.* 1:55).

Cf. (inscr.) *māraṇ āditya* (alias) *māraṇ āccaṇ*, personal name of the same individual in Skt. and Ta. passages respectively, (*SII*. XIV:No. 5, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 8-9 cent. A.D.); *ātittaṇ* (alias) *āccaṇ vikkiramakēcari* (*SII*. XIX:Nos. 413-414, Cōḷa, 10th cent. A.D.); *ācciyaṇ koṭṭaṇ māraṇ* (*SII*. XIII:No. 164, Cōḷa, 10th cent. A.D.).

**b. *ayaṇ*** (*ayyaṇ*) (n.) suffixed as honorific to personal names (D. 196a).

Cf. *aiyaṇ* occurring in this inscription itself (55.3.b).

*neṭucātaṇ* (*neṭucāttaṇ*) is the second segment of the personal name of the donor.

**c. *neṭu-*** (adj.) 'senior'. See 1.5.a.

**d. *cātaṇ*** (*cāttaṇ*). A personal name. The consonant *-t-* is not doubled. Cf. *cāttaṇ* (105.2).

Cāttan̄ was a very common personal name in ancient Tamil country, especially popular with the merchant communities. Cf. *sārtha* (Skt.) 'having property' > *sattha* (Pkt.) 'caravan'.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *sattha-vaha* (K.G. Krishnan, ed. 1989: No. 108); *satha-vāha* (Lüders List:No. 1062); < *sārtha-vāha* (Skt.) 'trader'. See also discussion on *satiya* (59.1.a).

Cf. LT *cāttu* 'merchandise' (Aka. 119:8; *Kuṟun.* 390:3); *cāttan̄* 'a personal name' (*Puṟa.* 178:5, 242:5, etc.).

The name *cā ta a ṇa* (*cāttan̄*) occurs in a Ta. Br. legend on a local coin from Sri Lanka (No. 3, Table 1.6); cf. *cātan̄* 'a personal name' (Ta. Br. inscription on pottery from Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt. No. 8, Table 1.5 and Fig. 1.21B).

Cf. (inscr.) *cāttan̄ ēṟaṇ̄* 'N. of a chieftain' (*ARE* 358/1959-60, Pāṇṭiya, 7th cent. A.D.).

#### Early contacts with Karnataka

The donor as well as the stonemason probably hailed from Karnataka, judging from their names and honorific suffixes. See *-aṇṇi* (83.4.c) and *-a(p)pa* (79.1.b). Cf. also Nos. 49, 79, 83, 115, 116 and 121 for contacts with Karnataka and influence of Old Kannada. See also section 3.2.4 for discussion.

### XVII. MUTTUPPATTI

**56.1 *nākapērūr***(P.) Cf. Nagamalai, the low range of hills running through this region.

a. *nāka*- Attribute from *nākaṇ̄* (N.) or *nākam* (n.). See 48.2 for comments.

b. *pēr*- (adj.) 'large'. See 13.2.a.

c. *ūr* (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

**56.2 *atai-y*** Variant of *antai*, honorific suffix. *-y* is the paragogic suffix. See 30.2 for comments.

Sandhi: *nākapērūr + atai-y > nākapērūratai-y*.

**56.3 *muciṟi*** (P.) Probably same as Muciṟi, the famous Cēra seaport on the west coast. See section 4.20.4(iv) for discussion.

Cf. LT *muciṟi* (Aka. 57:15; *Puṟa.* 343:10).

Cf. (inscr.) *muyiṟi-k-kōṭu* (Cochin Plates of Bhaskara Ravivarman, *EI.* III: pp. 66-69).

**56.4 *kōṭaṇ̄*** (N.) He hailed from Muciṟi. His name may be interpreted as one from Muciṟikōṭu or Kōṭaṇ̄ (qf) Muciṟi. The name is probably derived from *kōṭu* 'mountain' (D. 2049).

Cf. LT *nalliya-k-kōṭaṇ* 'N. of the chieftain of Māvilaṅkai' (*Pura.* 176:6-7; *Cirupāṇ.* 126, 269).

Cf. (inscr.) *akkantai kōṭaṇ* 'a personal name' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 280, ca. 7th cent. A.D.); *kōṭaṇ* 'a personal name' (*SII.* V:No. 396, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

**56.5 eḷamakaṇ** (n.) Title of a member of the ancient martial clan of Iḷaiyar or Iḷamakkaḷ. See 49.6 for further comments. The title suggests that the *eḷamakaṇ* (LT *iḷamakaṇ*) was probably a 'warrior-attendant' of the *a(n)tai* of Nākapērūr, even though the word order does not make this explicit. We learn from herostone inscriptions (ca. 6-9 cent. A.D.) that the *iḷamakaṇ* rendered military service to the master to whom he was attached and was consequently known as the *cēvakaṇ* '(warrior)-attendant'. It is incorrect to interpret the clan name *iḷamakaṇ* literally as *iḷaiya makaṇ* 'younger son'. (See *Pallava Inscrs.* Nos. 282, 284, 286 & 296, herostones, ca. 7th cent. A.D. See also *Chengam Naṭukaṇkaḷ*). It is interesting that the master and his warrior-attendant joined in making the gift of the stone bed.

a. *eḷa-* (adj.) lit., 'young'; occurs here as an attribute in a clan name. See 43.2.a & 49.6.

b. *makaṇ* (n.) lit., 'son', but occurs here in the sense of 'a member of a class'. Cf. *makaṇ* > *māṇ* as in LT *vēṇmāṇ* (< *vēḷ-makaṇ*) (*Pura.* 395: 20). See 59.2.c for further comments.

**57.1 vintai-ūr** (P.) written as two separate words.

a. *vintai* Cf. LT *vintai* 'the Vindhya mountain' (*Kampa.* 3.3.39, variant reading, cited in *TL*) or 'goddess Korṇavai' (*Tivā.* 23) or 'beauty, learning, scholarship' (*TL*). Cf. *vid* (*vind*) (Skt.) 'to know, acquire'.

b. *ūr* (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

**57.2 caiy-aḷaṇ** (*caiyaḷaṇ*) N. of the donor. The name may be interpreted in more than one way:

(i) From *saimhaḷa* 'one belonging to Simhala' (Skt.) 'Sri Lanka'. Cf. *saimhaḷaka* (Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, *CII.* III:p. 213, Lines 23-24).

(ii) From *saimha* 'one who is leonine' < *simha* (Skt.) 'lion'; -*aḷaṇ* (nominal suffix).

(iii) 'He of the Caiya mountain'. Cf. LT *caiyam* 'name of a mountain' (*Pari.* 11: 13-15; *Tivā.* 856; *Piṅkala.* 495; *Cūṭā.* 5:11) from *sahya* (Skt.) 'the Sahyādri mountain' + *aḷaṇ*, nominal suffix.

**57.3 kavi-y** (n.) 'cave'. -y is the paragogic suffix.

Cf. Ta. *kevi*, Ka., Te. *gavi* 'cave' (D. 1332). Even though *kavi* is not attested elsewhere in Tamil in this sense, it may probably be derived from *kavi* (v.) 'to cover, overspread' (D. 1221), an apt description for this cave which is in fact only an 'overhanging' boulder.

Cf. LT *puvi tāvum kevi tāvum* 'jumping over land (and) dale' (*Irāma. Uyutta.* 80).

**58.1 *tiṭi*** (*tiṭṭi*) (P.) See 33.1.a. The place may probably be identified as Tidiyan, a village about 20 km. west of this site. See Table 4.3.

**58.2 *kāttāṇ*** (N.) It is not certain whether he is the donor, as the rest of the inscription is virtually lost.

The name is derived from *kā* 'protection' (D. 1416). It means literally 'one who protects'. The name is formally a participial noun which may be analysed *kā* (stem) + *tt* (past tense marker without tense significance) + *āṇ* (PNG suffix). *Kāttāṇ* is also the name of a village deity (*TL*).

Cf. LT *niṇ tīmai kāttavaḷ* 'she who protects you from harm' (*Kali.* 44:19); *kāttal* 'to protect' (*Tivā.* 2060; *Piṅkala.* 1823; *Cūṭā.* 9:33).

Cf. (inscr.) *kāttāṇ* 'one who protects (this religious charity)' (*Pallava Inscrs.* Nos. 80, 92; 8th cent. A.D.).

The word is joined with the preceding one with an *orru* (-k-). This is the earliest occurrence of the *orru* in the Corpus.

## XVIII. JAMBAI

**59.1 *satiyaputō*** Title of a member of the Satiya clan.

Cf. *satiyaputō* (Pāli) in Asoka's Second Rock Edict at Girnar: *ēvamapi pracamītesu yathā cōḍā pāḍā satiyaputō kētalaputō* 'and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Cōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa, the Kētalaputa' (*CII.* I. Gir. II.2). The title also occurs with slight variations in three other Rock Edicts of Asoka: *satiyaputē* (Jaugada II.1), *satiyaputra* (Mansehra II.6), and *satiyaputrō* (Shabazgarhi II. 4) (*ibid.*). See section 4.5.1 for identification of the expression as a title of the Atiyamāṇ dynasty of Takatūr.

**a. *satiya-*** Cf. LT *atiyaṇ*; N. of the famous family of chieftains of Takatūr. As Burrow points out (1968b:p. 159), *atiya-* (<*satiya-*/\**catiya-*) must be a native name and cannot be connected with *satya* (Skt.) 'true'. Ta. *atiya-* may also be derived directly from Dr. *catiya* with the loss of the initial palatal. An interesting confirmation of this deduction made on linguistic grounds comes from a Pkt. inscription at Amaravati: *cātiyaputānam* 'of the Cātiya-putras' (C. Sivaramamurti 1977:No. 39, ca. 100 A.D.). Sivaramamurti's translation is 'sons of Catiya'; however, most probably, the term *-putānam* means 'of the members of a tribe' here also as in *satiyaputō* in the Asokan Edicts. See *-putō* below.

It appears likely that the Pkt. names *sata*, *sāta* and *satiya* are connected respectively with *ataṇ*, *ātaṇ* and *atiyaṇ* in Old Tamil. The evidence for this is

provided by the occurrence of personal names like *sataṇ/ataṇ*, *sātaṇ/ātaṇ* and *satiya-/atiyaṇ* in the Early Ta. Br. inscriptions on stone, pottery and other inscribed objects. However, *cātaṇ* may also be connected with *cāttaṇ* (cf. Pkt. *sattha*, *sātha* 'merchandise'). As *sātaṇ* of the earlier period could also be written as *cātaṇ* in the later period, the latter cannot always be distinguished from *cāttaṇ*. See also discussion on *cātaṇ* (55.5.d).

b. *putō* (*puttō*) is the nominative singular of *putta* (Pāli) < *putra* (Skt.) lit., 'son'. However -*putra* as a suffix should be interpreted here as 'belonging to a tribe' as in *rāja-putra* (Lüders cited by Hultzsch in *CII*. I: p. 3, note 7). See also -*mān* (*māṇ*) below and -*puta* (80.1.b).

Cf. (Pāli inscr.) *ayaputa* (< *āryaputa*) 'prince' (Asoka, *CII*. I: Brah.1).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *vāsiṭhi-puta* 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Vasishṭha *gōtra*' (Nagarjunakonda, D.C. Sircar 1963-64a, *EI*. XXXV: pp. 1-36, Glossary).

Cf. LT *puttiraṇ* 'son' (*Piṅkala*. 920).

**59.2 *atiyaṇ neṭumān aṅci*** N. of the donor, almost certainly the same as the famous chieftain Atiyamāṇ Neṭumāṇ Aṅci of Takaṭūr celebrated in several poems in Caṅkam literature (*Puṛa*. 87-95, 97-101, 103-104, 206, 231 & 235). See section 4.5.1 for the identification.

Cf. 20.3 for comments on the incorrect substitution of *ṇ* with *n*. See also section 7.7.2.

a. ***atiyaṇ*** Read *atiyaṇ*. N. of a member of the ancient clan of Atiyar ruling from Takaṭūr (modern Dharmapuri).

Cf. LT *atiyaṇ* (*Aka*. 325:8), *atiyar kōmāṇ* (*Puṛa*. 91:3-4) and *atiyamāṇ* (*Puṛa*. 87: colophon). The ancestors of the Atiyar are reputed to have introduced the cultivation of sugar cane in the Tamil country (*Puṛa*. 99:2). See 59.1.a for the etymological connection with *satiya* < \**catiya*.

Cf. (inscr.) '*tikaḷ vēḷ atiyaṇ*' 'Atiyaṇ of the shining spear' (*Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ*: No. 2, Lines 25-26, ca. 8th cent. A.D.).

***neṭumān*** Read *neṭumāṇ*, part of the composite name of Aṅci.

b. ***neṭu-*** (adj.) 'great' (D. 3738). See also 1.5.a.

c. **-*mān*** (-*māṇ*), suffix added to names or titles; from *makaṇ* (n.) lit., 'son' (with the loss of intervocalic -*k*- and fusion of *a* -*a* > *ā*), but with the meaning 'member of a clan or tribe', or as an honorific with the meaning 'exalted person' (D. 4616). It has been translated as -*putō* (*puttō*, Pāli) or *puta* (*putta*, Pkt.) in either sense. *satiyaputō* (59.1) is an example of the first usage and *kaṭummiputa* (80.1) of the second.

Cf. LT (-*māṇ* as suffix to clan names): *atīyamāṇ* (*Puṛa*. 101: 5), *vēṇmāṇ* (ibid. 395: 20); (-*māṇ* as a honorific suffix): *neṭumāṇ* (*Puṛa*. 92:6); *kaṭumāṇ* (ibid. 43:11); See also *kaṇimāṇ* (73.1).

Cf. (inscr.) *tattamāṇ* 'a personal name' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. I.18, ca. 5th cent. A.D.).

**d. aṇci** (N.) The proper name of the chieftain (*Puṛa*. 91:4). The name was also borne by a Caṅkam poet, Añcil Añci (author, *Naṟṟ*. 90). The etymology of the word is not known.

### 59.3 *ītta*

(v.) 'which was given'; adjectival past participle from *ī* 'to give'.

**Analysis:** *ī* (stem) + *tt* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix).

Cf. LT *pāṭunarkku ītta paḷ pukaḷ aṇṇē āṭunarkku ītta pēraṇṇiṇṇē* 'The famous one who gave to the bards, the affectionate one who gave to the dancers' (*Puṛa*. 221:1-2).

See also *īttavaṇ* (12.3).

### 59.4 *paḷi*

(*paḷḷi*) (n.) 'hermitage'. See 1.9.

# LATE TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS

## XIX. ANAIMALAI

**60.1 *iva-kuṇṇratu*** 'of Ivakuṇṇa(m)'. (P.) lit., 'Elephant Hill'. Cf. Āṇaimalai, the present name of this famous hill near Madurai, a well-known Jaina centre.

Cf. LT *āṇaimāmalai ātiyāya iṭaṅkaḷil* 'places including Āṇaimalai' (Tēvā. III:39.1, referring to the hills around Madurai occupied by Jaina monks).

**a. *iva-*** Attribute from \**ivam* (n.) 'elephant'. Cf. *iha* (AMg.) < *ibha* (Skt.) 'elephant' > LT *ipam* (n.) 'elephant' (Tivā. 414; Piṅkala. 2412; Cūṭā. 3:5).

**b. *kuṇṇratu* (*kuṇṇratu*)**; oblique of *kuṇṇram* (n.) 'hill' (D. 1864). The consonant -*t*- occurs without doubling.

Cf. LT *neṭumperuṅkuṇṇratu* 'of the lofty great hill' (Aka. 4:15).

**60.2 *uṛaiyuḷ*** (n.) 'abode (of ascetics)'. The expression occurs here in the technical sense of 'hermitage'.

Cf. LT *uṛaiyuḷ muṇṇiyum* 'and the ascetic in the hermitage' (Puṛa. 96:9); *uṛaiyuḷum kōṭṭamum* 'the hermitage and the temple' (Maṇi. 6:137); *uṛaiyuḷ* 'dormitory, sleeping place' (Tivā. 979; Cūṭā. 5:58). *uṛaiyuḷ* may also be construed here literally as *uṛai* + *uḷ* 'in the abode'. The compound coalesced into a single word *uṛaiyuḷ* as in LT.

**a. *uṛai-y*** (n.) 'abode'. See 9.3 for comments. -*y* may be regarded as the paragodic suffix as in *uṛai-y* (61.5 & 62.5) or as a glide in this case.

**b. *uḷ*** (n.) 'inside' (D. 698).

Cf. LT *uḷ* 'inside' (Piṅkala. 1818). The word occurs here as a suffix with locative signification.

**60.3 *patantaṇ*** (n.) Cf. *bhadanta* (Pkt.) 'venerable, reverend' (PED), title prefixed to the names of monks, mostly Buddhist, but also Ājīvaka and Jaina (Lüders List: Index). The title *bhadanta* (variant of *bhadamita*) occurs with the name of a Jaina monk in a Pkt. inscription from Mathura (G.Bühler 1894a, *El.* II: p. 199, No. IV with Pl.; Lüders List: No. 99). The expression *bhadamita* (variant *bhayamita*) is also attested in Jaina Pkt. works (PSM).

**60.4 *ēri*** (P.) Native place of *āritan*. Cf. *ēri* 'lake' (D. 901). The place was presumably named after a lake.

Cf. LT *ēri* 'lake' (Tivā. 895; Piṅkala. 604; Cūṭā. 5:24).

Cf. (inscr.) *ēri tōṇṭi* 'having excavated a lake' (Pallavar Ceppēṭukaḷ: No. 2, Line 63, 7th cent. A.D.)

**60.5 *āritan*** N. of one of the two senior Jaina monks referred to in the inscription. Cf. *hārita* (Skt.) 'a descendant of *harita*' (MW).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *hārita* 'a *gōtra* name' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 3, Line 15, ca. 4th cent. A.D.).

Cf. LT Aiyaṇ Āritaṇ-ār (author, *Puṇṇapporuḷ*); *Āritam*, a didactic work (*Peru. Aka.*).

Cf. (inscr.) *āritampullaṇ* (*āritaṇ*-) (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 79, 8th cent. A.D.). In later inscriptions, *āritaṇ* occurs with the personal names of Brahmans belonging to the Harita *gōtra* (*SII. XXVI:Index*).

**60.6 attuvāyi** Read *attavāyi* (n.) 'one who expounds the meaning (of scriptures)'. Cf. *attha-vādin* (Pāli) 'one who speaks the good' (*PED*); *attha-vāya* (AMg.) 'disputation of meaning' (*PSM*). See section 4.9.3(v).

**a. attu-** Read *atta-* < *attha* (Pkt.) < *artha* (Skt.) 'meaning'.

**b. vāyi** Cf. *vāyi* (AMg.) < *vādin* (Skt.) 'one who expounds' (or) *vācin* (Skt.) 'one who recites'.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *vācaka*, *vāyaka* 'preacher' (*Lüders List:Index*); a somewhat similar title is *dhama-kathika* 'preacher of the Law' (*ibid.* Nos. 64 a, 347, 1267).

Cf. LT *vāti* 'disputant' (*Malai.* 112); -*vāti* 'one who expounds'; suffix to the designations of preachers of different religious doctrines (*Maṇi.* 27:3); *vāti* 'one who expounds one's own doctrine and refutes others' doctrines' (*Tivā.* 2332; *Piṅkala.* 364).

Cf. (inscr.) *siddhāntam uraikkum paṭārar* 'the Bhaṭāra expounding the (Jaina) Doctrine' (*SII. V:No.* 406, Jaina, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

**60.7 araṭṭa kāyipaṇ** N. of the second Jaina monk referred to in the inscription.

**a. araṭṭa-** Attribute from *araṭṭaṇ* (N.).

Cf. LT *araṭṭaṇ ceṭṭi* 'a personal name' (*Cilap.* 30:49, 129); *araṭṭar* 'petty chieftains' (*Tivā.* 185; *Cūṭā.* 2:21). The name *araṭṭaṇ* may probably be derived from *araṭṭu* 'to frighten' (D. 3605), hence *araṭṭaṇ* 'the haughty one' (*Peru. Aka.*).

Cf. (inscr.) *araṭṭaṇ cantaṇ*, *araṭṭaṇ nākaṇ* 'personal names' (*SII. II:No.* 94, Cōla, 11th cent. A.D.).

**b. kāyipaṇ** See 14.1.b for discussion.

## XX. PUGALUR

**61 & 62** The two longer inscriptions at this site are near-identical and may be studied together.

**61.1 mutā** (adj.) 'senior, elder'. Title of the resident Jaina monk. Cf. *mutu* 'old', *mutiyavaṇ* 'elder, senior'; *mū-* 'older, senior'; *mūtu* 'oldness, elderliness'

**62.1 mūtā** (D. 4954).

Cf. LT *mūtāḷar* 'old men' (*Puṛa*. 52:14); *mūtaṛi peṇṭir* 'women well-versed in ancient lore' (*Peruṇ*. 1.42:90); *mutumai* 'oldness' (*Tivā*.1500; *Piṅkala*. 1949-50); *mūtu* 'oldness' (*Tivā*.1500, variant reading); *mūtāṭkaḷ* 'ancestors' (*TL*).

Cf. (inscr.) *mūta araṭṭanēmi paṭārar* 'N. and title of a senior Jaina monk' (*SII*. V: No. 398, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

The present inscriptional forms appear to be formed from the adjectival bases *mutu* / *mūtu* with the addition of the adjectival suffix *-ā*. See also 23.1, 65.1 & 66.1 for the occurrence of *-ā* as a genitive suffix. These two suffixes are not attested in LT. The corresponding LT forms are *mutiya* / *mūta* respectively. (See 66.1 for discussion; see also section 7.27.4).

61.2 *amaṇṇaṇ* (n.) 'Jaina monk', from *amaṇ* + *aṇ* (PNG suffix) with consequent doubling  
62.2 (a)*maṇṇaṇ* of *ṇ*, the stem-final consonant, not required in LT. The corresponding LT form is *amaṇaṇ*. See 24.1, 63.4.b and section 7.15.3 for further discussion.

Sandhi: *mūtā* + *amaṇṇaṇ* > *mūtāmaṇṇaṇ*.

61.3 *yāṛṛūr* (P.) It may be identified as modern Āttūr near Karur. See Table 4.3.

a. *yāṛṛu* oblique form of *yāṛu* (n.) 'river' (D. 5159).

Cf. LT *yāṛu* 'river' (*Piṅkala*. 550).

b. *ūr* (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

62.3 *yāṛṛu* See 61.3 above. The expression *yāṛṛu* may be regarded in this context as an abbreviation of *yāṛṛūr*.

61.4 & 62.4 *ceṇkāyapaṇ* N. of the resident senior Jaina monk. His name is also engraved on a stone bed, presumably his seat, inside the cave (63.2).

a. *ce(m)*- (adj.) 'good, straight'. Attribute of the name of the monk.

Sandhi: *-m* > *-ñ*- before *-k*. See 22.1.a for further comments.

b. *kāyapaṇ* Personal name of the monk. See 14.1.b for further comments.

61.5 & 62.5 *uṛai-y* (n.) 'abode (of ascetics)'. *-y* is the paragogic suffix. See 9.3.

61.6 & 62.6 *kō* (n.) 'king' (D. 2177).

Cf. LT *em kō vāḷiya kuṭumi* 'Long live Kuṭumi, our King!' (*Puṛa*. 9:8); *kō* 'king' (*Tivā*. 178; *Piṅkala*. 3440; *Cūṭā*. 2:12).

Cf. (inscr.) *kō-c-cētaṇ-kūṛṇaṅku* 'of King Cētaṇ Kūṛṇaṅ' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. II. 1, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *kō vicaiya simhavarmmaṅku* 'of the victorious King Simhavarmaṇ' (*Pallava Inscrs*. No. 17, ca. 6th cent. A.D.); *kō māṛaṇ-cētaṇ* 'King Māṛaṇ Cētaṇ' (*ARE* 358/1959 -60, Pāṇṭiya, 7th cent. A.D.).

When suffixed, *-kō* has the meaning 'prince' as in [*i\**] *ḷaṅkō* (61.12 & 62.12) and *ḷaṅkaṭuṅkō* (61.11 & 62.11). See also 88.4 where [*kō\**] means 'chief'.

- 61.7 *ātaṇ cel-l=irumpoṇai* N. of the king. The Irumpoṇai branch of the Cēra  
 62.7 *ā [ta\*ṇ\* ce\*] l-l=irumpuṇai* dynasty ruled from Karuvūr (Karur). See section 4.3.1

for identification of the Irumpoṇais mentioned in the inscriptions. The literary evidence is summarised below.

Cf. LT *cēramāṇ kaṭuṅkō vāḷi-y-ātaṇ* (*Pura.* 8:colophon); *celva-k-kaṭuṅkō vāḷi-y-ātaṇ* (ibid. 387:30); *cēramāṇ cikkarpaḷḷi-t- tuñciya celva-k-kaṭuṅkō vāḷi-y-ātaṇ* (ibid. 387:colophon); *celva-k-kaṭuṅkō vāḷi-y-ātaṇ* (*Patir.* *Patikam* 7); *celva-k-kaṭuṅkō* (ibid. *Patikam* 8); *celva-k-kō* (*Patir.* 63:16); *vāḷi āta!* (ibid. 63:21); *celva-k-kōmāṇ* (ibid. 67:23); *celli-k-kōmāṇ* (*Aka.* 216:12).

a. *ātaṇ* Personal name of the king. See also *kō-v=ātaṇ* (-*ātaṇ*) 'King Ātaṇ' (82.1-2). The name Ātaṇ was also borne by commoners (70.2.b & 74.2.a.).

b. *cel* Apparently another personal name of the king; *cel* also occurs in the personal name of another Cēra king, Palyāṇai Cel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvaṇ (hero of the Third Decade, *Patir.*). *cel* may be regarded as a personal name derived from *cel* 'thunderbolt' (*Patir.* 52:10; 58:4). Cf. *cel* 'thunder' (*Tivā.* 147; *Piṅkala.* 60; *Cūṭā.* 1:92). It is also possible that *cel* is the stem of *cel-v-am*, 'wealth, prosperity' (D. 2786) from which *celva-*, the name of the king attested in LT may be derived. Alternatively, *cel* may be a scribal error for *cēral*, the letter *ra* being omitted by oversight. (Unfortunately, No. 62 is damaged here and hence this supposition cannot be confirmed.)

Sandhi: the stem-final consonant *l* is doubled in *cel-l=irumpoṇai/puṇai*.

*irumpoṇai* (*irumpuṇai* in 62.7) A generic name of the branch of the Cēra dynasty which ruled from Karur (*Patir.* 85, comm.; 86, comm.; 89:9; *Patikams* 8 and 9).

The literal meaning of *irumpoṇai* is 'the great sustainer'. Cf. LT *irumpoṇai* (neuter noun) 'great forbearance' (*Kampa.* 5.14.29). The homonymy with *irumpoṇai* 'dark boulder' is mere coincidence. See also *poṇai* below.

The variant *irumpuṇai* (62.7) occurs also on the coins of the dynasty found at Karur. See No. 8, Table 1.6 and Fig. 1.22 C.

c. *irum-* (adj.) 'great'. Cf. *irumai* 'greatness' (D. 481). Cf. LT *irumpaṇai* 'the large drum' (*Pura.* 263:2); *irumai* 'greatness' (*Tivā.* 1363; *Piṅkala.* 2225; *Cūṭā.* 8:10).

d. *poṇai* (*puṇai* in 62.7). A generic name of the Cēra dynasty (of both branches).

Cf. LT *poṇaiyaṇ* 'Cēra king' (*Aka.* 60:7; *Narr.* 8:9; *Tivā.* 180; *Piṅkala.* 745). The expression means lit., 'bearer' or 'sustainer' from *poṇu* 'to bear, sustain' (D. 4565); *poṇuttal* 'to bear' (*Tivā.* 1614); *poṇaiyāḷaṇ* 'Dharmaputra, lit., one with forbearance' (*Piṅkala.* 739); *poṇaiyaṇ* 'Dharmaputra' (*Cūṭā.* 2:14);

*pavattukku ellām tāṇ oru poraiyaṇ āki* 'being the One Sustainer of all beings' (*Kōṇēri. Upatēca.: Civapuṇṇiya. 344; poraiyaṇ* is explained here as *cumaiyāl*, lit., 'load-bearer'.)

The variant *puṛai* occurs on the copper coins of the dynasty (See No. 7, Table 1.6 and Fig. 1.22B). See also Bh. Krishnamurti 1958a for the alternation of *u/o* in South Dravidian.

61.8 & 62.8 *makaṇ* (n.) 'son'

61.9 & 62.9 *peruṇkaṭuṅkōṇ* N. of the senior prince and son of King Ātaṇ Cel Irumpoṛai. As he is not given the royal title *kō*, it can be inferred that he was still a prince when these inscriptions were engraved, although he was old enough to have had a son. The literary evidence indicates that he assumed the royal name Peruñcerai Irumpoṛai when he ascended the throne. He became famous as the victor of the battle of Takaṭūr and is the hero of the Eighth Decade of *Paṭiṛruppattu*. (*Puṛa. 5:colophon, 50:colophon; Paṭiṛ. 78:9; Patikam 8*).

a. *peru(m)*- (adj.) 'great' (D. 4411).

Sandhi: *-m > -ñ-* before *-k*.

Cf. LT *peruñ-cēral irumpoṛai* (see citations above); *perumai* 'greatness' (*Tivā. 1368; Piṅkala. 2225; Cūṭā. 8:10*).

Cf. (inscr.) *peruñ-tiṇai* 'title of a high office' (*Pulankurichi Inscr. II.11, ca. 5th cent. A.D.*); *mutukuṭumi-p-peruvaḷuti* 'N. of a Pāṇṭiya king' (*Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ: No. 1, Line 32, 8th cent. A.D.*).

b. *kaṭu(m)*- (adj.) 'ferocious'. Cf. *kaṭumai* 'ferocity' (D. 1135); an attribute prefixed to names and titles of kings and chieftains.

Sandhi: *-m > -ñ-* before *-k*.

Cf. LT *māntaraṇ poraiyaṇ kaṭuṅkō* 'N. of a Cēra king' (*Aka. 142:4-5*); *kaṭumāṇ*, title of several kings and chieftains (e.g., *Puṛa. 43:11; Aka.134:13*); *kaṭumai* 'ferocity, severity' (*Tivā. 1446; Piṅkala.1865; Cūṭā. 8:60*).

The epithet *kaṭu(m)*- was translated as *ugra*- (Skt.) in the name Ukkira Peruvaḷuti, the Pāṇṭiya king in whose court *Akanāṇūru* was compiled. *Cūṭā. (8:60)* lists *ukkiram* (< *ugra*) as synonym of *kaṭumai*.

Cf. (inscr.) *kaṭuṅkōṇ*, N. of a Pāṇṭiya king (*Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ: No. 1, Line 45, 8th cent. A.D.*). See especially the present inscriptions (Nos. 61 & 62) for the frequent occurrence of *kaṭu(m)*- with the names of the Irumpoṛai princes. See also *kaṭummi-* (80.1.a).

c. *kōṇ* (n.) 'king, great man'; here the term occurs as part of the personal name of the prince.

**61.10 & 62.10** *makaṇ* (n.) 'son'. Note the repetition of the word *makaṇ*, thus avoiding the term 'grandson' normally found in similar genealogical narrations in Pkt. and Skt. Copper Plates.

Cf. LT *ayaṇ makaṇ makaṇ makaṇ* 'son's son's son of Ayaṇ' (*Kampa*. 5.10.48).

**61.11** [*i\**]*laṇkaṭuṅkō* N. of the grandson of King Ātaṇ Cel Irumporai and son of the senior prince Peruṇkaṭuṅkōṇ. The names Kaṭuṅkō and Kaṭuṅkōṇ, with or without the attributes *perum*- (senior) or *iḷam*- (junior), were apparently borne by alternate generations of the Irumporai dynasty as indicated in these inscriptions. When Iḷaṇkaṭuṅkō ascended the throne in his turn, he assumed the royal title Iḷaṇ-cēral Irumporai. He is the hero of the Ninth Decade of *Patirruppattu* (*Patir*. 85:comm.; *Patikam* 9).

Sandhi: -*m* > -*ṇ*- before -*k*.

a. *iḷa(m)*- See 2.7.a.

b. *kaṭu(m)*- See 61.9.b.

c. *kō* See 61.6.

**62.11** *kaṭuṅkōṇ* [*i\**]*laṇkaṭuṅkō* (N.) Longer variant of the name indicating that [*i\**]*laṇkaṭuṅkō* is the son of Kaṭuṅkōṇ alias Peruṇkaṭuṅkōṇ. See 61.11 for further comments.

a. *kaṭu(m)*- See 61.9.b.

b. *kōṇ* See 61.9.c.

c. *iḷa(m)*- See 2.7.a.

d. *kaṭu(m)*- See 61.9.b.

e. *kō* See 61.6.

**61.12 & 62.12** [*i\**]*laṇkō* (n.) 'prince, heir apparent'.

It is on the occasion of the investiture of Kaṭuṅkōṇ Iḷaṇkaṭuṅkō as *iḷaṇkō* (heir apparent) that the cave shelter was made and gifted to Ceṇkāyapaṇ, the senior Jaina monk. Cf. Iḷaṇkō Aṭikaḷ, N. of the Cēra prince (the younger brother of Cēraṇ Ceṇkuṭṭuvaṇ) who renounced any claim to the throne of his father and became a Jaina monk; he is considered to be the author of *Cilappatikāram* according to tradition (*Cilap*. *Patikam* 1-2, comm.).

Cf. LT *iḷaṇkō vēntaṇ* 'king's younger brother' (*Cilap*. 16:193); *iḷaṇkō* 'king's son, prince' (*Maṇi*. 4:125).

Cf. (inscr.) *iḷaṇkō-p-paruvattu* 'when (he was) the heir apparent' (*SII*. II: No. 58, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.).

a. *iḷa(m)*- See 2.7.a.

b. *kō* See 61.6.

**61.13 & 62.13** *āka* (v.) 'when (he) became, having become'; infinitive of cause (in absolute construction) from *āku* 'to be, happen, come into existence' (D. 333).

**Analysis:** *āku* (stem) + *a* (suffix of the infinitive). Cf. *ēva* (76.2).

Cf. LT *neñcu kaḷaṇ āka* '(your) heart being (my) place' (*Kuṟun.* 36:3); *iṇiya uḷa-v-āka* 'when there are sweet (words)' (*Kuṟaḷ.* 100).

Cf. (inscr.) *tiru-v-irācciyañ-cellā niṇṇratu patiṇēl-āka* 'when (the king) had reigned for seventeen (years)' (*ARE* 358/1959-60, Pāṇṭiya, 7th cent. A.D.).

**61.14** *aṟutta* (v.) 'which was carved'; adjectival past participle from *aṟu* 'to cut' (D. 315).

**Analysis:** *aṟu* (stem) + *tt* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix).

Cf. LT *kuṟavar aṟiyātu aṟutta ciṟiyilai-c-cāntam* 'the small-leaved sandalwood tree unwittingly cut by the Kuṟavar' (*Naṟṟ.* 64:4-5); *aṟuttal* 'to cut, carve' (*Tivā.* 1645; *Piṅkala.* 2145; *Cūṭā.* 11:172).

Cf. (inscr.) *ikkāḷkaḷil . . . kuraṅk(u)-aṟuttum* 'cutting the feeder channels from the main canals (for irrigation)' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 77, Line 118, 8th cent. A.D.).

**62.14** *aṟupita* (*aṟuppitta*) (v.) 'which was caused to be carved'; adjectival past participle from *aṟu* 'to cut'.

**Analysis:** *aṟu* (stem) + *pi* (causative suffix) + *t* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix). The consonants *-p-* and *-t-* are not doubled.

Note that *aṟutta* (61.14) and the causative form *aṟupita* (*aṟuppitta*) (62.14) are employed in the same context.

**61.15 & 62.15** *kaḷ* (n.) 'stone'. The term refers to the rock shelter carved into an abode (of ascetics). See 14.3.a for further comments.

**63.1** *yāṟṟūr* (P.) See 61.3.

**63.2** *ceṅkāyapaṇ* (N.) See 61.4.

**63.3** [*t*]āvaṇ-ūr(*tāvaṇūr*) (P.) Native place of the donor.

a. *tāvaṇ* Probably a personal name. Cf. *tāvu* 'might, strength' (*Tivā.* 1402).

b. *ūr* (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

**63.4** *piṇ-aṇ kuṟraṇ* N. of the donor.

a. *piṇ-aṇ* (*piṇṇaṇ*) lit., 'younger brother' < *piṇ* 'afterwards, subsequent, younger brother' (D. 4205), but occurring here as a personal name.

Cf. LT *piṇṇaṇai naṭpoṭu maṟṟavaṟ kāṇum* 'the younger brother was looked at with affection by the other' (*Iraku.* Avatāra. 13); *piṇṇavaṇ* 'younger brother' (*Piṅkala.* 911); *piṇ*, *piṇṇōṇ* id. (*Cūṭā.* 2:77).

The PNG suffix *-aṇ* is added in free form and the stem-final *-ṇ* in *piṇ* is not doubled. The *oṇṇu -p-* occurs in *tāvaṇ-ūr-p-piṇ-aṇ*. See also *tiṭi-k-kāttāṇ* (58. 1-2).

b. *kuṇṇaṇ* Part of the personal name of the donor; lit., 'the short one' from *kuṇu* 'short' (D. 1851). Cf. Ta. *kuṇiyōṇ* 'person of short stature'; (Ma.) *kuṇu* 'little'; (Te.) *kuṇṇa* 'boy, child' (ibid.).

Note that in this segment of the name, *kuṇṇaṇ* (*kuṇu* + *aṇ*) occurs with elision of the stem-final *-u* and doubling of the consonant *ṇ*.

An exceptional doubling of the word-final consonant *ṇ* occurs in the phrase *kuṇṇaṇṇ aṇupitta*. The doubling (*-ṇṇ-*) is due to the implicit sandhi with the succeeding word *aṇupitta* commencing with a vowel. However, the final *ṇ* is written separately and not combined with the following vowel. See also *amaṇṇaṇ* (61.2 & 62.2), *kaṇṇummi* (80.1.a) and *tuṇṇakayyulḷāru* (114.1-2). A stem-final consonant (other than *r* and *ḷ*) is doubled in LT only if the stem is monosyllabic with a short vowel. Hence the doubling of stem-final consonant in these cases is exceptional.

Cf. (inscr.) *-avaru tamaraiyum-m=avaru kuṭikaḷaiyum* 'his attendants and his tenants' (Pulankurichi Inscr. I.16-17, ca. 5th cent. A.D.).

The following examples are from later Tamil inscriptions (6-8 cent. A.D.):

*kāttāṇṇ=aṭi*; *māraṇṇ=eyiṇaṇ*; *muttaraiyaṇṇ=āyiṇa*; *teṇṇavaṇṇ=iḷaṇkō* (cited in A.Velu Pillai 1976:pp. 35-36). See also section 7.15.3.

63.5 *aṇupitta* (*aṇuppitta*) (v.) 'which was caused to be carved'. See 62.14.

63.6 *atiṭṭāṇam* (n.) 'seat'. See 49.8.

64.1 *atiṭṭāṇam* Read *atiṭṭāṇam* (n.) 'seat'. Only one word has survived in this fragmentary inscription. See 49.8 for further comments.

65 & 66 These two inscriptions have near-identical texts which may be studied together:

65.1 *nali-[y]-uṛ-ā* (*nalliyūr-ā*) 'of Nalliyūr' (P.) in genitive case.

66.1 *nalli-[y]-ūr-ā* id.

65.1.a *nali-y-* 66.1.a *nalli-y-*

Part of the place name. Cf. *nal* (adj.) 'good' (D. 3610).

Cf. (inscr.) *nallimaṇkalam* 'a place name' (SII. XIV:No. 12A, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 8-9 cent. A.D.).

The consonant *-l-* is doubled in one case but not in the other, proving that long consonants existed in the language and the avoidance of doubled consonants in

writing is only an orthographic feature, influenced by Pkt. inscriptional orthography. Cf. *koṛi* / *koṛṛi* (65.4.b & 66.4.b). See section 6.17.

-y- may be regarded either as the paragodic suffix or glide in these cases.

65.1.b & 66.1.b *ūr-ā* (n. in genitive case) 'of the village'. See 19.2 for further comments.

The genitive suffix -ā is written separately. The suffix (in 23.1 also) is not attested in LT. However, -ā occurs as the genitive suffix in Old Kannada inscriptions, especially after place names and is regarded as earlier than -a, the more common genitive suffix in Kannada (A.N. Narasimhia 1941:pp. 147-151; G. S. Gai 1946:pp. 54-58). (e.g.) (Ka. inscr.) *inaṅgūr-ā*, *navilūr-ā*, *vāgūr-ā*, *vēgūr-ā*, (Narasimhia); *kaḍatūr-ā*, *kaḍambūr-ā*, *puttūr-ā* (Gai). See also *mutā* and *mūtā* (61.1 & 62.1) where -ā appears to be an adjectival suffix not attested in LT. See section 7.27.4.

65.2 *piṭṭaṇ* (*piṭṭaṇ*). N. of the father of the donor. The consonant -ṭ- is not doubled.

66.2 *piṭṭantai* (*piṭṭantai*); same as *piṭṭaṇ* (*piṭṭaṇ*); construed as *piṭṭaṇ* (name) + *antai* (honorific). The consonant -ṭ- is not doubled and the PNG suffix -aṇ is elided in sandhi.

*Piṭṭaṇ* was the celebrated Cēra army commander who served under Peruñcēral Irumporai (Aka. 77 & 143; *Pura*. 170 & 172. See M. A. Dorai Rangaswamy 1968: pp. 122-124 for discussion on *Piṭṭaṇ* and his son, *Piṭṭaṇ-korṛaṇ*). Cf. also *korṛantai* (67.1). See section 4.5.2.

a. *piṭṭa(ṇ)* (*piṭṭaṇ*) (N.) See 65.2.

b. (*a*)*ntai* (n.) 'an honorific'. See 3.7.a and 29.1.b for discussion.

The present pair of inscriptions with the following near-identical openings proves conclusively that *pi(t)ṭaṇ* and *pi(t)ṭantai* are variants of the same name and the latter cannot be interpreted as *piṭṭaṇ tantai* 'father of *Piṭṭaṇ*':

*nali-[y]-ūr-ā piṭṭaṇ kuṛummakaḷ kīraṇ koṛi* (No. 65).

*nalli-[y]-ūr-ā piṭṭantai makaḷ kīraṇ koṛṛi* (No. 66).

This conclusion is reinforced by further evidence as follows:

(i) *piṭṭantai makaḷ* (No. 66), if translated as 'Piṭṭaṇ's father's daughter' makes no sense.

(ii) *antai* occurs as a prefix to personal names in the Ta. Br. inscriptions, as in *antai ariyṭi* (No. 25), where the translation 'father of Ariyṭi' would not be permitted by the syntax.

(iii) A folk ballad (*Nīli Yaṭcakāṇam*) enumerates members of a family as follows:

*kottantai nākantai kuppantai kaṇṇantai*  
*cittantai vālvantai ceyyantai (Nīli. 87.4)*

Surely not all members of the family would be named after their sons! (What were they called before they had sons?) The ballad also refers to *nākantai pēraṇ* 'grandson of Nākantai' (ibid. 43), *kottantai pēra(ṇ)* 'grandson of Kottantai' (ibid. 88) and *nākantai ceṭṭiyār kumāraṇ-āṇa tericaṇa ceṭṭiyār* 'Tericaṇa Ceṭṭiyār, son of Nākantai Ceṭṭiyār' (ibid. 43, prose passage). In these contexts, *-antai* cannot possibly mean 'father of'.

In the light of the evidence briefly summarised above, it has become necessary to re-examine the relevant grammatical sūtras (*Tol. Eḷu.* 347, comm., Nacc.; *Naṇṇ.* 238, comm., Mayilai.) and reinterpret them to be consistent with actual usage. See also section 3.2.2(v).

**65.3 *kuṛummakaḷ*** Cf. LT *kuṛumakaḷ* (n.) 'daughter'.

Sandhi: *kuṛu + makaḷ > kuṛummakaḷ* with exceptional doubling of the stem-initial consonant *m*. Alternatively, this may be construed as two words, *kuṛum makaḷ* 'young daughter'.

**a. *kuṛum-*** (adj.) 'little (young)'. Cf. *kuṛu* 'short' (Ta.), 'little' (Ma.) (D. 1851).

Cf. LT *kuṛumakaḷ* 'little (young) daughter' (*Naṇṇ.* 61:5, 66:11); *kuṛumai* 'shortness' (*Cūṭā.* 11:291); *kuṛumakkaḷ* 'little (young) children' (ibid. 2:81);

**b. *makaḷ*** (n.) 'daughter' (D. 4616).

Cf. LT *makaḷ* 'daughter' (*Tivā.* 277; *Piṅkala.* 921; *Cūṭā.* 2:81).

**66.3 *makaḷ*** (n.) 'daughter'.

The parallel passages show that *kuṛummakaḷ* and *makaḷ* have the same meaning 'daughter' here.

**65.4 *kīraṇ kori*** N. of the donor of the cave shelter and stone bed. As she is referred to as the

**66.4 *kīraṇ korṛi*** daughter of Piṭṭaṇ/Piṭṭantai, the composite name cannot be interpreted as 'Korṛi, the daughter of Kīraṇ'. See 65.4.b.

**a. *kīraṇ*** A personal name. More than 20 poets of the Caṅkam Age have Kīraṇ as part of their names (M.A. Dorai Rangaswamy 1968:pp. 53-62; *Caṅka kāla pulavarkaḷ*: Index). Cf. also *kīrantai* (*Cilap.* 23:42).

Cf. (inscr.) *kīraṇ-kāri* 'a personal name' (Pulankurichi Inscr. II.11, ca. 5th cent. A.D.).

**65.4.b *korṛi* (korṛi) 66.4.b *korṛi***

(N. fem.) The consonant *-ṛ-* is doubled in one case but not in the other. Cf. 65.1.a and 66.1.a. See 1.9 for discussion.

Cf. LT *peruṅkāṭṭu-k-korri* 'the goddess Korri of the great forest' (*Kali*. 89:8); *korri* 'Kāṭukāl (goddess of the forest)' (*Tivā*. 17; *Piṅkala*. 3438; *Cūṭā*. 11:281). The name is derived from *korram* 'victory, sovereignty' (D. 2169).

Cf. (inscr.) *nakkañ-korri* (*SII*. XIV:No. 3, Pāṇṭiya, 8th cent. A.D.); *caṭaiyañ-korri*, *kuṭiyañ-korri* (*SII*. V:Nos. 324 & 342 respectively, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.) 'personal names (fem.)'.

The absence of the sandhi  $\eta + k > -\dot{n}k-$  in the composite name as prescribed in *Tol. Eḷu*. 350 may be significant, as Korri is not the daughter of Kīraṇ. Cf. inscriptional names cited above. Cf. also *mōnalañ-cāṭṭaṇ* (121.2).

**65.5 ceyipita** (*ceyipitta*) (v.) 'which was caused to be made'; adjectival past participle, causative, from *ceyi* (LT *cey*) 'to make'.

**Analysis:** *ceyi* (stem) + *pi* (causative suffix) + *t* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix). The consonant *-t-* is not doubled. See *ceyivitta* (83.5) and *ceypita* (89.3). Cf. LT *ceyvitta*.

**65.6 paḷi** (*paḷli*) (n.) 'hermitage'. See 1.9 for comments.

**66.5 atiṭṭāṇam** (*atiṭṭāṇam*) (n.) 'seat'. The consonant *-ṭ-* is not doubled. See 49.8 for discussion.

Note that in these two closely parallel inscriptions (Nos. 65 & 66), *paḷi* (*paḷli*) stands for the 'hermitage' and *atiṭṭāṇam* (*atiṭṭāṇam*) for a 'seat (stone bed)'. The inscriptions also indicate that Kīraṇ Korri is the donor and not the occupant of the stone bed.

**67.1 korrantai** [*i\**][*ava[ṇ]*] N. of the donor. The first part of the name is construed as *korraṇ* + *antai* (honorific) with the elision of the PNG suffix *-aṇ* in sandhi. Cf. *piṭṭaṇ/piṭṭantai* (65.2 & 66.2). The composite name probably indicates that Iḷavaṇ is the son of Korrantai. It is just possible that Korrantai of this inscription (No. 67) is the son of Piṭṭaṇ/Piṭṭantai and brother of Kīraṇ Korri, the donor of the adjacent cave shelter (Nos. 65 & 66). See also section 4.5.2.

**a. korra-** From *korraṇ*, a personal name, derived from *korram* 'victory, sovereignty' (TL); *korraṇaṇ* 'king, victor' (D. 2169). Cf. *korri* (66.4.b).

Cf. LT *aṇaṇeṇi mutaṇṇe araciṇ korram* 'the king's sovereignty arises from righteous conduct' (*Pura*. 55:10); *kaivaḷ īkai-k-kaṭumāṇ korra* 'Kaṭumāṇ Korraṇ, the liberal patron' (*Pura*. 168:17; this poem is by Karuvūr Kantappiḷḷai Cāṭṭaṇār on Piṭṭaṇ-korraṇ); *korraṇaṇ* 'king' (*Tivā*. 178; *Cūṭā*. 2:12).

Cf. (inscr.) *śrī kō mārañ-cēntaṇ korram-uṇṇi* 'When King Māraṇ Cēntaṇ attained kingship' (*ARE* 358/1959-60, Pāṇṭiya, 7th cent. A.D.); *korrañ-kuṭiyaṇ* 'a personal name' (*SII*. V: No. 342, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

**b. (a)ntai** (n.) 'an honorific'. See 3.7.a and 66.2.b.

c. [i\*]ava[ṇ] A personal name, derived from *iḷa* 'young' (D. 513). See also 46.3.a.

**67.2 *muṇṇu*** (n.) 'forecourt, front yard'.

The spacious and level rock floor outside the cave is probably referred to here. It is possible that the donor made improvements to it.

The expression *muṇṇu* is not attested elsewhere; but cf. *muṇ* 'in front', *muṇṇ-il* 'space, front of a house'; *muṇṇu* 'to precede', *muntu* 'to come in front' (D. 5020a). The evidence indicates that *muṇṇil* is derived from *muṇṇu* + *il* though traditional grammarians derive *muṇṇil* from *il-muṇ* (Tol. Eḷu. 355; Naṇṇ. 238, comm., Mayilai.)

Cf. LT *paṇai micai aṇṇil cēkkum muṇṇil* 'the front yard where the *aṇṇil* bird rests on a palm tree' (Aka. 360:16-17); *muṇṇil* 'courtyard' (Tivā. 964; Piṅkala. 673; Cūṭā. 5:52).

**68.1 *atiṭṭāṇam*** (n.) 'seat'. Only one word has survived in this fragmentary inscription. See 49.8 for further comments.

**69.1 *karu-ūr*** (P.) same as Karuvūr (identified as modern Karur), the ancient Cēra capital. See section 4.20.4 (iii). The place name is written in the inscription as two words without the glide -v- in between.

Cf. LT *vañci* (Puṇa. 11:6, 32:2, 39:17); the old commentary on the poems identifies the city as *karuvūr*. *vañci* is identified as *karuvūr* (Cilap. 25:148, comm.). *karuvūr* is identified as *vañci* (Tivā. 944; Piṅkala. 465; Cūṭā. 5:41).

Cf. (inscr.) *veṅkālanāṭṭu karuvūr āṇa vañci māṇ nakarattu* 'of Vañci, the grand city which is Karuvūr' (ARE 335/1927-28, Cōḷa, 13th cent. A.D.).

a. *karu* (n.) The exact meaning in the present context is uncertain. The translation of *karu-ūr* into *garbha-purī* (Skt.) is probably based on folk etymology.

b. *ūr* (n.) 'village, town, city'. See 19.2.

**69.2 *poṇ-vāṇikaṇ*** 'gold merchant'.

The presence of a gold merchant among the donors indicates the prosperity of Karur in this period and also the support extended by the affluent merchant communities to the Jaina religion. The gold traders could also boast of having produced outstanding poets. Cf. Uṇaiyūr Iḷam-poṇvāṇikaṇār (author, Puṇa. 264); Kāviriippūm-paṭṭiṇattu-p-poṇvāṇikaṇār makaṇār Nappūtaṇār (author, Mullai.).

a. *poṇ* (n.) 'gold'.

b. *vāṇikaṇ* (n.) 'trader'. See 39.1.b.

**69.3 natti** N. of the gold merchant.

Cf. **natti-y**, N. of a senior Jaina monk (4.2).

**69.4 atittāṇam** (n.) 'seat'. See 49.8.

**70.1 eṇṇai-vāṇṇikaṇ** (n.) 'oil merchant'.

**eṇṇai** 'oil'. Cf. LT **eṇṇey** (eḷ + ney) 'gingily oil' (D. 854).

Cf. LT **pāru mayir-k-kuṭumi -y- eṇṇey nīvi** 'applying gingily oil to the hair tuft which is spread out' (*Pura.* 279:9).

Cf. (inscr.) **eṇṇai uri** '(one) uri (a measure) of gingily oil' (*SII.* XIV:Nos. 6 & 7, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 8-9 cent. A.D.); **ivv-eṇṇai uḷḷiṭṭu** 'including this (quantity of) gingily oil' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 126, ca. 9th cent. A.D.). In medieval inscriptions the form **eṇṇai** is more frequent.

a. **eṇ-** (eḷ) (n.) 'gingily, *sesamum indicum*' (D. 854); **eḷ**, **eṇ** id. (*Tivā.* 781; *Piṅkala.* 2970; *Cūṭā.* 4:42).

b. **-(n)ai** (LT **ney**) (n.) 'oil' (D. 3746).

c. **vāṇṇikaṇ** Read **vāṇikaṇ** (n.) 'trader'. See 39.1.b for further comments.

**70.2 veni ātaṇ** N. of the oil merchant.

a. **veni** Read **veṇi** (**veṇṇi**). The consonant **n** is a scribal error for **ṇ** and is not doubled. See **ven-** (**veṇ-**) (20.3) for further comments.

Cf. Ta. **veṇṇi**, Ma. **venni** 'victory' (D. 5493). The term occurs here as part of the personal name of the donor.

Cf. LT **veṇṇōṇ** 'victor' as synonym of **ciṇaṇ** (< Skt. *jina*) 'victor (over senses)'; title of Mahāvīra (Jaina.) (*Cūṭā.* 1:1); **veṇṇi ellām veṇṇu** 'having won all the victories' (*Pura.* 6:25). **vēl aṇṇu veṇṇi taruvatu** 'it is not the spear that brings victory' (*Kuraḷ.* 546).

Cf. (inscr.) **veṇṇi mata-t-tamiḷ-atiyaraiyaṇ** 'a personal name' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 268, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

b. **ātaṇ** 'a personal name'. See 61.7.a.

**70.3 atittāṇam** (n.) 'seat'. See 49.8.

**71** This inscription, originally in five lines, is almost completely obliterated.

**72.1 ṇākaṇ** N. of the father of the donor.

Cf. LT **nākaṇ**. See 48.2 for further comments.

The initial **n** has become **ṇ** due to Pkt. influence. Cf. **ṇāga** (Pkt.) < **nāga** (Skt.).

Cf. (inscr.) **ṇākkaiyār** 'a personal name (fem.)' in a herostone inscription, ca. 7th cent. A.D. (*Chengam naṭukaṇkaḷ*; No. 35/1968). Cf. **vaccaṇanti** (115.3).

72.2 *makaṇ* (n.) 'son'.

72.3 *peruṅkīraṇ* (N.) of the donor.

a. *peru(m)*- (adj.) 'elder'. See 61.9.a.

b. *kīraṇ* 'a personal name'. See 65.4.a.

## XXI. MAMANDUR

73.1 *kaṇimāṇ* N. of the chieftain of the hill. See section 4.5.3.

Cf. *kaṇimakāṇ* (*Peruṅ.* 1.36:199) where, however, the expression means 'an astrologer'.

a. *kaṇi* lit., 'learned man' (*TL*), here occurring as part of the personal name. Cf. *gaṇya* (Skt.) 'to be regarded' > *kaṇṇiyam* 'respectability, dignity' (*TL*).

b. *-māṇ* See 59.2.c.

73.2 *tēṇūr* (P.) The place cannot be identified as there were more than one village with this name.

Cf. LT *Tēṇūr* (*Aiṅk.* 54:3; *Naṇṇ.* 275-76, comm., Mayilai.).

Cf. (inscr.) *malaiyadhvaṇ tēṇūr malai-il tavañ-ceyyakkaṇṭu* 'when (he) saw Malayadhvaṇ performing penance on the hill at Tēṇūr' (*IPS*:No. 9, ca. 8th cent. A.D.).

a. *tēṇ* (n.) lit., 'honey' (D. 3268b). Here the word occurs as an attribute to the place name.

b. *ūr* (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

73.3 *tanta* (v.) 'who took (in battle)'; adjectival past participle from *tā/taru* 'to give (to 1st or 2nd person)' (D. 3098 citing *Tol. Col.* 1.29); 'to capture' (*TL*).

**Analysis:** *ta* (stem) + *nt* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix).

Cf. Ta. *taruvi* 'to cause to bring'; Ka. *tar* 'to bring' (D. 3098). The phrase *tēṇūr tanta kōṇ* clearly indicates the meaning of the verb.

Cf. LT *āreyil pala tantu* 'having captured many 'formidable fortresses' (*Puṛa.* 6:14); *ollaiyūr tanta pūta pāṇṭiyaṇ* 'Pūta Pāṇṭiyaṇ who took Ollaiyūr (*Puṛa.* 71: colophon); *pāṇṭiyaṇ kāṇappēr tanta ukkīra-p-peruvuḷuti* 'Ukkīra Peruvaḷuti, the Pāṇṭiya, who took Kāṇappēr' (*Puṛa.* 367:colophon).

73.4 *kōṇ* (n.) 'chieftain'. See 52.2.b.

73.5 *kuṇṇu* (n.) 'hill' (D. 1864). Cf. *kuṇṇa-* (60.1.b).

Cf. LT *a-k-kuṇṇu kiḷavōṇē* 'Oh! lord of that hill' (*Aka.* 48:22); *kuṇṇu* 'hill' (*Tivā.* 860; *Piṅkala.* 496; *Cūṭā.* 5:12).

Chieftains are associated in Caṅkam literature with the hills they fortified as their strongholds; e.g., Paṇampumalai of Pāri (*Puṛa*. 109), Kutiraimalai of Piṭṭaṅkorraṇ (ibid. 168) and Viccimalai of Viccikkōṇ (ibid. 200).

**73.6 āci** (n.) 'support, prop'.

The inscription is engraved just below two post holes cut deeply into the brow of the cave. The post holes, square in section and unusually large, must have been made to insert square wooden beams to support a substantial structure like a canopy (no longer extant) in front of the cave. Further the text *āci ceyitāṇ taccaṇ* indicates that *āci* was some wooden object made by a carpenter.

Cf. *āsi* (AMg.) 'to support' (*PSM*) < *ā-śri* (Skt.) 'to rest on' (MW).

Cf. Ta. *ācu* 'prop. support' (*TL*); *ācu āku entai yāṇṭu uḷaṇ kollō* 'where indeed is our father, our support?' (*Puṛa*. 235:16, 307:1; *Kuṟuṇ*. 176:5); *ācu āku* 'you be our support' (*Puṛa*. 266:9); *arakkar tol kulam ācu aṛa* 'to destroy the support to the ancient race of the Rākshasas' (*Kampa*. 6.14.18, variant reading cited in *Peru. Aka.*); *ācu* 'the upper wooden framework of a wagon' (ibid.).

Cf. (inscr.) *kuṟruṭaivāḷ ācu* 'hilt of the dagger' (*SII*. II: No. 46, Line 43, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.).

**73.7 ceyitāṇ** (v.) 'he who made'; past participial noun, 3rd person masculine singular, from *ceyi* (LT *cey*) 'to make'.

**Analysis:** *ceyi* (stem) + *t* (past tense marker) + *āṇ* (PNG suffix). The verb form is treated as a participial noun as it precedes the subject. See also *ceytā[ṇ\*]* (55.4).

**73.8 taccaṇ** (*taccaṇ*) 'carpenter'. The stem-final consonant -c- is not doubled.

Cf. LT *vaikal eṇ tēr ceyyum taccaṇ* 'the carpenter who can make eight chariots in a day' (*Puṛa*. 87:2-3); *taccar* 'carpenters, stonemasons' (*Tivā*. 201; *Piṅkala*. 790); *taccaṇ* (*Cūṭā*. 2:29).

Cf. (inscr.) *taccaṇ* 'stonemason' (*SII*. XIV:No. 26, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.); *taccaṇ* 'carpenter' (ibid. No. 46, ca. 10th cent. A.D.). The expression *peruntaccaṇ* (-*taccaṇ*) occurs in the Corpus in the sense of a 'master mason, sculptor' (117.3).

The word *taccaṇ* is generally derived from IA. Cf. *taccha* (AMg.) < *takshan* (Skt.) 'carpenter'. This, however, leaves Tamil without a native word for 'carpenter/ stonemason' which seems unlikely. Cf. *tai* 'to make, create' (*TL*); *tacca* (< *taitta*) (*Villi*. 9:46); *tai* 'to fasten beams with nails, spikes or pegs' (*D*. 3473); *taital* (Ma.) 'split bamboos joined for doors, mats, ceilings' (ibid.). Cf. cognate forms *tac-/tāc-* in Kuwi (ibid.). The evidence supports the derivation of *taccu* 'carpentry' from Dr. *tai* (\**tay/tac*). Cf. *taita* (*taitta*) 'made' (101.2).

**73.9** *ciṟu...vaṇ* N. of the carpenter. The name is mutilated as one letter in the middle is lost.

a. *ciṟu-* (adj.) 'small, young'.

b. . . . *vaṇ* probably a personal name whose beginning is lost.

## XXII. KUNNAKKUDI

**74.1** *kāpi-ūr* (P.)

a. *kāpi* (*kāppi*) probably name of a clan.

Cf. LT *Tolkāppiyaṇ* (author, *Tolkāppiyam*); *Kāppiyāṟṟu Kāppiyaṇār* (author, *Paṭiṟ*, Fourth Decade); *Kāppiyaṇ Cētaṇār* (author, *Naṟṟ*. 246); *kāppiya -t- tolkuṭi* 'the ancient lineage of the Kāppiyar' (*Cilap*. 30:83).

Cf. (inscr.) *kāppiyaṇ eḷuvaṇ* 'a personal name' (*SII*. XIII:No. 2, Cōḷa, ca.10th cent. A.D.).

b. *ūr* (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

**74.2** *ātaṇ cāttāṇ* N. of the donor.

a. *ātaṇ* See 61.7.a.

b. *cāttāṇ* Read *cāttaṇ*. See 55.5.d for further comments.

**75.1** *ūṟu* (*ūṟṟu*) (n.) 'spring, fountain' (D. 761). The consonant *r* is not doubled.

Cf. LT *ūṟṟu* 'spring' (*Naṟṟ*. 186:1; *Kali*. 103:41; *Piṅkala*. 609; *Cūṭā*. 5:27).

Cf. (inscr.) *ūṟṟu* 'fountain' (*Pallava Inscrs*. No. 46: Line 80, ca. 7th cent. A.D.).

The unique square rock-cut well outside the cave is probably referred to here. It is possible that this partly visible inscription is a continuation of the adjoining one (No. 74) in the same cave recording the name of the donor.

## XXIII. TONDUR

**76.1** [*i*] *āṇkāyipaṇ* N. of the resident Jaina monk.

a. *i* [*a* (*m*)]- (adj.) 'young, junior'.

Sandhi: *-m-* > *-ñ-* before *-k*. See 2.7.a for further comments.

b. *kāyipaṇ* A personal name. See 14.1.b for further comments.

**76.2** *ēva* (v.) 'when (he) commanded, at the bidding of'; infinitive of cause (in absolute construction) from *ēvu* 'to command, direct' (D. 909).

**Analysis:** *ēvu* (stem) + *a* (suffix of the infinitive).

Cf. LT *porroṭi ēva* 'at the command of the lady with the golden bracelets (Kaṇṇaki)' (*Cilap*. 21:56); *ēval* (n.) 'command' (*Tivā*. 1741; *Piṅkala*. 1812; *Cūṭā*. 8:43).

Cf. (inscr.) *ūr ēva eḷutiṇēṇ* 'I wrote at the bidding of the village (assembly)' (SII. VIII: No. 696, Cōḷa, 10th cent. A.D.).

**76.3 akaḷ-ūr** (*akaḷūr*) (P.) Written as two separate words. The place may be identified as Agalur (*Akaḷūr*) near Tondur (see Table 4.3). Both villages are ancient Jaina settlements still inhabited by Jaina families. Agalur also has Jaina stone beds (K.Rajan 1997:p. 324).

Cf. (inscr.) *akaḷūr-t-tūmpu kampayaṇār iṭuvittār* 'Kampayyaṇ caused to be fixed the sluice (in the lake) at Akaḷūr' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 84, ca. 8th cent. A.D.).

a. *akaḷ* (n.) 'tank, reservoir', from *akaḷ* (v.) 'to excavate, dig out' (D. 11); *akaḷ* 'tank' (*Perumpāṇ.* 108). The village is probably named after the lake referred to in the inscription cited above.

b. *ūr* (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

**76.4 aṛam** (n.) 'dharma' (D. 311). Cf. Ka. *aṛa* 'charity, alms' (ibid.). The charity was a collective endowment by the village of Akaḷūr.

Cf. LT *aṛam cey tiṅkaḷ* 'the full-moon day (of Kārttikai) when charity is to be undertaken' (*Naṟṟ.* 202:9); *aṛa-c-cālai* 'alms house' (*Maṇi.* 28:238); *aṛa-p-puṛam* 'tax-free lands endowed for charity' (*Cīvaka.* 76); *aṛa-k-kuḷam toṭṭal* 'excavating a tank for charity' (*Iṇiya.* 23); *aṛam 'tāṇam* (gift)' (*Piṅkala.* 3635); 'tarumam (charity)' (*Cūṭā.* 8:39).

Cf. (inscr.) *aṛa-p-puṛam* 'lands given for charitable endowment' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. II. 6, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *ūrōm ērikku-p-peyta aṛam* 'charity endowed by the village assembly for (the maintenance of) the lake' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 82, ca. 8th cent. A.D.); *āti vēntar aṛam* 'charity by the kings of yore' (SII. XIV: No. 45, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

Sandhi: -ūr + *aṛam* > *ūraṛam*.

**76.5 mōci** N. of the person (probably a stonemason) who carved the stone beds. The name occurs in literature and inscriptions, but its etymology is unknown.

Cf. LT *tiruntu molī mōci pāṭiya āyum* 'Āy who was praised in song by Mōci of the felicitous language' (*Puṛa.* 158:12-13).

Cf. (inscr.) *mōci kaṇṭaṇ-caṇkaraṇ* 'a personal name' (SII. XIV: No. 9, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 8-9 cent. A.D.); *mōci orriyūraṇ kūṭṭaṇ* 'a personal name' (SII. XIX: 347, Cōḷa, 10th cent. A.D.).

**76.6 ceyita** (v.) 'which was made'; adjectival past participle from *ceyi* (LT *cey*) 'to make'.

**Analysis:** *ceyi* (stem) + *t* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix). Cf. *ceyta* (49.7).

**76.7 atiṭāṇam 3** 'three seats (stone beds)'.

- a. **atiṭṭāṇam** Read *atiṭṭāṇam* (n.). As there are exactly three stone beds in this cave, the meaning of *atiṭṭāṇam* as 'a seat (stone bed)' in the context of the Ta. Br. cave inscriptions is conclusively established. See 49.8 for further comments.
- b. 3: The numeral 'three' is represented by three short horizontal parallel lines. See section 5.16.

## XXIV. KUDUMIYAMALAI

- 77.1 **nāḷal** Read *nāḷal*. (P.) Probably named after the flowering tree, *ñāḷal* / *nāḷal* (D. 2915). See section 4.21.1 (iii).

Cf. LT *ñāḷal* (*Aka.* 240:1-2; *Kuṟun.* 328:1-2; *Tivā.* 691; *Piṅkala.* 2682; *Cūṭā.* 4:32). We learn from numerous references in Caṅkam literature that *ñāḷal* flowers are small in size and red or golden-yellow in colour. The variant *nāḷal* occurs in *Tēvā.* (II:53.9, variant reading cited in *TL*). The modern Tamil name for the tree is *pulinaka-k-koṇṇai* or *mayil-koṇṇai* (*TL*).

Several places in ancient Tamil country were named after the *ñāḷal* tree: *ñāḷal* 'a town on the seacoast' (*Ñāḷal Pattu* in *Aiṅk.*); *ñāḷal mūtūr* 'the ancient town of Ñāḷal' (*Yāpp. Virutti.*: p. 219). Other similar names include *kumiḷi-ñāḷal*, *koṭi-ñāḷal*, *maturai aḷakkar-ñāḷal*: native places of some Caṅkam poets (*Caṅka kāla pulavarkaḷ*: Nos. 186, 205 & 411 respectively).

Cf. (inscr.) *ñāḷar-p-paḷḷi* 'name of a village' (*TAS.* II-III, 1992 reprint, Tiruvalla Plates, Line 558, ca. 9-10 cent. A.D.).

- 77.2 **koṟṟantay** N. of the donor. Cf. *koṟṟantai* (67.1).

a. **koṟṟa-** From *koṟṟaṇ*. See 67.1.a.

b. (**a**)**ntay** Variant of *antai*, an honorific. See 3.7.a and 66.2 for comments.

- 77.3 **pa[ḷi\*]-y** (*paḷḷi-*) (n.) 'hermitage' -y is the paragogic suffix. See 1.9.

## XXV. TIRUCHIRAPALLI-A

- 78.1 . . . **paṇkē** N. (fragmentary), apparently of a monk, the recipient of the gift, as indicated by the dative case suffix **-kē** (*ku* + *ē*, emphatic particle). The inscription is no longer extant and the tentative reading is from an old estampage.

## XXVI. EDAKAL-A

- 79.1 **opaṇapa vira-a** (N.) in genitive case. The cave, the walls of which are covered with prehistoric carvings, does not have stone beds and does not appear to have been a Jaina hermitage. The Ta. Br. inscriptions in the cave (Nos. 79-82) belong to

the Early Cēra period and appear to be secular records. These are the earliest known inscriptions of Kerala (I. Mahadevan 1999). See section 1.2.2.

**a. opaṇ** (*oppaṇ*). A personal name derived from *oppu* 'beauty' (D. 924) with the addition of the PNG suffix *-aṇ*. The consonant *-p-* is not doubled.

Cf. Ka. *oppa*, Te. *oppu* 'elegance, beauty' (ibid.).

Cf. LT *oppu uṭai oruvaṇai* 'him, possessing beauty' (*Tēvā*. III:4.7); *oppu* 'great beauty' (*Tivā*. 1397); 'beauty' (*Piṅkala*. 1941).

**b. apa-** (*appa-*) Attribute from *appaṇ* (n.) 'an honorific'. The consonant *-p-* is not doubled. Cf. Ka. *appa* 'frequently added to the proper names of men as a term of common respect' (D. 156a).

Cf. LT *eṅkaḷ appaṇ iṭam tiruvālaṅkāṭē* 'Tiruvālaṅkāṭu is the place of our Father (Lord)' (*Tēvā*. XI:2); *appaṇ* 'father' (*Cūṭā*. 2:75); 'honorific' (ibid. 11:156).

The word *appaṇ* does not occur in Caṅkam literature, though it is undoubtedly ancient. Its occurrence here as an honorific suffix reveals Kannada influence in the region (North Kerala bordering on Karnataka). See section 3.2.4(ii).

**c. vira-s** Read *vīra-*. 'of *Vīra(ṇ)*' in genitive case. The term occurs here as part of a personal name. Cf. *vīraṇ* 'hero, warrior' (*TL*) < *vīra* (Skt.) 'a brave or eminent man, hero, chief' (MW).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *vira-* (*vīra-*) 'part of a personal name' (Nagarjunakonda, D.C. Sircar 1963-64a, *El*. XXXV: pp. 1-36, Glossary).

The genitive suffix *-s* is added to the noun stem after elision of the PNG suffix *-aṇ*. Cf. *cēnta-s* (28.1.b).

Cf. LT *vīrar* 'warriors' (*Aka*. 36:23; *Tivā*. 272); *vīraṇ* 'a brave man' (*Cilap*. 6:4; *Maṇi*. 30:11; *Piṅkala*. 3896; *Cūṭā*. 2:50).

Cf. (inscr.) *kō vira (vīra) pāṇṭiya(ṇ)* (*SIL*. XIV:Nos. 79-84, Pāṇṭiya, 10th cent. A.D.).

#### 80.1 *kaṭummiputa cēra* N. or title of a Cēra king.

***kaṭummiputa*** (*kaṭumi-putta*) appears to be a hybrid expression, the first part in Tamil and the second in Pkt., recalling *satīyaputō*, the Pkt. equivalent of Ta. *atīyamāṇ* (*satīya* > *atīya*; *putō*: *makaṇ* > *māṇ*) (59.1). Analogously, the present expression may be interpreted as follows:

**a. *kaṭummi*** A title, lit., 'the ferocious one', derived from *kaṭumai* 'ferocity' (D. 1135); Cf. Tu. *kaḍuve* 'hero, courageous man', *kaḍume* 'pride'; Te. *kaḍimi* 'valour, bravery' (ibid.). The attribute *kaṭum-* occurs frequently with Cēra names. See 61.9.b for further comments. The corresponding form *kaṭumi* is not attested in LT; but cf. *neṭumi* 'tall woman, tall tree' from *neṭum-* (D. 3738).

Sandhi: *kaṭum* + *i* > *kaṭummi*, with exceptional doubling of the stem-final consonant *-m*. See 63.4.b for more examples and discussion.

b. *puta* (*putta*) (Pkt.) < *putra* (Skt.) 'son'. The term occurs here as an honorific suffix and appears to be a loan-translation of *-māṇ* < *makaṇ*. See *-putō* (59.1.b) and *-mān* (*-māṇ*) (59.2.c).

Thus *kaṭummiputa* may be equated with Ta. *kaṭumāṇ*, a title occurring with the names of several kings and chieftains in Caṅkam literature. Of particular interest in the present context is the occurrence of the title in the Cēra dynasty.

Cf. LT *kaṭumāṇ poṛaiya!* (*Puṛa*. 53:5), a title of Māntarañcēral Irumpoṛai (ibid. colophon); *kaṭumāṇ kōtai* (*Puṛa*. 54:8), a title of Kuṭṭuvaṇ Kōtai (ibid. colophon).

The expression *kaṭumāṇ* occurs in some contexts as the equivalent of *kaṭumā* 'a speeding horse'; however, there are many other contexts in which *kaṭumāṇ* can only be interpreted as a personal name or title. See especially *kaṭumāṇ tōṇṇal neṭumāṇ aṇci* 'Neṭumāṇ Aṇci, the scion of Kaṭumāṇ' (*Puṛa*. 206:6; See also ibid. 162, 265 & 382).

The proposed interpretation of *kaṭumāṇ* as derived from *kaṭum makaṇ* 'the ferocious man' is confirmed by the loan-translations of *kaṭum-* as *ugra-* 'ferocious' in the name *ukkira peruvaḷuti* (*Puṛa*. 21 & 367, colophon) and of *-māṇ* < *makaṇ* as *-puta* in this inscription and *-putō* in No. 59.

c. *cēra* Generic name of a member of the Cēra dynasty. This is the earliest epigraphic occurrence of the name. The PNG suffix *-aṇ* is absent.

Cf. LT *cēraṇ* (*Cilap*. 23:62; *Maṇi*. 26:90; *Tivā*. 180; *Piṅkala*. 745; *Cūṭā*. 2:18); *cēral* (*Aka*. 55:11; *Puṛa*. 8:5).

A tree-like symbol is engraved at the end of the inscription. It may be interpreted in the present context as the palm tree, one of the insignia of the Cēra dynasty. See Symbol C in section 5.18.

Cf. LT *pōntiṇ tārōṇ*, '(the Cēra king) decked with a garland of palmyra flowers' (*Cūṭā*. 2:18); *paṇantārāṇ* id. (TL).

See also section 4.3.3 on the historical significance of the inscription. It is difficult to identify the Cēra kings mentioned in the Edakal records, as the name *ātaṇ* and the title *kaṭumāṇ* were borne by more than one ruler. The titles *kaṭummiputa* (Ta. *kaṭumāṇ*) and *satīyaputō* (Ta. *atīyamāṇ*) and the Pkt. genitive suffix in *utayanasa* indicate the extent of Pkt. influence on Tamil epigraphy in this period. (See 80.1, 59.1 and 24.5 respectively.)

### 81.1 *kō*

(n.) 'king, great man', interpreted here as 'chieftain'.

Cf. LT *em kō . . . pēkaṇ* 'Pēkaṇ, our chieftain' (*Puṛa*. 141:11-12).

**81.2 pūti virā** N. of a chieftain.

**a. pūti** A personal name. Cf. *bhūti* (Pkt.) < *bhūti* (Skt.) 'wealth, prosperity'.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *dhanabhūti* (*Bhārhut Inscrs.* Nos. A1, A3); *jayabhūti* (Lüders List:No. 24); *ayabhuti* (Nagarjunakonda, EI. XXXV:Glossary: pp. 20-36); *buti* (Sinh. Pkt., Paranavitana 1970:No. 322).

Pūti was a common name among the Vēḷir chieftains. As the present inscription is engraved in between two Cēra records, it is likely that it relates to a Vēḷ chieftain serving under the Cēra dynasty.

Cf. LT *vēntarum vēḷirum* 'the (crowned) kings and the Vēḷir (chieftains)' (*Patir.* 30:30); *iḷampūti* 'a personal name' (*Maṇi.* 13:16); *pūti* id. (*Maṇi.* 13:101); *pūti* 'wealth' (*Piṅkala.* 3880; *Cūṭā.* 11:114).

Cf. (inscr.) *tēvapūti* 'a personal name' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 71, 8th cent. A.D.); *bhūti vikramakēśarin* (alias) *madhurāntaka irukkuvēḷ* 'N. of a Vēḷ chieftain of Kodumbalur' (*SII.* III:p. 249).

**b. virā** Read *vīra*. The PNG suffix - *aṇ* is omitted. See 79.1.c for further comments.

**82.1 kō** (n.) 'king'. See 61.6.

**82.2 ātāṇ** Read *ātāṇ* (N.) *kōvātāṇ* in the inscription is construed as *kō-v-ātāṇ* (-*ātāṇ*) 'King Ātaṇ'. The name *ātāṇ* is especially associated with the Cēra dynasty. See 80.1 for further comments. See also section 4.3.3.

Cf. *kō ātāṇ* in Nos. 61 & 62.

Cf. LT *cēral ātāṇ* (*Aka.* 55:11); *vāḷi-y-ātāṇ* (*Pura.* 8, 14:colophon).

## XXVII. NEKANURPATTI

**83.1 perumpokaḷ** (P.) The place may be identified as the modern village of Perumpukai, about 5 km. from this site (Table 4.3). It is an ancient Jaina settlement with rock-cut stone beds in the local cave (K. Rajan 1997:p. 290). The name literally means 'great fame'.

Cf. LT *perumpukaḷ* 'great fame' (*Patir.* 23:16).

Cf. (inscr.) *perumpukaḷ* 'great fame' (*SII.* XIV:No. 45, Pāṇṭiya, 9th cent. A.D.).

**a. perum-** (adj.) 'great, large'. The epithet can occur as an attribute to place names as in this case or personal names (as in 61.9.a).

Cf. LT *perumpērūr* (*Maṇi.* 9:24).

**b. pokaḷ** (n.) Cf. Ta. *pukaḷ*, 'fame', Ka. *pogaḷ* 'renown' (D. 4235).

Cf. LT *pukaḷ* 'fame' (*Tivā.* 1788; *Piṅkala.* 2055-56; *Cūṭā.* 10:15).

**83.2 cēkkanti** N. of a Jaina nun. See sections 4.9.4 and 4.9.5.

a. **cē** (N.) A family name. Cf. *cē-k-kiḷār* 'a family name among Vellāḷas in Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam' (TL). The present site falls within this region.

Cf. LT *Cē-k-kiḷār* (author, *Periyapurāṇam*).

Cf. (inscr.) *cēkkiḷār karikāla cōḷa-p-pallavaraiyar, cēkkiḷār pāḷarāvāyar* 'personal names' (cited in TL).

The word *cē* (n.) has the literal meanings of:

(i) 'bull'; cf. LT *kayīru iṭu kata-c-cē-p-pōla* 'as the angry bull tethered with rope' (Aka. 36:7); *cē* 'bull' (Tivā. 429; Piṅkala. 2470; Cūṭā. 3:14), or

(ii) 'redness' (D. 1931). Cf. LT *cē-k-koḷ āmpal* 'the āmpal (flower) having redness' (Kallāṭam: Index).

The *orru* occurs in the expression *cē-k-kanti*.

b. **kanti** 'Jaina nun'.

Cf. LT *kaṇṭa pāl aṇaiya kanti* 'the Jaina nun (pure) as fresh milk' (Cīvaka. 2649); Kantiyār (a Jaina nun and poetess) who is said to have interpolated as many as 445 verses in *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* (Note by U.Ve. Swaminathaiyar, *Cīvaka*. 1089, 2649 & 3143, 7th edn. reprint). Cf. *iṭai maṭutta kanti taṇ piḷaippum* 'the errors of Kanti who interpolated (some verses)' (Pari. Urai. Pāyiram: 9-10); *kavunti aṭikaḷ* 'N. of a senior Jaina nun' (Cilap. 11:166); *kantiyai-k-kāṇiṇum* 'as soon as they see a kanti (Jaina nun)' (Nīlakēci: 323); *kavunti* 'Jaina nun' (Tivā. 280); *kanti, kaunti* id. (Cūṭā. 2:62).

The term *ganti* (variant *kanti, khanti*) occurs in early Kannada inscriptions as an affix to the names of Jaina nuns (A.N. Narasimha 1941: Nos. 43 & 45). The etymology of the word is obscure. (ibid., Appendix V, and P.B. Desai 1957: p. 85, note, for different interpretations.) However, the most likely derivation is from *gaṇṭhi* (AMg.) 'one who composes a literary work' (PSM). Cf. *ganthika* (pāli) 'hard-studying' (PED) < (Skt.) *grantha* 'book', *granthin* 'one who reads books, well-read' (MW). The occurrence of *kanti* (< Ka. *ganti*) in this inscription indicates Kannada influence. See section 3.2.4.

**83.3 tāyiyaru** (n.) 'mother'.

**Analysis:** *tāyi* (stem) + *y* (glide) + *ar* (honorific singular suffix) + *u* (euphonic suffix).

Cf. Ta. *tāy, tāyār* (honorific singular), *tāyar* (pl.); Ka. *tāy, tāyi* 'mother' (D. 364).

The form *tāyiyaru* is not attested in Tamil. It is the standard expression for 'mother' (honorific singular) in New Kannada, but not attested in Old Kannada which has *tāyvir* (pl.) (G.S. Gai 1946: Nos. 4 & 70). See section 3.2.4.

**83.4 cēkkant=anṇi** (cē-k-kant(i) + anṇi) N. of a Jaina nun. See sections 4.9.4 and 4.9.5.

The expression is construed as cē (name) + k (orṇu) + kanti (title) + anṇi (fem. honorific suffix). The nun is described as the mother (tāyiyaru) of cēkkanti, both mother and daughter having the same name. Probably, the honorific suffix -anṇi has been added to the mother's name to distinguish her from the daughter. They were both Jaina nuns as indicated by the title kanti. Presumably the mother gifted the hermitage (paḷḷi) to the daughter. The cave shelter has only a single stone bed. See also comments on No. 49.

a. cē (N.) 'a family name'. See 83.2.a.

b. kant(i) (n.) 'Jaina nun'. See 83.2.b.

c. anṇi lit., 'elder brother's wife' (D. 131), employed here as an honorific suffix added to the name of a woman. Cf. Ka. anṇi 'affectionate mode of addressing females' (ibid.). See section 3.2.2(v). The honorific has been borrowed into Prakrit as -(a)minikā.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) dhamaminikā, budhaminikā, samudaminikā, sāgaraminikā (Nagarjunakonda, EI. XXXV:Glossary: pp. 20-36).

The corresponding masculine honorific suffix -aṇṇa is likewise borrowed from Dr. into Pkt. as -amīna; e.g., nāgamīna (nāgaṇṇa), vīramīna (vīraṇṇa) (PH. Vogel 1929-30, EI. XX:p. 22, Inscription F).

**83.5 ceyivitta** (v.) 'which was caused to be made'; adjectival past participle, causative, from ceyi (LT cey) 'to make'. Cf. LT ceyivitta.

**Analysis:** ceyi (stem) + vi (causative suffix) + tt (past tense marker) + a (participial suffix).

Cf. (inscr.) ce-ivitta tēva-kulam 'temple caused to be made' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. II. 4, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); cāttaṇ=ēraṇ ceyivitta kaṇṇiru-k-kōyil 'the sacred shrine (built) of stone caused to be made by Cāttaṇ Ēraṇ (ARE 358/1959-60, Pāṇṭiya, 7th cent. A.D.); kantacēṇaṇ ceyivitta tēvakulam' the temple caused to be made by Kantacēṇaṇ (Pallava Inscrs. No. 36, ca. 7th cent. A.D.).

**83.6 paḷḷi** (n.) 'hermitage' This is the second occurrence of the term written with doubled consonants (-ḷḷ-) as in LT. Cf. the earlier instance in 88.1. See 1.9 for further comments. See also section 6.17.

## XXVIII. AMMANKOYILPATTI

**84.1 parampaṇ-kōkūr** (P.) The place name has three segments.

a. parampaṇ (n.) Cf. (inscr.) parampar 'a class of cultivators' (SITI. III. 2. Glossary), from parampu 'dry ground laid out (for cultivation)' (TL).

Cf. *parampu* 'to become flattened, be spread out' (D. 3949). The word *parampaṇ* qualifies the place name indicating that the village was inhabited by the Parampar. Alternatively, *parampaṇ* may be treated as an attribute formed from *parampu*, signifying the nature of the terrain.

Cf. (inscr.) *parampañ- cey nilam* 'a type of cultivated land' (K.Venidevi and R. Kalaikkovan 1996: *Varalāṟu*, No. 6, pp. 71-72, Inscription No. 6, Pāṇṭiya, 13th cent. A.D.).

b. *kōk(u)* probably for *kōṇku* 'common caung, ironwood of Malabar' (D. 2185).

Cf. LT *kōṇku* 'the *kōṇku* tree' (*Aka.* 25:9-11; *Puṛa.* 321:4-5; *Tivā.* 650; *Piṅkala.* 2683; *Cūṭā.* 4:4).

c. *ūr* (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

**84.2 *kiḷ[ā]r*** (n.) lit., 'owner'; occurs here as a title of the chief of the village or its leading landowner or an eminent person of the locality. *kiḷār* is honorific singular for *kiḷāṇ* (D. 1979). The title was often suffixed to a place name and the whole phrase served as a personal name as in this case.

Cf. LT Aricil *Kiḷār* (author, *Patir.* Eighth Decade); *kiḷavar* 'owners' (*Tivā.* 243; *Cūṭā.* 2:40); *kiḷavaṇ* 'owner' (*Piṅkala.* 893).

Cf. (inscr.) *amparu kiḷāṇ*, *nallaṇ-kiḷāṇ* (Pulankurichi Inscrs. II. 11-12, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *cēvūr kiḷāṇ* (*ARE* 358/1959-60, Pāṇṭiya, 7th cent. A.D.); *kunṛattūr kiḷār* (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 92, ca. 8th cent. A.D.).

**84.3 *makaṇ*** (n.) 'son'.

**84.4 *viyakkaṇ kōpaṇ kaṇatēvaṇ*** N. of the donor.

a. *viyakkaṇ* A personal name. Cf. *visaka* (Pkt.). See *viyakaṇ* (39.2) for further comments.

The name *viyakkaṇ* probably occurs in the phrase *veñciṇa viyakkaṇum*, 'and also the indignant Viyakkaṇ' (*Puṛa.* 71:14); the old commentary construes the phrase as *veñciṇa-v-iyakkaṇ-um*, although the resulting word *iyakkaṇ* (Skt. *yaksha*) occurs nowhere else in Caṅkam literature.

b. *kōpaṇ* A personal name derived from *gōpa* (Skt.) 'protector, guardian' (MW).

Cf. (inscr.) *vishṇugōpa* 'N. of a Pallava king' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 77: Line 48, Skt. portion, ca. 8th cent. A.D.); (Sinh. Pkt. inscr.) *gōpa* 'a personal name' (Paranavitana 1970: No. 1205).

c. *kaṇa-* (*kaṇṇa-*). Attribute from *kaṇaṇ* (*kaṇṇaṇ*) (N.) which may be derived from *kaṇha* (Pkt.) < *kṛishṇa* (Skt.) or *kaṇṇa* (Pkt.) < *kaṇṇa* (Skt.).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *kaṇha* (< *kṛishṇa*) 'a personal name' (Lüders List:Index); (Sinh. Pkt. inscr.) *kaṇa* (< *kaṇṇa* or *kṛishṇa*) 'a personal name' (Paranavitana 1970: Glossary).

Cf. LT *kaṇṇaṇ eḷiṇi* 'N. of a chieftain' (*Aka.* 197:7). There were several poets in the Caṅkam Age with *kaṇṇaṇ* as part of their names e.g., Maturai Kaṇṇaṇ-ār (author, *Kuṟun.* 107); *kaṇṇaṇ* 'one of the names of Viṣṇu' (*Tivā.* 3; *Piṅkala.* 130; *Cūṭā.* 1:14).

Cf. (inscr.) *kāri kaṇṇaṇ* (Pulankurichi Inscrs. II. 12-13, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *kaṇṇaṇ- cāṭṭaṇ* (*SII.* V:No. 379, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

**d. *tēvaṇ*** A personal name or title derived from *dēva* (Skt.) 'god, lord', commonly suffixed to names of kings, chieftains and members of some communities in ancient Tamil country. Cf. *tēvaṇ cāṭṭaṇ* (85.4).

Cf. (Pāli inscr.) *dēva* (Asoka, frequent, *CII.* I:Index); (Pkt. inscr.) *dēva* (K.G. Krishnan, ed. 1989:No. 46); (Sinh. Pkt. inscr.) *dēva* (Paranavitana 1970: Glossary).

Cf. LT *tēvar* (*Pura.* 228:11; *Pari.* 3:28); *tēvaṇ* (*Cilap.* 6:12; *Maṇi.* 27:97); *tēvar* (*Tivā.* 2450; *Piṅkala.* 177; *Cūṭā.* 1:42).

Cf. (inscr.) *vāci-tēvaṇāru kōṭṭam* '(Jaina) temple of Vāsudēva' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. II. 5, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *tēvapūti* (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 71, 8th cent. A.D.); *cāṭṭan-tēvaṇ*, *tēvaṇ-cēntaṇ* 'personal names' (*SII.* V:Nos. 310 & 385 respectively, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.). The Cōḷa and Pāṇṭiya kings generally affixed the title *tēvar* to their names in the inscriptions of the medieval period.

#### 84.5 *toṭṭa*

(*toṭṭa*) (v.) 'which was excavated'; adjectival past participle from *toṭu* 'to dig, excavate' (D. 3549).

**Analysis:** *toṭu* (stem) + *t* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix). The consonant *-ṭ-* is not doubled.

Cf. LT *kuḷam toṭṭu vaḷam perukki* 'digging tanks and increasing prosperity' (*Paṭṭiṇa.* 284); *toṭṭaṇaittu ūrum maṇarkēṇi* 'dug in sand, water flows freely in the well' (*Kuṟaḷ.* 396); *toṭṭal* 'to dig' (*Tivā.* 1660; *Piṅkala.* 2153; *Cūṭā.* 9:26).

Cf. (inscr.) . . . *toṭṭa kuḷam* 'tank excavated by . . . (name lost)', Tamil inscription in Thailand, ca. 9th cent. A.D. (T.A. Gopinatha Rao 1925-26, *EI.* XVIII: p. 71).

#### 84.6 *cuṇai*

(n.) 'mountain pool, spring' (D. 2716). The *cuṇai* mentioned in this inscription has been excavated from live rock and is exceptionally large and deep. It is still meeting the drinking water requirements of the neighbourhood.

Cf. LT *ūḷpaṭu pārai neṭuṇcuṇai* 'the large pool (excavated out of) ancient rock' (*Aka.* 2:3-4); *cuṇai* 'pool' (*Tivā.* 895; *Piṅkala.* 604; *Cūṭā.* 5:23).

Cf. (inscr.) *cuṇai maṇi-p-pārai* 'rock with the spring' (*EI.* XIII: No. 10, p. 144, ca. 8th cent. A.D.).

## XXIX. ARACHALUR

**85.1 e[uttu]m** 'letters also'. *e[uttu]* (n.) 'letter, writing' (D. 853). The particle **-um** 'also, too' indicates that the engraver of this inscription had also composed the adjoining musical notations. (See Nos. 86 & 87.)

Cf. LT *e[uttu] eṇappaṭuva akara mutal ṇakara iṇuvāy muppaḥtu eṇpa* 'letters are thirty in number from *a* to *ṇa*' (Tol. E[lu.1]); *e[uttu] uṭai naṭukal* 'memorial stone with writing' (Aka. 53:11; Aiṇk. 352:2); *akara mutala e[uttu] ellām* 'all letters (of the alphabet) begin with *a*' (Kuṇa[.1]); *e[uttu]* 'alphabet' (Tivā. 1854; Piṅkala. 2125; Cūṭā. 9:12).

Cf. (inscr.) *ōlai e[utuvāṇ]* 'one who writes on palm-leaves, a scribe' (Pulankurichi Inscr. II. 12, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *ivv-e[uttu] veṭṭiṇēṇ* 'I incised the letters (of the inscription)' (Pallava Inscr. No. 90: Line 59, 8th cent. A.D.). In later inscriptions, *e[uttu]* also meant the 'signature' of a witness attesting a document.

**85.2 puṇaruttāṇ** (v.) 'he who composed'; past participial noun, 3rd person masculine singular, from *puṇaru* (LT *puṇar*) 'to combine' (D. 4160b).

**Analysis:** *puṇaru* (stem) + *tt* (past tense marker) + *āṇ* (PNG suffix).

Cf. LT *puṇarttāṇ*. The verb form is treated as a participial noun rather than a finite verb as it precedes the subject in the sentence.

Cf. LT *puṇartal* 'to join, unite' (Tivā. 1643, 1722; Piṅkala. 1971).

Cf. *āru* (LT *ār*) (114.2.b) for another instance of the addition of the vowel *-u* to verbs ending in liquid consonants.

The phrase **e[uttum] puṇaruttāṇ** (*puṇarttāṇ*) is a technical expression with specialised meaning in the fields of dance and music (T.N. Ramachandran 1962; R. Nagaswamy 1972d; K.G. Krishnan 1973-74b). It denotes the combining of syllables in a specified sequence to accompany a dance.

Cf. LT *puṇarppirku amainta e[uttukka]lāi icai ceyya valla yāl āciriyaṇum* 'the teacher of *yāl* (a musical instrument) who can produce music in accordance with the syllables (*e[uttu]*) composed (*puṇarppu*) for the purpose'. (Cilap. 3:93-94, comm.). See Nos. 86 & 87 below for further comments.

**85.3 malai-y vaṇṇakkaṇ** Title of a member of the Malai-Vaṇṇakkar clan.

**a. malai-y** (n.) 'hill, mountain' (D. 4742). The term occurs here as an attribute to the name of the clan indicating the original habitat of the clan. **-y** is the paragogic suffix.

Cf. LT *malai-nāṭṭiṇ* 'of the hilly country' (Aka. 398:25); *malai* 'mountain' (Tivā. 856; Piṅkala. 495; Cūṭā. 5:10-11).

Cf. (inscr.) *malai mēl ce-ivitta tēva-kulam* 'temple caused to be made on the hill' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. II. 3, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *malaināṭṭu* 'of the hilly country' (generally the western region of ancient Tamil country) (*SII*. XIV: 19, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 8th cent. A.D.).

**b. vaṇṇakkaṇ** (n.) a member of the Vaṇṇakkar clan, one of the many *gōtras* into which the larger caste group of Koṇku Vellālar is divided.

Cf. LT Vaṭama Vaṇṇakkaṇ Tāmōtaraṇ-ār (author, *Puṛa*.172); Vaṇṇakkaṇ Cōrumaruṇ-Kumaraṇ-ār (author, *Naṭṭ*. 257); *vaṇṇakka-k-kōttiraṇ nallavaṇ vāḷ koṇku-maṇṭalamē* 'Hail Koṇku-Maṇṭalam where lives Nallavaṇ of the Vaṇṇakkar clan' (*Vāla. Koṇkumaṇṭala*.: 100). In these names, *vaṇṇakkaṇ* appears to indicate the name of the clan.

Cf. (inscr.) *vaṇṇakka cāttaṇ-ār, vaṇṇakka kaṭaiyaṇ-ār*, 'personal names of men belonging to the Vaṇṇakkar clan' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 302 & 306 respectively, ca. 8th cent. A.D.).

The term *vaṇṇakkar* also denotes several professional groups:

(i) A coin or gem-tester or assayer. Cf. *vaṇṇakkaṇ kāṇattai nīlam eṇṇalum* 'Vaṇṇakkaṇ identifying a gem as *nīlam*' (*Tol. Col.* 17, comm., Cēṇā.).

(ii) A Notary Public with authority to attest sale-deeds of lands as mentioned in medieval inscriptions (S. Rajagopal 1991; S. Swaminathan 1995).

(iii) The manager or executive officer of a Hindu temple in the Tamil regions of Sri Lanka (M. Mahadevan 1994: pp. 67-97).

As for as the present inscription is concerned, it seems best to interpret *malai-y vaṇṇakkaṇ* as a clan name.

**85.4 tē[va]ṇ [c]ā[tt]aṇ** N. of the composer of the two adjoining musical inscriptions (Nos. 86 & 87).

**a. tēvaṇ** 'a personal name'. See 84.4.d.

**b. cāttaṇ** 'a personal name'. See 55.5.d.

**86 & 87**

These two inscriptions are charts of musical notations composed of individual letters (syllables) engraved on either side of the central inscription (No. 85). The charts are arranged in a square format, each with five rows and five columns. The chart at left (No. 86) is made up of the syllables *ta, tē, tē* and *tai*. The chart at right (No. 87) is made up of the syllables *kai, ta* and *tai*. A remarkable feature of the charts is that the syllables are arranged symmetrically in columns and rows, to read alike from either end, horizontally as well as vertically. It is this feature which has helped in the restoration of missing or damaged syllables in the two charts (especially No. 87 which is more severely damaged).

The charts comprise syllables uttered in music accompanying dance. This is made clear by the expression *oluttum puṇaruttāṇ* in the central inscription (No. 85). The syllables are technically called *coṛ-kaṭṭu* accompanying the *aṭaivu* 'footwork' in dancing. (Cf. *aṭaivu* in *Tamiḻ icai kalai kaḷaṇciyam*, vol.I, 1992).

Aṭiyārkunallār, the learned commentator on *Cilappatikāram*, refers to four modes of graphic (pictorial) representations of *pālai* (musical notes) including *vaṭṭa-p-pālai* and *catura-p-pālai* (the circular and square forms respectively) (*Cilap.* 17: 13, comm.) He describes the *vaṭṭa-p-pālai* referred to in the text he is commenting on. (Diagrams of *vaṭṭa-p-pālai* based on this commentary are given in S. Ramanathan 1979: Chap. 1.) Perhaps the Arachalur musical charts may be connected with the *catura-p-pālai* mentioned but not described by Aṭiyārkunallār in his commentary. (For data on music and dance in *Cilappatikāram*, see S. Ramanathan 1979.) See also section 4.22.2.

### XXX. MANNARKOIL

**88 & 89** The two inscriptions at Mannarkoil belonging to ca. 2nd cent. A.D. were discovered when this volume was ready for the press. They have been placed at the end of the section on Late Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Corpus.

**88.1 *paḷḷi*** (n.) 'hermitage'.

This is the earliest occurrence of the word spelt with the doubled consonants *-ḷḷ-* as in LT. (See 83.6 for another example.) However, cf. *paḷi-* (for *paḷḷi-*) (89.4) in the adjacent inscription of about the same period, illustrating the optional use of single or doubled consonants in Ta. Br. See 1.9 for further comments.

**88.2 *ceyvittāṇ*** (v.) 'he who caused to be made'; past participial noun, causative, 3rd person masculine singular, from *cey* 'to make'.

**Analysis:** *cey* (stem) + *vi* (causative suffix) + *tt* (past tense marker) + *āṇ* (PNG suffix). The verb form is the same as in LT.

**88.3 *kaṭikai*** (n.) 'assembly of learned persons or institution of higher learning or the place of such assembly or institution'. See section 4.6.13.

This is a loanword from IA. Cf. *ghaṭikā* (Skt.) 'assembly', ultimately derived from *ghaṭ* 'to join, unite', *ghaṭā* 'assembly'. Cf. *ghaṭa* 'multitude, crowd' (Pāli); *ghaṭī*, *ghaṭiā* 'congregation, assembly' (AMg.). The expression occurs in Tamil inscriptions as *kaṭikai* and in Kannada inscriptions as *ghaṭige*.

Cf. LT *kaṭikai*, the ancient name of Sholingur (North Arcot District) (*Nālāyira: Cīriya Tirumaṭal*). The town got its name from the *ghaṭikā* functioning there.

Cf. (inscr.) *kaṭikai* 'assembly' (SII. III:No. 42, Pallava, 9th cent. A.D.); *trairājya-ghaṭikā-madhyasthaṇ* 'title of an officer of the assembly' (ARE 194, 195 & 197/1915, Cōḷa, 10th cent. A.D.); *kaṭikai mārāyaṇ* 'title of an officer of the assembly' (SII. XVII:Nos. 591 & 593, Cōḷa, 12th cent. A.D.); *kaṭikaiyār* 'members of the assembly' (SII. XII:No. 119; 13th cent. A.D.).

Not all the *ghaṭikās* were restricted to Brahman membership or engaged in Vedic studies. Thus, for example, the *ghaṭikā* at Poyyāmoḷimaṅkalam had as one of its members (*kaṭikaiyār*) a renowned Tamil scholar referred to as *muttamīl ācāriyar āṇa tamīl karaikaṇṭa cāttāṇār* 'Cāttāṇ of unbounded Tamil learning and teacher of the three branches of Tamil (i.e., *iyal*, *icai* and *nāṭakam*)' (SII. XXVI:No. 319, fragmentary, from Tirukkacciūr). This *kaṭikai* was obviously an institution devoted to Tamil studies.

The name *kaṭikaipattāṇam* occurs in the Tirupparappu Plates (TAS.I, 1988 reprint, p. 295, ca. 9th century A.D.) of the Āy dynasty. As the site of the present inscription is quite near Āykuṭi, the ancient capital of this dynasty (*Pura.* 132, note by U.Ve. Swaminathaiyar at p. 609), it is probable that the *kaṭikai* mentioned in the present inscription was at *Kaṭikaipattāṇam* which may be identified as the village now known as Kaḍayam situated to the north-west of Mannarkoil. See Table 4.3.

**88.4** [*kō\**]*viṇ* 'of the chief' from *kō* (n.) 'chief'. The interpretation is tentative as the rock has flaked off at this point and the word *kō* is restored from the context. -*v*- is the glide; -*iṇ* is the genitive suffix.

Cf. LT *kō* 'great person' (*Piṅkala.* 837).

**88.5** *makaṇ* (n.) 'son'.

**88.6** *peruṇkūṇṇaṇ* N. of the donor of the hermitage. He is referred to as the son of the chief (?) of the *kaṭikai* (assembly).

a. *peru(m)*- (adj.) 'senior'; attribute to a personal name.

Sandhi: -*m* > -*n*- before -*k*.

See 61.9.a for further comments.

b. *kūṇṇaṇ* a personal name. It is probably in origin an appellative noun derived from *kūṇu* 'division' (D. 1924); cf. *kūṇṇam* 'a territorial division'.

Cf. (inscr.) *kō-c-cēntaṇ-kūṇṇaṇku* 'of King Cēntaṇ Kūṇṇaṇ' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. II. 1, ca. 5th cent. A.D.).

**89.1** *kuṇāviṇ* (P.) 'of Kuṇā', probably a place name. -*v*- is the glide; -*iṇ* is the genitive suffix.

The expression *kuṇā* is not attested elsewhere; however, it appears to be connected with *kuṇa*- 'east, eastern'; hence probably 'a place to the east'; cf. *kuṇakku* 'east'.

Cf. LT *kuṇa(m) mutal* 'from the east' (*Patir.* 59:6); *kuṇāatu* 'to the east' (*Aka.* 90.9; *Pura.* 6:3); *kuṇātu* id. (*Aka.* 4:14; *Kurun.* 164:3); *kuṇakku* 'east' (*Tivā.* 848; *Piṅkala.* 13; *Cūṭā.* 5:5).

Cf. (inscr.) *kuṇapāl* 'to the east' (*Pāṇṭiyar Ceppētukaḷ:* No. 2, Line 29, 8th cent. A.D.).

**89.2 [i\*]ḷaṅkō** (N.) 'Name or title of a member of the Vaiśya caste' occurring as a personal name.

Cf. *ḷaṅkō-k-kaḷ* (pl.) 'caste name of the Vaiciyar' (*Tivā.* 192; *Piṅkala.* 773, 777; *Cūṭā.* 2:25).

Cf. LT *maṇikaḷ terinta ḷaṅkōkkaḷ* 'the Vaiśyas who are knowledgeable about gems' (*Ṇaṇa. Upatēca.* 1252); *kūṭal ḷaṅkōkkaḷ* 'the Vaiśyas of Kūṭal (Madurai)' (*Tiru. Uḷā* 409).

A truly remarkable confirmation of the correctness of this interpretation comes from several epigraphic records in the local Viṣṇu temple at Mannarkoil, the site of the present inscription. (The following references are from R. Tirumalai 1980, *Rajendra vinnagar*, containing the texts of unpublished Pāṇṭiya records of the 13th cent. A.D.)

Cf. (inscr.) *ḷaṅkō-v-araṇ*, *ḷaṅkōva-rāṇ*, *ciri[i\*]ḷaṅkō*: names of signatories (*ARE B.* 407/1916); *ḷaṅkō-v-araiyaṇ kuḷam* 'a local tank' (ibid.); *ciri[i]ḷaṅkōv[ē]nta-vēḷāṇ*, name of a signatory (*ARE B.* 405/1916). Furthermore, the town of Ambasamudram, about 3 km. from Mannarkoil and formerly belonging to the same Caturvēdimaṅgalam, was known as *ḷaṅkō(y)kuṭi* in the 7th cent. A.D. (*EL. IX:* pp. 92-93).

Thus the local epigraphic records reveal that a prosperous community of Vaiśyas also known as *ḷaṅkōkkaḷ* lived in the area from before 7th cent. A.D. down to at least the 13th cent. A.D. The present inscription of the 2nd cent. A.D. is the earliest record of an *ḷaṅkō* from this village donating a Jaina hermitage.

The initial [i\*] is not engraved and was probably elided in speech. See [i\*]ḷaṅkō (61.12, & 62.12) where, however, the expression means 'prince, heir apparent'.

a. [i\*]ḷa(m)- See 2.7.a.

b. kō See 61.6.

**89.3 ceypita** (*ceypitta*) (v.) 'which was caused to be made'; adjectival past participle, causative, from *cey* 'to make'.

**Analysis:** *cey* (stem) + *pi* (causative suffix) + *t* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix). The consonant -t- is not doubled. See *ceyipita* (65.5) and *ceyivitta* (83.5). Cf. LT *ceyvitta*.

**89.4. paḷi-i** (*paḷi-i*) (n.) 'hermitage'. -i is the paragogic suffix. See 1.9 for comments.

# EARLY VAṬṬELUTTU INSCRIPTIONS

## XXXI. SITTANNAVASAL-B

**101.1 campoykaipēṭu** (P.) lit., 'village with the beautiful pond'. The village made the endowment of the cave shelter collectively.

**a. cam-** (adj.) 'good, beautiful'. Cf. *cem-* 'straight', *cemmai* 'beauty, goodness' (D. 2747). Cf. *campokal* (105.1). The LT form *cem-* also occurs in the Corpus as in *ceṅkuviraṇ* (22.1), *ceṅkāyapaṇ* (61.4) and *centaṇṭaṇ* (109.1).

**b. poykai** (n.) 'natural spring or pond' (D. 4533).

Cf. LT *neṭunīr-p-poykai* 'spring with a large water-spread' (*Pura.* 287:8); *poykai* 'pond' (*Tivā.* 895; *Piṅkala.* 604; *Cūṭā.* 5:24).

Cf. (inscr.) *poykainallūr* 'name of a village' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 264, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

**c. pēṭu** (n.) 'small town, village' (*TL*, not in *DEDR*).

Cf. LT *pēṭu* 'hamlet' (*Piṅkala.* 476); 'village' (*Cūṭā.* 5:35).

Cf. (inscr.) *kacci-p-pēṭu* 'at Kacci-p-pēṭu (Kanchipuram)' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 90: Line 59, 8th cent. A.D.).

**101.2 taita** (*taitta*) (v.) 'which was made'; adjectival past participle from *tai* 'to make, create' (*TL*). (This meaning is not recorded in D. 3473.)

**Analysis:** *tai* (stem) + *t* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix). The consonant -*t*- is not doubled.

Cf. LT *naṇ poṇ tai-iyā pāvai* 'image made of pure gold' (*Aka.* 212:1); *vallavaṇ tai-iyā pāvai kol* 'is (she) an image created by an expert!' (*Kali.* 56:7). See comments on *tacaṇ* (*taccaṇ*) 'carpenter, mason' (73.8) for possible etymological connection.

**101.3 kal** (n.) lit., 'stone', but here the term stands for a rock shelter. See 14.3.a for further comments.

**symbol:** A symbol depicting the bow and arrow is engraved between the third and fourth letters of the inscription. Its significance in this context is not known. See section 5.18 and Fig. 5.11.

**102.1 pentōṭaṇ** N. of the donor.

**a. pe(m)-** (adj.) 'great'; contraction of *perum* 'great' (D. 4411).

Cf. To. *pem* 'eminence' (ibid.); *pentai* 'hugeness' (*TL*).

Cf. (Te. inscr.) *penpāra* 'great Brahman' (K. Mahadeva Sastri 1969:No. 9.3).

Cf. LT *pemmāṇ* (*Tēvā.* I:1).

Sandhi: *-m* > *-n-* before *-t*.

b. *tōṭaṇ* a personal name; probably 'one who wears an ear-ornament (*tōṭu*)' (D. 3545) or, 'one who is well-dressed'; cf. *toṭu* 'to wear (as clothes)' (D. 3482).

**102.2 *poykai*** (n.) 'pond', which was probably dug or improved by the donor. See **101.1.b** for further comments.

**103.1 *nakkaṇ*** N. of a person, probably one of the donors of the cave-shelter. Cf. *nagga* (Pāli) < *nagna* (Skt.) 'naked'.

Cf. LT *nakkaṇ* 'naked person' (*Piṅkala*. 894; *Cūṭā*. 2: 47); 'an epithet of Śiva' (*Tivā*. 2; *Piṅkala*. 94; *Cūṭā*. 1:8).

Cf. (inscr.) *nakkaṇ*, *nakkaṇ-kāri* 'personal names' (*SII.V*:Nos. 363 & 366 respectively, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.); *nakkam-pullaṇ*, *pulla nakkaṇ* 'personal names' (*SII. XIV*:No. 26, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

However, it may be added that the title *nakkaṇ* (fem.) 'dancing girl', occurring frequently in the Bṛhadiśvara temple inscriptions at Thanjavur (*SII. II*. No. 66, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.), cannot be derived from *nagna* (Skt.) 'naked' as suggested by T.N. Subramanian (with the gloss that the dancing girl was 'required to dance naked'; *SITI. III*:2, Glossary). In this case, *nakkaṇ* is to be derived from *na(m)-akkaṇ* '(our) sister', used as an honorific referring to the unmarried *dēvadāsi* ('servants of god') women. Cf. *akkaṇ* 'elder sister' occurring in the inscriptions in the same temple (*SII. II*:No. 1, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.; see also *ibid.*, p. 8, note 4). Cf. *akkaṇ* 'elder sister' (D. 23), *tamakkai* *id.* (TL).

**104.1 *korrai*** (P.) This word is not attested elsewhere. However, *korrai* may probably be connected with *korravai* 'goddess of war and victory' (D. 2169).

**104.2 *kāyvaṇ*** Read *kāyivaṇ*. N. of a person; probably one of the donors of the cave shelter. The name is derived from *kāśyapa* (Skt.). See **14.1.b** for further comments.

**105.1 *campokal*** (P.) lit., 'good sanctuary'.

a. *cam-* (adj.) 'good'. See **101.1.a**.

b. *pokal* (verbal noun). *poku* (LT *puku*) + *al* (suffix of the verbal noun). Cf. *pukal* 'refuge' (D. 4238).

Cf. LT *pukal* 'residence, dwelling' (*Aiṅk*. 295:3); *pukkil* 'place of refuge' (*Pura*. 221:6); *pukaliṭam* 'village' (*Piṅkala*. 475).

The Tamil Jinas had a tradition of establishing sanctuaries called *añciṇāṇ* *pukaliṭam* (lit., 'refuge for those in fear'), generally within the premises of a *paḷḷi* (*ARE* 448/1937-38, Cōḷa, 13th cent. A.D.).

**105.2 *cāttan*** (N.) See **55.5.d**.

**106.1** *ciruceṇṇaṇ* N. of a person; probably one of the donors.

a. *cīru-* (adj.) 'small' (D. 1594). the term signifies 'little, young' when it qualifies a personal name.

Cf. LT *Ciṛumētāviyār* (author, *Aka.* 394); *Ciṛumōlikaṇār* (author, *Naṟṟ.* 61).

b. *ceṇṇaṇ* a personal name, derived from *ceṇṇam* 'beauty' (*Tivā.* 1400; *Piṅkala.* 1945; *Cūṭā.* 8:27); *ceṇṇu* 'to decorate, dress up' (*TL*).

Cf. LT *ceṇṇa makaḷir* 'beautiful women' (*Peruṇ.* 1.38:306).

Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *ceṇṇapayya* 'a personal name' (*Epi. Car.* Vol. XIII:Index).

**107.1** *kātaṇ* N. of a person, probably one of the donors. The name is probably derived from *kā* 'to protect'. Cf. Ka. *kād-* (D. 1416). Cf. *kāttāṇ* (58.2). Alternatively, *kātaṇ* 'one with (beautiful) ears'.

Cf. LT *veṇ kuḷai tōṭu viḷaṅkiya kātaṇ* 'one with ears adorned with tender sprout' (*Tēvā.* II. 13:3).

## XXXII. TIRUCHIRAPALLI-B

**108.1** *akaram* (P.) 'a Brahman village'.

Cf. *agrahāra* (Skt.) 'royal donation of land to Brahmans; land or village thus given' (MW).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *aggahāra* 'Brahman village' (B.V. Krishna Rao 1955-56, *El.* XXXI:pp. 1-10).

Cf. *agara*: 'a corrupt form of *agrahāra*, often noticed in Tamil inscriptions' (*Ind. Epi. Gl.*); *agaram* 'same as *agrahāra*, Brahman village' (*SITI.* III:2, Glossary).

Cf. LT *akaram āyiram antaṇarkku īyil eṇ* 'what even if a thousand *akarams* are gifted to the Brahmans?' (*Tiruman.* 1860).

Cf. (inscr.) *akaram* 'Brahman village' (*SII.* XIV:No. 243, Pāṇṭiya, ca.12th cent. A.D.).

It is also possible that *akaram* is derived from *nakaram* < Dr. *nakar* 'town, city' (D. 3568) with the loss of the initial *n*. Cf. '*nakar, akaram*' (*Tivā.* 930); '*akaram, nakaram*' (*Piṅkala.* 626; *Cūṭā.* 5:35).

**108.2** *kucalaṇ* N. of a donor. Cf. *kusala* (Pkt.) < *kuśala* (Skt.) 'skilful, clever' (MW).

Cf. LT *kucalar* 'experts' (*Tivā.* 172; *Piṅkala.* 854); *kucalaṇ* 'skilful person, expert' (*TL*).

**109.1 & 110.1** *centaṇṭaṇ* N. of a donor, inscribed twice on the rock floor of the passage leading to the cave shelter.

a. *ce(m)*- (adj.) 'good'. See 22.1.a.

Sandhi: *-m > -n-* before *-t*.

b. *taṇṭaṇ* (n.) a personal name or title, probably from *taṇṭu* 'to collect, levy' (D. 3054), or *taṇṭu* 'army, troops' (D. 3055). In the former case the name would mean 'a (tax) collector' and in the latter, 'a member of an army'.

Cf. LT *taṇṭa-t-talaivar* 'commander of an army' (*Cilap.* 26:80, variant reading cited in *TL*); *taṇṭam* 'army' (*Tivā.* 334; *Piṅkala.* 1501; *Cūṭā.* 2:82).

Cf. (inscr.) *ippaṭai-t-taṇṭaṇ kampaṇ* 'Taṇṭaṇ Kampaṇ of this army' (*SII.* II: No. 66, Line 453, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.); *taṇṭan- āṇai* 'a personal name' (*SII.* III:No. 18, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.).

### XXXIII. PERUMUKKAL

111.1 *irācar* (n.) 'kings' (pl.). Cf. *rājan* (Skt.) 'king'.

A label inscription of one word engraved near the much earlier megalithic rock carvings on the wall of the cave. The engraver, apparently a casual visitor to the cave, believed that the anthropomorphic figures depicted in the rock carvings represented 'kings'.

This is one of the earliest instances in the Corpus of direct borrowing from Skt., rather than through Pkt. (See Etymological Indexes in Appendices V & VI.). See section 3.3.7.

Cf. LT *irācamātēvi* 'chief queen' (*Maṇi.* 21:76).

Cf. (inscr.) *irācakēcari* (< *rājakēsari*) 'title adopted alternately by the reigning Cōḷa kings' (*SII.* XIII:Intr. p. i).

Note the addition of the prothetic vowel *i-* before the loanword commencing with the liquid consonant *r*.

### XXXIV. ARASALAPURAM

112.1 *mukaiyuru* Read *mukaiyūru*. (P.)

The place may probably be identified as Mukaiyur in South Arcot District, although the stele bearing the inscription was found at Arasalapuram, about 30 km. away in the same district. See Table 4.3.

a. *mukai-y* (n.) 'cave' (*TL*). The final *-y* may be regarded either as the paragogic suffix or a glide in this case.

Cf. LT *kal mukai vayappuli* 'lion in the rocky cavern' (*Aiṅk.* 246:2).

b. *uru* Read *ūru* (n.) 'village'. See 52.1.c for further comments.

112.2 *mērc[ē]ri-[ku]* (P.) in dative case. 'for (on behalf of) Mērcēri, the western quarter of the village'. Cf. *ki[-(kī)-c-cēri* 'the eastern quarter of the village' (113.1).

a. *mē(l)-* (adj.) 'western'. Cf. *mēl* 'west' (D. 5086).

Sandhi: *-l + c- > -rc-*.

Cf. LT *mēрку* 'west' (*Tivā.* 850); *mēl* id. (*Piṅkala.* 3996; *Cūṭā.* 11:114)

b. *cēri* (n.) 'village, hamlet, street, quarters' (D. 2007).

Cf. LT *taṇ tuṇai ūraṇ em cēri vantu* 'he from the village with the cool waterfront having come to our hamlet' (*Aka.* 76:2); *cēri* 'village' (*Tivā.* 930; *Piṅkala.* 473, 475; *Cūṭā.* 5:35).

Cf. (inscr.) *kaccippēṭṭu aimpaṇai-c-cēri* 'name of a quarter in Kaccippēṭṭu (Kanchipuram)'. (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 90: Line 59, 8th cent. A.D.).

*-ku* is the dative suffix occurring here in the sense of 'for, on behalf of'.

Note the glide *-y-* and the *orru -k-* in the passage:

*mērcēriku -y=āṭi-k-karukiya.*

*-ku* seems to have been pronounced *-ki* here, influenced by the preceding front vowel *-i*, as indicated by the glide *-y-* following it. It is also probable that the shortened *-u* in *-ku* changed to the shortened *-i* (*kurriyal-ikaram*) before *-y*. (Cf. *Tol. Eju.* 35 & 410.)

Cf. LT *aimpattēṭṭiyāṇṭu* 'fifty-eight years' (*Patir. Patikam* 2, comm.).

Cf. (inscr.) *nantivikkirama paṇmakki-yāṇṭu mūṇrāvatu* 'in the third year of Nandi Vikramavarman (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 115, 9th cent. A.D.).

112.3 *āṭi* (v.) 'having fought'; adverbial participle of cause (in absolute construction) from *āṭu* 'to fight' (D. 347).

**Analysis:** *āṭu* (stem) + *i* (suffix of the adverbial participle).

Cf. LT *aṭtu aṇintu āṭumiṇē* 'understand that and fight' (*Pura.* 97:25); *āṭal* 'pūcal (fight)' (*Tivā.* 1686).

Cf. (inscr.) *erumai-p-puṇattē-v= āṭi-p-paṭṭāṇ* 'he died fighting in a cattle raid' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 284, ca. 7th cent. A.D.).

As the reference in the present inscription is to a cockfight, the verb *āṭu* may also be interpreted 'to play (as in sport)' or 'to win (as in a fight)'.

Cf. LT *pantu eṇintu āṭi* 'having played throwing the ball' (*Aka.* 275:3); *iḷaiyaṇ eṇru ikaḷil peṇal aritu āṭē* 'victory (*āṭu*) will be hard to obtain if he is denigrated as young' (*Pura.* 104:6).

- 112.4 *karukiya* (*karukkiya*)** (v.) 'which was engraved'; adjectival past participle from *karuku* (*karukku*) (v.) 'to carve, engrave'.

**Analysis:** *karuku* (stem) + *i* (past tense marker) + *y* (glide) + *a* (participial suffix). The consonant -*k*- is not doubled.

*karukku* is not attested as a verb elsewhere, but is clearly connected with *karukku* (n.) 'engraving, carving' (D. 1280). See *karu-iya* (17.2) for further comments.

Cf. (inscr.) *karukku* (n.) 'bas-relief' (SII. II:No. 1: Line 48, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.).

- 112.5 *kōḷi*** (n.) 'cock, hen, fowl in general' (D. 2248).

Cf. LT *kōḷi* 'cock, hen' (*Tivā*. 547; *Piṅkala*. 2346; *Cūṭā*. 3:58).

Cf. (inscr.) *kōḷi kūvina ūr* 'village where the cock crowed (i.e., inhabited)' (*Epi. Car.* X: KI. 27).

The expression denotes a 'fighting cock' whose figure is engraved on the stele. The stele is a memorial stone set up to commemorate the cockfight in which the cock presumably lost its life. See the next inscription (No. 113) which is also engraved on a memorial stone for a fighting cock.

### XXXV. INDALUR

- 113.1 *kiḷccēri*** (P.) The eastern quarter of the village, even though the name of the main village is not mentioned. Cf. *mēṛcēri* (112.2).

a. *kiḷ*- Read *kiḷ*- (adj.) 'eastern'. Cf. *kiḷ*, *kiḷakku* 'east' (D. 1619).

Cf. LT *kiḷ-t-ticai* 'east' (*Tivā*. 848; *Piṅkala*. 13). *kiḷ*:id. (*Cūṭā*. 1:90).

b. *cēri* (n.) 'hamlet'. See 112.2.b.

- 113.2 *kōḷi*** (n.) 'cock'. See 112.5. The present inscription is also engraved on a stele which features the bas-relief sculpture of a fighting cock. The stele is a memorial stone for 'the fighting cock of the eastern quarter', even as No. 112 commemorates 'the fighting cock of the western quarter'.

Note the occurrences of *oṟṟu* in the phrase *kiḷ-c-cēri-k-kōḷi*.

- 113.3 *p[o]ḷkorri*** (N.) Pet name given by the villagers to their favourite fighting cock.

Cf. (inscr.) *kōvivaṇ*, the pet name of a dog which stood guard over its master in a skirmish (*Ceṅkam Naṭukaṇkaḷ*: No. 59/1971, herostone inscription, ca. 7th cent. A.D.).

a. *po(ṇ)* (n.) 'gold', an attribute in the figurative sense 'beautiful' when prefixed to a name.

Cf. LT *porḱōṭṭu imayam* 'the Himalayas with a golden (i.e., shining) peak' (*Pura.* 2:24).

Sandhi: -ṇ > -r- before -k (see also the citation above).

b. *korri* A personal name after the goddess Durgā (D. 2169). See also 66.4.b.

#### The ancient sport of cockfight in the Tamil countryside

Cockfight was a popular sport in ancient Tamil country. See section 4.23.

Cf. LT *uyttaṇar viṭāar pirittu iṭai kaḷaiyār kuppai-k-kōḷi-t-taṇi-p-pōr pōla* 'when fowl (foraging) on the rubbish heap fight among themselves, there is none to encourage them (to fight) or separate them (when they are tired)' (*Kurun.* 305: 5-6); the allusion by contrast is to what happens when an organised cockfight by specially trained fighting cocks takes place.

*kūr vāy aḷal akaintaṇṇa kāmar tutai mayir  
maṇai uṇai kōḷi maṇaṇṭai-c-cēval  
pōr puri eruttam pōla-k- kañaliya*

'As the neck of the domestic fighting cock with the sharp beak and flaming red feathers bristles when it fights' (*Aka.* 277:13-16).

The following is a dramatic description of a cockfight:

*pāyntum eṇintum paṭintum palakālum  
kāyntum vāykoṇṭum kaṭuñ cēval*

'The ferocious cock now leaps up and jumps forward, now backs down, and then again attacks angrily with the blade (tied to its leg)' (*Puṇṇapporuḷ* 348).

We learn from the old commentary that there was a *kōḷi-nūl* (treatise on fighting cocks) with the help of which, experts rated cocks according to their fighting abilities. It appears that villages with two hamlets, *Mēṇ-cēri* (the western quarter) and *Kīḷ-c-cēri* (the eastern quarter) had fighting cocks for each quarter:

*mēṇcēri-k-kōḷi -y- alaittatu eṇa-k- kīḷ-c-cēri-k-kōḷi alaippuṇṭatu* (*Tol. Col.* 60, comm., Cēṇā.); *mēlai-c-cēri-c-cēval alaittatu eṇṇa tuṇaiyāṇē kīḷai-c-cēri-c-cēval alaippuṇṭatu* (*Naṇṇ.* 402, comm., Caṅkara.). 'Driven hither and thither by the harassing of the (fighting) cock of *Mēṇcēri* (*Mēlai-c-cēri*), the (fighting) cock of *Kīḷ-c-cēri* (*Kīḷai-c-cēri*) got harassed (i.e., the first statement implies the second)'.

### XXXVI. ERETTIMALAI

#### 114.1 *tuṇukay* (n.) 'vent of a sluice' (?).

The inscription is incised on a small, shoe-shaped stone (see Fig. 1.17). Similarly shaped stones are still in use in the Tamil countryside as stoppers to close the outlet (*tūmpu*) of a water channel.

The phrase *tuṟukayyulḷāru* is segmented *tuṟukay* + *ul* + *āru*. The stem-final -y and -l are doubled due to sandhi. The doubling of the stem-final -y is exceptional. See 63.4.b for more examples and discussion.

Cf. LT *tuṟu*, *tuṟu-kal* 'stone for closing the *tūmpu* (outlet) of a channel' (*Apitāṇa*. 1217); *tuṟukal* id. (TL); *tūmpinil putainta kallum* 'stone buried in the *tūmpu*' (*Vivēka*. 61). The expression *tuṟukay* (\**tuṟukai*) is not attested elsewhere. This is probably a verbal noun formed from the stem *tūṟu/tuṟu* 'to enter (a hole)' + *kay* (-*kai* in LT), the nominal suffix, to yield the meaning 'a narrow opening', which is interpreted in the present context as 'the vent (in a sluice)'.

Cf. Ta. *tuṟu* 'to cram, stuff, press, to be closed' (D. 3367); Ka. *tūṟu* 'to enter or go through a (narrow) hole', Te. *tūṟu* 'to enter, penetrate' (D. 3399a); Ta. *tuṇ* 'hole, cavity', Ka. *tūtu*, *tūntu* 'hole', Te. *tūṭu*, *tūṇṭu* 'hole' (D. 3399b).

Cf. LT *tuṟu*, *tuṟṟu* 'to cram, be closed' (*Tivā*. 1351).

#### 114.2 *ulḷāru* (compound v.) 'which is fitted inside'.

a. *ul* (n.) 'inside' (D. 698).

b. *āru* (v.) 'filled'; adjectival participle. Cf. Ta. *ār* (v.) 'to become full'; Ka. *ār* 'to be filled', *āru* 'full of'; Te. *āru* 'to become full' (D. 368). Here *āru* (LT *ār*) occurs as a *viṇaittokai* (participle without tense marker or participial suffix). See 10.4 for further comments. The -u ending indicates the influence of Kannada in this region close to the border with Karnataka.

Cf. LT *ari ār cilampiṇ* 'of the anklet filled with tinkling pieces' (*Kuṟun*. 369:2); *cilampu ār cīṟ-aṭi* 'small feet fitted with anklets' (*Aka*. 17:9); *ārtal* 'to be full' (*Tivā*. 1382; *Piṅkala*. 2228; *Cūṭā*. 8:15); *ulḷārnta* 'that which is inside' (*Taṟ. Ta. Aka*.).

Cf. (inscr.) *taṇṭ(u)=ār mūppu* 'having a stick (in) old age' (*Pallava Inscrs*. No. 98, 9th cent. A.D.).

#### 114.3 *kal* (n.) lit., 'stone', here for a 'stone stopper'. See 14.3.a. for further comments.

### XXXVII. PARAIYANPATTU

#### 115.1 *namōttu* 'Let there be salutation!' < *namō*=(a)*stu* (Skt.). An invocation.

Cf. (inscr.) *namōstu* (ARE 132/1937-38, Pallava-Grantha, Tiruchirapalli Rockfort, ca. 5th cent. A.D. according to the Report; but probably latter half of the 6th cent. A.D. when this region came under the Pallava rule).

It is interesting that the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script was also popularly known as *nāna-mōna* from *na-mō*, the first two letters of the invocation *namōttu* with which the children's primer for teaching the Tamil alphabet commenced (T.A. Gopinatha Rao in *TAS.I*, reprint 1988:p. 395, note 1).

a. **namō** From *namō* (Skt.) 'salutation'.

b. (a)**ttu** From *astu* (Skt.) 'let there be!' Cf. *atthu* (Pkt.); however, the borrowing in this case is probably directly from Skt. considering the late date of the inscription. See section 3.3.7.

**115.2 pāṇāṭṭu** (P.) in the oblique case. 'of Pāṇātu (*pāṇ* + *nātu*)'.

Sandhi: *ṇ* + *n* > *ṇ* (by merger).

Cf. LT *palvayin payanirai cērnta pāṇāṭṭu āṇkaṇ* 'there in Pāṇātu where at many places milch cows gather' (*Aka.* 155:6-7). *pāṇāṭṭu* is taken to be the sandhi of *pāṇ* + *nātu* and also interpreted as 'in the country of the *pāṇaṇ*' by R. Raghavaiyangar (1933) and by N. M. Venkataswamy Nattar and R. Venkatachalam Pillai (1949) in their editions of *Akanāṇūru*, even though some old manuscripts give the variant reading *pāl nātu* (> *pāṇāṭṭu*) 'the ruined country' which does not suit the context. (I am grateful to Dr. S. Palaniappan, Dallas, USA, for the references. I consulted the unpublished notes of U. Ve. Swaminathaiyar at the Swaminathaiyar Library. While noting the reading *pāl nātu* in *Aka.* 155, he has given cross-references to verses 113 and 325 referring to *pāṇaṇ nal nātu* 'in the good country of the *pāṇaṇ*'.) The present early inscriptional reference to *pāṇāṭṭu* is a valuable confirmation of the correct reading and interpretation of the expression.

Cf. *pāṇa-rāshtra* (Skt.), an ancient territorial division (presently included in North and South Arcot Districts).

Cf. (inscr.) *perum-pāṇa-p-pāṭi* 'an ancient territorial division of Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam' (*SH.* I:No. 67, Cōla, 11th cent. A.D.).

a. **pāṇ** a community, originally engaged in fishing (*Pura.* 348), and which became famous for its bards and minstrels (*Pura.* 11-12). Cf. *pāṇaṇ* 'an ancient class of Tamil bards and minstrels' (D. 4068). See section 4.18.1 (vi).

Cf. LT *pāṇ* 'song' (*Tivā.* 1866); *pāṇar* 'bards' (*Tivā.* 213; *Piṅkala.* 815; *Cūṭā.* 2:34).

b. (n)**ātu** oblique of *nātu* (n.) 'country, territorial division.' See 49.1.b for further comments.

**115.3 va[c]caṇanti** N. of a senior Jaina monk < *vajjaṇamdi* (Pkt.) < *vajranandī* (Skt.). It is interesting to compare the name with those of three Jaina monks known to Tamil tradition:

(i) *vajjaṇamdi* (Pkt.): According to *Darsana-sāra* (Pkt.) written by Dēvasēna in 853 A.D., Vajjaṇamdi, a Jaina monk, founded the Drāviḍa Saṁgha at Madurai in 525 Vikrama Era corresponding to 468-69 A.D. (A. Chakravarti, revised edn. 1974: p. 17, note 1).

(ii) *vajranandī* (Skt.): The senior Jaina monk (*gaṇin*) who received the gift of a village as *paḷḷi-c-cantam* from Simhavarman, the Pallava king (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 17, ca. 6th cent. A.D.).

(iii) *vaccaṇanti* (Ta.): According to tradition, Guṇavīra Paṇḍitar (ca. 12th cent. A.D.) wrote *Vaccaṇantimālai*, a work on poetics, named after Vaccaṇanti, his preceptor (TL).

While the monk mentioned at (iii) above lived long after the date of the present inscription, the other two belonged to about the same period (ca. 5-6 cent. A.D.). However, there is no evidence except identity of names to connect either of them with *vaccaṇanti* of the present inscription.

a. *vacca-* (N.) Cf. *vajja* (Pkt.) < *vajra* (Skt.) 'diamond'; alternatively, *vaccha* (Pkt.) < *vatsa* (Skt.) lit., 'yearling, a term of endearment; also a personal name' (MW).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *vacha* (< *vatsa*) (K.G. Krishnan, ed. 1989:No. 38; Lüders List: No. 1174).

b. *ṇanti* (N.) < *ṇamdi* (AMg.) < *nandin* (Skt.), a suffix generally added to the names of Jaina monks. Cf. *cantirananti* (116.4). The word-initial *ṇ-*, not permitted by LT orthography, is due to Pkt. influence. Cf. *ṇākaṇ* (72.1).

Cf. LT *accaṇanti* 'N. of the preceptor of Cīvakaṇ' (*Cīvaka.* 409); Pavaṇanti (author, *Nann.*).

Cf. (inscr.) *pavaṇanti*, *nākaṇanti* 'N. of Jaina monks' (*Pallava Inscrs.* Nos. 74 & 85 respectively, 8th cent. A.D.); *ciṅkaṇanti*, *nākaṇanti* id. (V.Venkayya 1896-97, *El.* IV:p. 136, n.6, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

115.4 *[ā]cāri[ya]r* (n.) < *ācārya* (Skt.) 'preceptor'; title of *vaccaṇanti*. See section 4.9.3(vi).

-*ar* is the honorific singular suffix.

Cf. LT *ācāriyaṇ* 'teacher' (*Ēlāti.* 75:4); *ācāriyaṇ* id. (*Piṅkala.* 783; *Cūṭā.* 2:7).

Cf. (inscr.) *arishṭanēmi ācāryyar* 'N. of a Jaina monk' (*SII.* I: No. 73; *tanmatēva ācāriyaṇ* 'N. of a Jaina monk' (*SII.* XVII:No. 397, Pāṇṭiya, 13th cent. A.D.).

Jaina inscriptions in Kannada also refer to *ācāriyar* (A.N. Narasimha 1941: No. 51) and *ācāriya* (G.S. Gai 1946:No. 8).

115.5 *māṇākkar* (n.) 'disciple' < *māṇavaka* (Skt.) 'pupil, scholar, religious student' (MW). See section 4.9.3(vii).

-*ar* is the honorific singular suffix.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *mānavakō* 'young brahman' (*Bhārhut Inscrs.* No. B66).

Cf. LT *iḷa māṇākkāṇ* 'young pupil' (*Kuṟun.* 33:1); *māṇākkāṇ* 'one who learns' (*Cūṭā.* 2:7).

Cf. (inscr.) *māṇākkar* 'disciple' (*SII*. V: Nos. 316, 333, 341; *XIV*: No. 22, Jaina, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.). In Old Kannada inscriptions, the term *māṇākkar* occurs in the same sense (A. N. Narasimhia 1941: No. 30).

The present inscription is unique in that the name of the disciple whose death by fasting is commemorated, does not find a place in it. Perhaps it was his wish.

**115.6 āṛāṭaṇi** (n.) 'worship'. Cf. *āṛādhana*, *āṛādhana* (Skt.).

Cf. LT *pukai pū avi āṛāṭaṇai aḷal pala ēnti* 'carrying many things like (fragrant) smoke, flowers, oblations for worship (and) fire' (*Pari*. 6:11); *āṛāṭaṇai* 'worship' (*Tivā*. 1638; *Piṅkala*. 1799; *Cūṭā*. 9:13).

Cf. (inscr.) *āṛātitt(u) uṇṇāṇ āka-p-paṇittōm* 'we ordered that he partakes of the food after offering (it) in worship' (*Pallava Inscr.* No. 78, 8th cent. A.D.).

However, the expression *āṛāṭaṇi* here is a Jaina technical term meaning 'ending one's life by the observance of ceremonial fasting unto death as a religious act of penance'. Cf. *āṛāhaṇa* (AMg.) (< *āṛādhana*) 'anaśana (fasting unto death)' (*PSM*). Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *āṛādhane nōntu* 'having observed the vow of *sanyasana* (fasting unto death)' (A.N. Narasimhia 1941: No. 33); The death of a Jaina monk by observing the *āṛādhana-vidhi* '(Jaina code of death)' is referred to in another Kannada inscription (*ARE* B. 239/1947-48, 14th cent. A.D.).

Cf. *aṇacana(m)* (116.2).

Sandhi: *māṇākkar + āṛāṭaṇi > māṇākkarāṛāṭaṇi*.

**115.7 nōṛṛu** (v.) 'having observed the penance'; adverbial participle from *nōl* 'to do penance, practise austerities' (D. 3800).

**Analysis:** *nōl* (stem) + *tt* (> *ṛṛ*) (completive tense marker) + *u* (adverbial participial suffix). Cf. *nōṛṛa* (116.3).

Cf. LT *nōṛṛōr* 'those who observed the penance' (*Aka*. 61:1; *Puṛa*. 26:16); *uṇṇātu nōṛpār periyar* 'great men do penance by fasting' (*Kuṛaḷ*. 160); *nōṇṇu* 'penance' (*Piṅkala*. 1796; *Cūṭā*. 8: 40); *nōṛṛal* id. (*Cūṭā*. 11:288); *nōṇṇu* 'ceremonial fasting, abstinence from food' (*TL*).

Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *nōntu* 'having observed the vow or penance (of fasting)' (A.N. Narasimhia 1941: Nos. 9,10,12,13, etc.; G.S. Gai 1946: No. 79).

**115.8 [m]uṭṭitta** (v.) 'who completed'; adjectival past participle from *muṭi* 'to end, be completed' (D. 4922).

**Analysis:** *muṭi* (stem) + *tt* (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix). The participle qualifies *māṇākkar* 'disciple', who completed observing the penance.

The expression *muṭitta* is employed here in the technical sense of 'ending one's life by fasting unto death' (Jaina). "The expression (*muṭipu*) is used to denote the death of a devout follower of the Jaina faith who voluntarily undertakes a solemn vow to end his life by fasting" (P.B. Desai 1957:pp. 339-343).

Cf. Ta. *muṭivu* 'death'; Ka. *muṭi* 'to become extinct' (D. 4922).

Cf. LT *muṭittal* 'viṭu *perutal*' (that is, 'to die by fasting') (*Cīvaka*. 3073, comm.); *muṭivu* 'dying' (*Tivā*. 1674; *Cūṭā*. 9:20). *muṭital* 'death' (*Piṅkala*. 1907).

Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *muḍippidar/ muḍippidār* 'caused to end one's life by fast unto death' (A.N. Narasimhia 1941: Nos. 11,12,13, etc.; G.S. Gai 1946:No. 79).

**115.9 [ni\*]cīṭikai** (n.) 'seat of penance' (where a Jaina monk performs the religious penance of fasting unto death). See Fig. 1.16.

Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *nisidige* referring to the sites where Jaina ascetics performed *sanyasana* or *sallēkhana* (religious fasting unto death) (A.N. Narasimhia 1941:Nos.18, 39, 48, 49 & 56). In later Kannada inscriptions, the word was spelt in various ways (ibid. pp. 312-313 for the complete list).

The term *nisidige* occurring in Jaina inscriptions in Old Kannada has been variously interpreted as a 'forbidden place' (derived from *nishēdh* 'to prohibit'); or as an 'epitaph' (Narasimhia, ibid. pp. 312-313); or as a 'memorial' (P.B. Desai 1957:pp. 355-356). The term *nicīṭikai* (116.6) has been explained as 'death by fasting of a Jaina; denotes probably the memorial got up for such a person' (*SITI*, III:2, Glossary). None of these interpretations is, however, wholly satisfactory. In the present study, *nicīṭikai* is interpreted as 'a seat of penance' combining the evidence of etymology and the context of occurrence as discussed below.

The term is derived from *nishad* < *ni-sad* (Skt.) 'to sit or lie down or rest upon' (MW); concurrently, this verb also means 'to suffer (bodily pain)'. Cf. *nishaṇṇa* 'seated' (and also) 'distressed' (ibid.); *ṇisīhiā* (AMg.) 'seat; enduring of the suffering of sitting (in a place of religious study)' (AMD).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *vāsha- nishidiyā* 'resting place for the rainy season' (Nagarjuni Hills Inscription of Daśaratha, K.G. Krishnan, ed. 1989:No. 37); *nisīdiyā* 'resting place (of Jaina monks)' (Khāravēla's Udayagiri Inscription, ibid. No. 67).

The term *nicīṭikai* occurs twice in this Corpus (Nos. 115 & 116) and also in a later Tamil inscription at Tirunatharkunru referring to the *aṇacaṇam* 'fasting unto death' by a Jaina ascetic (*SII*. XVII:No. 261, ca.10th cent. A.D.). The variant *niśidika* occurs in a Tamil inscription (in Tamil and Grantha scripts) at Vijayamangalam commemorating the death by fasting of Puḷiappai, probably the younger sister of Cāmuṇḍarāja who erected the famous monolith of Gomāṭēśvara at Sravanabelagola (*ARE* 597/1905).

The parallels between the Jaina inscriptions in Kannada and Tamil indicate the close contacts between the Tamil and Kannada Jaina communities in this period. Cf. Nos. 49 & 83. See section 4.10.3.

### XXXVIII. TIRUNATHARKUNRU

**116.1** *aimpattē(u)* (num.) 'fifty-seven'; the context requires supplying the word 'days' qualified by the numeral.

- a. *aim-* (num. adj.) from *aintu* 'five' (D. 2826).
- b. *patt(u)-* 'ten' (D. 3918). The final -u is elided in sandhi.
- c. *ē(u)* 'seven' (D. 910). The final -u is elided in sandhi.

**116.2** *aṇacaṇa(m)* (n.) 'abstinence from food, fasting' < *anaśana* (Skt.).

The expression *aṇacaṇam* occurs here in the technical sense of 'fast (unto death) as a religious penance'. It has the same significance as *sanyasana*, *sallēkhana* and *ārādhana-vidhi* occurring in the Jaina inscriptions in Kannada.

Cf. LT *aṇṇal aṇacaṇa-t-tavam amarntāṇ* 'the great one sat in the penance of fasting' (Yacōtara. 24); *aṇacaṇa nōṇpu koṇṭāṇ* 'He undertook the penance of fasting' (Nāka. 148); *aṇacaṇāti tapacu* 'including the penance of fasting' (Nīlakēci: 1, comm.).

Cf. (inscr.) *muppatu nāl aṇacaṇa(n) nōṇṇa ilaiya paṭārār nicītikai* 'the place of penance of Ilaiya Bhaṭārār (who died after) observing fast for thirty days' (SII. XVII: No. 261, ca. 10th cent. A.D.).

**116.3** *nōṇṇa* (v.) 'who observed the penance'; adjectival past participle from *nōl* 'to do penance'.

**Analysis:** *nōl* (stem) + *tt* (> *ṭṭ*) (past tense marker) + *a* (participial suffix). See *nōṇṇu* (115.7) for further comments.

**Sandhi:** *aimpattē(u) + aṇacaṇam + nōṇṇa* > *aimpattēlaṇacaṇannōṇṇa*.

**116.4** *cantirananti* N. of the Jaina monk who undertook the fast unto death at this site. As indicated by the second part of his name, he belonged to the Nandigaṇa of the Digambara sect.

Cf. LT *kaṇaka-nantiyum puṭpa-nantiyum pavaṇa-nantiyum kumaṇamācuṇaka-nantiyum kuṇaka-nantiyum tivaṇa-nantiyum molī koḷā aṇaka nantiyar* (a list of Jaina ascetics of the Nandigaṇa referred to derisively) (Tēvā. III:39.6).

Cf. (inscr.) *śrīnanti, kaṇakananti, kuṇananti* (SII. V: Nos. 314, 359 & 398 respectively, Jaina, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.); *ārampaṇanti* (SII. I: No. 68, Cōḷa, 11th cent. A.D.). Cf. *vaccapaṇanti* (115.3).

a. *cantira-* (N.) < *candra* (Skt.) 'moon', here occurring as part of the personal name. This is an instance of direct borrowing from Skt. and not through Pkt.

The waning influence of Pkt. and increasing presence of Skt. in the language of the Tamil inscriptions begins from about this time (ca. 5-6 cent. A.D.). Cf. *irācar* (111.1) for another example of direct borrowing from Skt. See section 3.3.7.

Cf. LT *cantiraṇ* 'moon' (*Tivā.* 58; *Piṅkala.* 225; *Cūṭā.* 1:58).

**b. nanti** (N.) Cf. *nandi* (Pkt.) < *nandin* (Skt.). Cf. *-ṇanti* (115.3.b).

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *nandi* 'a Jaina *gaṇin*' (Lüders List:No. 74); *kumāranandi*, *nāganandi* 'personal names' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 3, Pkt., ca. 4th cent. A.D.).

**116.5 ācirikaru** (n.) 'teacher'. Title of *cantirananti*, the senior Jaina monk. Cf. *ācariyika* (Pāli) < *ācārya* (Skt.). Cf. *ācāriyar* (115.4).

Cf. LT *āciriyaṇ* 'teacher' (*Matu.* 761; *Paṭṭiṇa.* 170); 'learned persons' (*Piṅkala.* 848).

Cf. (inscr.) *matirai āciriyaṇ* 'the Jaina monk from Matirai' (*SII.* XIV:No. 45, Pāṇṭiya, 9th cent. A.D.).

*-ar* is honorific singular suffix. The word-final *-u*, a euphonic suffix, indicates Kannada influence. Cf. 52.1.c. See also No. 49.

**116.6 nicīṭikai** (n.) 'seat of penance'. Cf. 115.9. See also section 4.10.3

### XXXIX. PILLAIYARPATTI

**117.1 ekkāṭṭūru** (P.) A comparison with similar place names in the Corpus, *erukāṭu-ūru* (52.1) and *erukāṭur* (55.1), indicates that *ek-kāṭṭ-ūru* is probably derived from *eru-k-kāṭṭ(u)-ūru*.

**a. ek-** Probably from *eru-k-* by contraction. See 52.1. a.

**b. kāṭṭ(u)-** (n., obl.) from *kāṭu* (n.) 'forest, jungle'. See 52.1.b.

**c. ūru** (n.) 'village'. See 52.1.c.

**117.2 kōṇ** (n.) Title of the master mason. The word is joined with the preceding one with an *oṭṭu* (-k-). See 52.2. b for further comments.

**117.3 peruntacaṇ** 'master mason'. His personal name is not recorded.

The observation that "(this) is not a foundation inscription, but merely the name of some person" (K.R. Srinivasan 1985: p. 7) was apparently made before the decipherment of the inscription. The expression *peruntacaṇ* (*peruntaccaṇ*) 'master mason' and the location of the carefully engraved inscription on a smooth pilaster inside the cave-temple indicate that the person referred to in the inscription excavated the shrine or at least made substantial improvements to it at a later date. See the discussion below on the significance of the palaeography of the inscription in reassessing the date and authorship of the cave temple.

Cf. (inscr.) *peruntaccaṇ* 'master mason' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 52, 7th cent. A.D.; *SII*. XVII:No. 717, ca. 9-10 cent. A.D.).

a. *peru(m)*- (adj.) 'great'. when added to the term *taccaṇ*, the expression signifies a 'master mason' who must have supervised the construction or renovation of the cave-temple.

Sandhi: *-m > -n-* before *-t*.

b. *taccaṇ* (*taccaṇ*) (n.) 'stonemason' (as in this case) or 'carpenter' (as in 73.8). The consonant *-c-* is not doubled. See 73.8 for discussion on etymology.

#### Epigraphic evidence for the dating of Pillaiyarpatti cave temple

The decipherment of the Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription in the cave-temple at Pillaiyarpatti has raised a question on the dating and authorship of the shrine. Whether the *peruntaccaṇ* referred to in the inscription excavated or renovated the cave-temple, it is obvious that the date of its construction must be coeval with or earlier than the date of the inscription engraved on a pilaster. The inscription has been described as 'archaic' and could not be read correctly until long after it was discovered (*ARE* 156/1935-36).

The palaeography indicates clearly an earlier date than for the earliest known inscriptions of the medieval Pāṇṭiya dynasty: the Malaiyadi-k-kurichchi cave inscription of Māraṇ Cētaṇ engraved in the Pallava-Tamil script in about the middle of the 7th cent. A.D. (*ARE* 358/1959-60; K.R. Srinivasan 1985:pp. 1-8); the Vaigai-bed Inscription of Cētaṇ Māraṇ (K.G. Krishnan 1969-70, *EI*. XXXVIII: pp. 27-32; K.V. Raman 1977:pp. 61-65) and the Ēṇāti Inscription of the same king (*Āvaṇam* 7, 1996:pp. 13-14), both in a developed form of Vaṭṭeḷuttu assigned to the end of the 7th cent. A.D. The Pillaiyarpatti cave inscription is also anterior to the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions on herostones attributed to the Pallava kings Simhavishṇu and Mahēndravarmān I (*Chēgam Naṭukaṛkaḷ*: pp. i-viii). The palaeographic evidence indicates that Pillaiyarpatti is the earliest known rock-cut cave temple in the Pāṇṭiya country, which must be assigned to a date not later than the middle of the 6th cent. A.D. See section 1.8.5.

### XL. EDAKAL-B

**118.1 *palpuli*** (P.) lit., '(place of) many tigers'. Villages named after the tiger are common in Tamil Nadu.

Cf. (inscr.) *perumpuliyūr* (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 122, 9th cent. A.D.); *perumpulippākkam* (ibid. No. 351, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

a. *pal-* (adj.) 'many', only in compounds in Old Tamil (D. 3987).

Cf. LT *palvēl matti* 'Matti (a chieftain) of many spears' (*Aka.* 6:20); *palyāru* 'many rivers' (*Puṛa.* 42:20).

Cf. (inscr.) *pal-yāka-* '(who performed) many sacrifices' (*Pāṇṭiyar Ceppēṭukaḷ:* No. 1, Line 32, ca. 8th cent. A.D.).

**b. *puli*** (n.) 'tiger' (D. 4307).

Cf. LT *koṭu vari irum puli* 'the large tiger with curved stripes' (*Aka.* 27:1); *puli* 'tiger' (*Tivā.* 412; *Piṅkala.* 2411; *Cūṭā.* 3:3).

Cf. (inscr.) *puli kutti-p-paṭṭāṇ kal* 'the (memorial) stone (for one) who died fighting a tiger' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 281, ca. 7th cent. A.D.).

#### 118.2 *tāṭta kārī* (N.) probably of a visitor to the cave.

**a. *tāṭta-*** Attribute from *tāṭṭaṇ* (N.) Cf. *tātai* (n.) 'father' (*TL*); *tāta* id. (Ka., Te.) (D. 3160). The expression *tāṭṭaṇ* occurs here as a personal name with elision of the PNG suffix *-aṇ* in sandhi. This is one of the kinship terms borrowed by IA from Dr. (ibid.).

Cf. LT *tātai* 'father' (*Pari.* 1:28); *tātai* id. (*Tivā.* 310; *Piṅkala.* 907; *Cūṭā.* 2:75).

**b. *kārī*** a personal name; lit., 'the dark one' from *kār* 'blackness' (D. 1278c).

Cf. LT *kōval kōmāṇ neṭuntēr-k-kārī* 'Kārī, chieftain of Kōvalūr, possessing a tall chariot' (*Aka.* 35:14-15); *ōri koṇṇa . . . kārī* 'Kārī who slew Ōri' (*Narṇ.* 320:5-6).

Cf. (inscr.) *kārī kaṇṇaṇ* 'a personal name' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. II. 12-13, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *māṇaṇ-kārī*, 'N. of a minister in the Pāṇṭiya court' (*SII.* XIV: No. 2, Pāṇṭiya, 8th cent. A.D.); *kārī-p-perumāṇ* 'a personal name' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 309, ca. 9th cent. A.D.).

Cf. LT *kārī* 'name of several gods' (*Tivā.* 2247; *Piṅkala.* 3352; *Cūṭā.* 11:181).

#### 119.1 *veṅkōmalai* (P.)

Cf. (inscr.) *veṅgō-rāshtra* 'an ancient territorial division'. (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 14: Line 17, Skt. passage, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *vēy-kōṭṭu-malai* a place name in Kanyakumari District (*TAS.* III: No. 56, ca. 12th cent. A.D.)

**a. *ve(m)***- (adj.) 'hot'; cf. *vemmai* 'heat' (D. 5517).

Sandhi: *-m > -ñ-* before *-k*.

Cf. LT *veṅkatir* 'the hot sun' (*Aka.* 1:10); *vemmai* 'heat' (*Piṅkala.* 1863; *Cūṭā.* 11:27).

**b. *kō*** (n.) 'mountain' (D. 2178).

Cf. LT *kō* 'mountain' (*Tivā.* 856; *Piṅkala.* 495).

c. *malai* (n.) 'hill, mountain'. See 85.3.a.

Cf. LT *malai* 'mountain' (*Tivā*. 856).

119.2 *kaccavanu catti* N. of a person, who was probably a visitor to the cave.

a. *kaccavanu* Read *kaccavanu* (N.). The use of *n* for *ṇ* is a scribal error. See 20.3 for further comments. The word-final -*u* is a euphonic suffix. Its occurrence in this region bordering Karnataka is due to Kannada influence. See 52.1.c for further comments.

*kaccavan* may be derived from *kaccapam* 'tortoise' < *kacchapa* (Skt.) lit., 'tortoise, turtle'; 'N. of several persons' (MW). Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *kācchuva* (*Epi. Car.* XIII: Index).

Cf. LT *kaccapam* 'tortoise' (*Tivā*. 613; *Piṅkala*. 2632; *Cūṭā*. 3:74).

Alternatively, *kaccavan* may also be derived from *kassava* (Pkt.) < *kaśyapa* (Skt.) 'N. of a ṛishi and a *gōtra*'. See 14.1.b for further comments.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *kassava*- (< *kaśyapa*) (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 3: Line 18, ca. 4th cent. A.D.).

b. *catti* (n.) < *śakti* (Skt.) lit., 'strength, power'; 'name of goddess Durgā' (MW).

Cf. LT *Catti Nākaṇ-ār* (author, *Kuṛun*. 119); *catti 'umaiyavaḷ'* (*Tivā*. 15); '*umai*' (*Piṅkala*. 106; *Cūṭā*. 1:32). The name was also borne by men as in the present case.

Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) *satti* 'a personal name' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 3: Line 17, ca. 4th cent. A.D.).

Cf. (inscr.) *kāṭavar-taṇ kōṇ catti* 'Catti, chief of the *Kāṭavar*' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 261, ca. 9th cent. A.D.). Cf. (Ka. inscr.) *śatti* 'a personal name' (*Epi. Car.* XIII: Index).

## XLI. EZHUTTUKALLU

120.1 *mācakōṭu* (P.) lit., 'dark or mist/cloud-covered hill'.

Cf. (inscr.) *mācca-k-kōṭu* 'of *Māccakkōṭu* (village)' (*Kaṇṇiyākumari-k-kalveṭṭukaḷ* IV: No. 91/1969, 16th cent. A.D.).

a. *māca*- (*mācu* + *a*) from *mācu* (n.) 'darkness, cloud' (D. 4781); -*a* is the attributive suffix.

Cf. LT *mācu* 'cloud' (*Piṅkala*. 58); *māci* 'mist, cloud' (*TL*).

b. *kōṭu* (n.) 'mountain' (D. 2049); a frequent suffix to place names in hilly regions.

Cf. LT *kōṭu uṟaṉtu eṭutta koṭuṇkaṇ iñci* 'the curving rampart raised high contrasting with a hill' (*Patir.* 16:1); *kōṭu* 'mountain peak' (*Tivā.* 861; *Piṅkala.* 498; *Cūṭā.* 5:12).

Cf. (inscr.) *muyiṟi-k-kōṭu* 'Muciṟi' (E. Hultsch 1894-95, *EI.* III: pp. 66-69, Cochin Plates of Bhāskara Raivarman, ca. 10th cent. A.D.).

**120.2 *nīr=aṇavāy*** (noun phrase) 'mouth of a dam across a watercourse'.

Sandhi: *nīr* + *aṇavāy* > *nīraṇavāy*.

The inscription is engraved on a boulder lying in the bed of a stream (see Fig. 1.18). It is likely that there was once a dam here to arrest the flow of water to facilitate gold-washing operations conducted in the river. See section 1.8.6(i).

**a. *nīr*** (n.) lit., 'water' (D. 3690a), here, a 'watercourse'.

Cf. LT *aṟu nīr-p-paiñcuṇai* 'the mountain-spring without water (in the summer)' (*Aka.* 1:12); *nīr* 'water' (*Tivā.* 54; *Piṅkala.* 57; *Cūṭā.* 11:28).

Cf. (inscr.) *nīr nilaṇum* 'watered (wet) lands also' (Pulankurichi Inscrs. I. 14, ca. 5th cent. A.D.); *nīr nilamum* id. (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 17: Line 48, ca. 6th cent. A.D.).

**b. *aṇa*** (n.) 'dam'. Cf. Ta. *aṇai*, Ma. *aṇa* 'dam' (D. 122).

Cf. LT *ceṟuviṇ aṇai* 'bund (ridge) of the field' (*Naṟr.* 340:8); *aṇai* 'bund' (*Tivā.* 882; *Piṅkala.* 610; *Cūṭā.* 5:18).

As the inscription is in (the present-day) Kerala, *aṇa* is likely to be a pre-Malayalam form, the earliest attested in an inscription. However, sporadic vowel alternation *ai* > *a* is met with in the Ta. Br. inscriptions from other regions also as in *kuṟa* (for *kuṟai*) (11.1), *itta* (for *ittai*) (13.3), *matira* for *matirai* (27.1), etc.

**c. *vāy*** (n.) Ta. 'mouth'; Ma. 'opening' (D. 5352).

Cf. LT *akal vāy-k-kuṇṭu cuṇai* 'the deep mountain spring with a wide opening' (*Kuṟun.* 59:2); *vāy* 'place' (*Tivā.* 1011; *Piṅkala.* 719; *Cūṭā.* 5:65).

Cf. (inscr.) *perumpiṭuku kāliṇ... talai vāyum* 'the sluice-head of the channel named Perumpiṭuku' (*Pallava Inscrs.* No. 46: Lines 79-80, 7th cent. A.D.); *vāy-t-talai* 'head-sluice of a channel' (*SITI.* III. 2:Glossary).

## XLII. TAMATAKALLU

### 121.1 *ēḷur* Read *ēḷūr* . (P.)

Even though the site of the present inscription is in Karnataka, *Ēḷūr* may probably be identified as *Ēḷūr* in Namakkal District in Tamil Nadu (Table 4.3). This place was the headquarters town of 'seven *nāṭus*' in Koṅkumaṇṭalam, from where the Nānādēśi merchant guild carried on trading 'in all four directions' in the medieval period. It is likely that the sculptor of the herostone, who also engraved the present inscription in Tamil in Vaṭṭeḷuttu script, belonged to a family originally hailing from *Ēḷūr* in Tamil Nadu.

Cf. LT *ēḷūr* (*Tēvā*. VI:70.5).

Cf. (inscr.) *ēḷūr nāṭu* (*ARE* 5/1906, Pāṇṭiya, 13th cent. A.D. at Namakkal).

a. *ēḷ*- (attribute) 'elevated, high' from *eḷu* (v.) 'to rise'. Cf. *eḷucci* (n.) 'elevation'; Ka. *ēḷ* 'to rise' (D. 851a); *eḷucci* 'to rise' (*Piṅkala*. 2187). However, according to tradition, *Ēḷūr* was the headquarters of seven *nāṭus* (regions). In this case, *ēḷ* is to be interpreted as the bound form of the numeral *ēḷu* 'seven' (D. 910).

b. *ur* Read *ūr* (n.) 'village'. See 19.2.

### 121.2 *mōnala[ñ]-cāṭṭaṇ* N. of the sculptor. The composite name *mōnala(ṇ) + cāṭṭaṇ* indicates that Cāṭṭaṇ was the son of Mōnalaṇ (*Tol. Eḷu*. 350).

Sandhi:-*ṇ* > -*ñ*- before -*c*.

Cf. LT *antuvāñ-cāṭṭaṇ* (*Pura*. 71:13).

Cf. (inscr.) *māṇaṇ-cāṭṭaṇ* (*SII*. V:No. 337, Pāṇṭiya, ca. 9th cent. A.D.)

a. *mōnala(ṇ)* A personal name. Cf. *mōna* (Pāli) 'wisdom, character, self-possession' (*PED*). The name occurs in Kannada inscriptions. Cf. *mōnala seṭṭi* (*Epi. Car.* XII: pg. 90); *monala lingappa nāyakar* (*ibid.* IV. Ng. 27). As the expression does not occur in Tamil as a personal name, it may be presumed that the sculptor's family had been long settled in Karnataka.

Cf. LT *mōṇam* 'good nature' (*Tivā*. 2309; *Piṅkala*. 342); *mōṇiyar* 'sages' (*Piṅkala*. 313).

b. *cāṭṭaṇ* See 55.5.d.

#### The label inscription is a signature

This small label inscription engraved on the rim of a *vīrakal* (herostone) is the signature of the sculptor. It is remarkable that the signature is in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeḷuttu script, indicating his mother-tongue. This is the earliest and northernmost among the Tamil inscriptions discovered in Karnataka.



## **APPENDICES**

- I. Inscriptional Glossary**
- II. Index to Personal Names in the Inscriptions**
- III. Index to Place Names in the Inscriptions**
- IV. Etymological Index: Dravidian**
- V. Etymological Index : Indo-Aryan**
- VI. Etymological Index: Doubtful Items**
- VII. Index to Grammatical Morphemes in the Inscriptions**



## APPENDIX I

### INSCRIPTIONAL GLOSSARY

**Inscriptional Glossary** lists the inscriptional words as they occur in the Corpus. The words are arranged in the Tamil alphabetical order; loanwords commencing with *dh* and *s* are placed at the end.

**Headwords** (as in the Corpus) are given in col.1 in bold italics.

**Emendations** and **corrections** (as in the Commentary) are in italics within brackets and placed next to the headwords in col. 1.

**Reference Numbers** (as in the Commentary) of the inscriptional words are given in col. 2.

**Meanings** or explanations of the inscriptional words, their grammatical parts of speech and references to the corresponding forms, if any, in Literary Tamil (LT) are given in col.3. Personal names and place names are marked N. and P. respectively. Grammatical parts of speech of other words are indicated by appropriate abbreviations (see List of Abbreviations).

The **Glossary** and the **Indexes** (Appendices II-VII) include words from Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions in the Corpus. The latter can be readily recognised from the three-digit Reference Numbers (101-121) allotted to them.

Detailed studies of the inscriptional words with supporting citations from literary and inscriptional parallels will be found in the **Commentary** on the relevant items indicated by the Reference Numbers in col.2 (unless otherwise stated). References are also made to **sections** of Chapters 1-7 for discussion on significant words.

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<b><i>akaram</i></b>	108.1	(P.) A Brahman village.
<b><i>aka]-ūr (aka]ūr)</i></b>	76.3	(P.) See Table 4.3 for identification.
<b><i>attiraṇ</i></b>	24.3	N. of a Jaina monk.
<b><i>attuvāyi (attavāyi)</i></b>	60.6	(n.) 'one who expounds the meaning (of scriptures)'; title of a Jaina monk. Cf. (Pkt.) <i>attha</i> 'meaning', (Pkt.) <i>vāyi</i> 'one who expounds or recites'. See section 4.9.3 (v).
<b><i>ataṭ-aṇam (atiṭṭāṇam)</i></b>	50.3	See <b><i>atiṭṭāṇam</i></b> .
<b><i>ataṇ</i></b>	40.3	N. of an accountant, the chief of scribes.
<b><i>ataṇ ataṇ</i></b>	36.3, 40.5	N. of a donor.
<b><i>atiṭ-aṇam (atiṭṭāṇam)</i></b>	49.8	See <b><i>atiṭṭāṇam</i></b> .
<b><i>atiṭṭāṇam (atiṭṭāṇam)</i></b>	64.1	See following entry.
<b><i>atiṭṭāṇam</i></b>	63.6, 68.1, 69.4, 70.3	(n.) 'seat' (literally, 'permanent, fixed abode'); refers to stone beds in cave shelters. See section 4.9.8(ii) and Commentary (49.8).
<b><i>atiṭṭāṇam (atiṭṭāṇam)</i></b>	66.5, 76.7	See previous entry.

<b>atiyan neṭumān āñci</b> ( <i>atiyaṇ neṭumāṇ-</i> )	59.2	N. of a chieftain. Cf. LT <i>atiyamāṇ neṭumāṇ āñci</i> . See section 4.5.1.
<b>atai</b>	30.2	(n.) Variant of <i>antai</i> . See <i>antai ariyti</i> .
<b>atai-y</b>	56.2	See previous entry.
<b>antuvāṇ</b>	53.1	N. of a donor.
<b>antai ariyti</b>	25.1	N. of a donor. <i>antai</i> (n.) is an honorific (masc.) for an elder or senior person. See section 3.2.2 (v) and Commentary (66.2.b) on <i>antai</i> .
<b>antai asutaṇ</b> (-assutaṇ)	3.7	N. of the <i>kāviti</i> of the merchant guild of <i>veḷ-araḷ</i> and superintendent of pearls. See <i>kāḷitika</i> ( <i>kāḷatika</i> ).
<b>antai irāvataṇ</b>	26.1	N. of a donor.
<b>antai cēnta-a</b>	28.1	N. of a donor (in genitive case); 'of Antai Cēnta(ṇ)'.
<b>antai-y pikaṇ</b> (-pikkaṇ )	20.1	N. of the father of a donor.
<b>antai [v]isuvāṇ</b> (-vissuvāṇ)	27.2	N. of a donor. Cf. LT <i>viccuvaṇ</i> .
<b>ama</b>	48.6	(v.) 'who abide'. Cf. LT <i>amai</i> 'to abide, be settled'.
<b>amaṇṇaṇ</b>	61.2	See <i>amaṇṇaṇ</i> .
<b>(a)maṇṇaṇ</b>	62.2	See following entry.
<b>amaṇṇaṇ</b>	24.1	(n.) 'Jaina monk'. See section 4.9.3 (ii).
<b>ar-itaṇ</b> ( <i>aritaṇ</i> )	8.2	N. of a donor. See section 6.19.2 on the pause.
<b>ar-iytaṇ</b> ( <i>ariytaṇ</i> )	18.2	N. of a donor. See also previous entry.
<b>araṭṭa kāyipaṇ</b>	60.7	N. of a Jaina monk.
<b>ariti=ṇ</b> ( <i>ariti-(i)ṇ</i> )	34.2	N. of a donor (in genitive case); 'of Ariti'.
<b>av[v]ir[u]-a-ar-um</b> ( <i>avviru-ar-um</i> )	45.3	(pronominal phrase); 'those two persons also' (LT <i>avv-iruv-ar-um</i> ).
<b>aram</b>	76.4	(n.) 'charity, religious gift'.
<b>arutta</b>	61.14	(v.) 'which was carved'.
<b>arupitta</b> ( <i>aruppitta</i> )	63.5	(v.) 'which was caused to be carved'.
<b>arupita</b> ( <i>aruppitta</i> )	62.14	See previous entry.
<b>aruvai-vaṇikaṇ</b>	46.2	(n.) 'cloth merchant'.
<b>aracaga(m)</b>	116.2	(n.) 'abstinence from food'. The Jaina religious penance of ceremonial fasting unto death.
<b>(ā)-iṇa</b>	41.2	(v.) 'who is, alias'. LT <i>āyipa</i> .
<b>āka</b>	61.13, 62.13	(v.) 'when he became', 'having become'.

<b>[ā]cāri[ya]r</b>	115.4	(n.) 'preceptor'; title of a senior Jaina monk.
<b>āci</b>	73.6	(n.) 'prop, support'. Cf. LT <i>ācu</i> id; <i>āsi</i> (Pkt.) 'to support'.
<b>ācirikaru</b>	116.5	(n.) 'preceptor'; title of a senior Jaina monk. Cf. LT <i>ācīriyar</i> .
<b>āṭi</b>	112.3	(v.) 'having fought, played or won'.
<b>ātaṇ cāttāṇ (-cāttāṇ)</b>	74.2	N. of a donor.
<b>ā[ta*ṇ* ce*]l-l=irumpurai</b>	62.7	See following entry.
<b>ātaṇ cel-l=irumpurai</b>	61.7	N. of a king of the Irumpurai branch of the Cēra dynasty ruling from Karur. See section 4.3.1.
<b>ātāṇ (ātaṇ)</b>	82.2	N. of a king of the Cēra dynasty.
<b>āycaṇaṇ neṭucātaṇ</b> (āyccayyaṇ neṭucāttāṇ).	55.5	N. of a stonemason.
<b>ārātaṇi</b>	115.6	(n.) 'worship'. Cf. LT <i>ārātaṇai</i> ; a technical term for the Jaina religious penance of ceremonial fasting unto death. Cf. (Ka. inscr.) <i>ārāḍhanā-vidhi</i> 'Jaina code of death'.
<b>ārītaṇ</b>	60.5	N. of a senior Jaina monk.
<b>itta</b>	13.3	(pron., accusative case). 'this'. Cf. LT <i>itai/ittai</i> .
<b>ittā-a</b>	1.4	(intj.) 'lo, behold, look here!' Cf. LT <i>itā/ītā</i> .
<b>irācar</b>	111.1	(n., pl.) 'kings'.
<b>iruvar</b>	48.5	(num. pron., pl.) 'two persons'.
<b>(i)[l]avōṇ (illavōṇ)</b>	10.3	N. of a Jaina <i>upādhyāya</i> ; literally, 'householder'. Cf. LT <i>illavaṇ</i> .
<b>iva-kunṇratu (-kunṇattu)</b>	60.1	(P., obl.); 'of Iva-kunṇa(m)'. Cf. Āṇaimalai 'Elephant Hill', the present name of the hill. Cf. LT <i>ipam</i> 'elephant'.
<b>īla-kuṭumpikaṇ (īla- )</b>	55.2	(n.) Title or caste-name of the donor; 'husbandman from Īlam (Sri Lanka)' (or) 'householder belonging to the Īla (toddy-drawer) caste'. The latter interpretation is more suited to the context. See Commentary.
<b>[i*]lāṇkaṭuṇkō</b>	61.11	N. of a prince of the Irumpurai branch of the Cēra dynasty.
<b>[i]lāṇkāyipaṇ</b>	76.1	N. of a Jaina monk.
<b>[i*]lāṇkō<sup>1</sup></b>	61.12, 62.12	(n.) 'prince, heir apparent'.
<b>[i*]lāṇkō<sup>2</sup></b>	89.2	(N.) Name or title of a member of the Vaiśya caste; the expression occurs here as a personal name.
<b>īlāṇcaṭikaṇ</b>	2.7	N. of the son of <i>caṭikaṇ</i> and husband of the sister-in-law of <i>neṭiñ-caṭiyaṇ</i> .
<b>īlanataṇ</b>	17.1	N. of a donor.
<b>īlayar</b>	49.6	(n., pl.) Title of the members of an ancient martial clan. Cf. LT <i>īlaiyar</i> . See section 4.18.1(i).

<b>ītta</b>	59.3	(v.) 'which was given'.
<b>īttavaṇ</b>	12.3	(v.) 'he who gave'.
<b>ītā</b>	2.4, 16.1	(intj.) 'lo, behold, look here!' Cf. LT <i>itā/ītā</i> .
<b>utayaṇasa</b>	24.5	N. of adonor (in genitive case); 'of Utayaṇa(ṇ)'. Note the occurrence of the Pkt. genitive suffix -sa (-ssa).
<b>upa[c]a-aṇ (upaccaṇ)</b>	10.1	See <b>upacaṇ</b> .
<b>upaca-aṇ (upaccaṇ)</b>	11.3	See following entry.
<b>upacaṇ (upaccaṇ)</b>	9.1	(n.) 'preceptor, Jaina <i>upādhyāya</i> '. Cf. LT <i>uvaccaṇ</i> . See section 4.9.3 (iii).
<b>upaṇuva[ṇ*] (uppaṇuvaṇ)</b>	11.4	N. of a Jaina <i>upādhyāya</i> .
<b>upu-vāṇikaṇ (uppu-)</b>	39.1	(n.) 'salt merchant'.
<b>uḷḷāru</b>	114.2	(compound v.) Cf. <i>uḷ</i> 'in'; <i>āru</i> (LT <i>ār</i> ) 'filled (fitted)'. Cf. LT <i>uḷḷārnta</i> .
<b>uṇai</b>	9.3, 24.4	(n.) 'abode (of ascetics)'. See also <b>uṇaiyuḷ</b> .
<b>uṇai-y</b>	61.5, 62.5	See previous entry.
<b>uṇaiyuḷ</b>	60.2	(n.) '(in the) abode (of ascetics)'.
<b>ūr</b>	19.2	(n.) 'village, town, city'; occurs also frequently as a suffix to place names. See Index to Place names (Appendix III).
<b>ūru (ūṟru)</b>	75.1	(n.) 'spring, fountain'.
<b>o-iyī (eyil)</b>	18.1	(P.) literally, 'fortified place'. Cf. LT <i>eyil</i> .
<b>okkāṭṭūru</b>	117.1	(P.) probably from <i>erukkāṭṭūru</i> . ( <i>eru-k-</i> > <i>ek-</i> by contraction.) Cf. LT <i>erukkāṭṭūr</i> .
<b>eṇṇai-vāṇnikaṇ (-vāṇikaṇ)</b>	70.1	(n.) 'oil merchant'. Cf. LT <i>eṇṇey</i> ( <i>eḷ</i> + <i>ney</i> ) 'gingily oil'.
<b>em</b>	19.1	(pron., obl.). 'our (exclusive)'.
<b>erukāṭṭu-ūru (eru-k-kāṭṭu-)</b>	52.1	(P.) Cf. LT <i>erukkāṭṭūr</i> .
<b>erukāṭṭur (eru-k-kāṭṭūr)</b>	55.1	(P.) Cf. LT <i>erukkāṭṭūr</i> .
<b>erumināṭṭu (-nāṭṭu)</b>	49.1	(P.) probably in oblique case; 'of Erumi-nāṭṭu'. An ancient territorial division. Cf. <i>erumaināṭṭu</i> , generally identified as the Mysore region ( <i>mahisha-maṇḍala</i> ) of Karnataka.
<b>eḷutt[u]m</b>	85.1	'the letters also'. <i>eḷuttu</i> (n.) 'letter, character of the alphabet'. - <i>um</i> (particle) 'also'.
<b>eḷai-y-ūr (eḷaiyūr)</b>	34.1	(P.)
<b>eḷa-s aṭṭaṇ (-aṭṭaṇ)</b>	46.3	N. of a cloth merchant. Cf. (inscr.) <i>eḷavaṇ</i> , LT <i>aṭṭaṇ</i> , personal names.
<b>eḷacantaṇ</b>	43.2	N. of a trader in ploughshares.

<b>ēlamakaṇ</b>	56.5	(n.) Title of a member of the ancient martial clan of ḷaiyar or ḷamakkaḷ. Cf. <i>īlayar</i> . Cf. LT <i>īlamakaṇ</i> .
<b>ēri</b>	60.4	(P.) literally, 'lake', here as a place name.
<b>ēva</b>	76.2	(v.) 'when (he) commanded', 'at the bidding of'.
<b>ēḷur (ēḷūr)</b>	121.1	(P.) See Table 4.3 for identification.
<b>aiṃpattēḷ(u)</b>	116.1	(num.) 'fifty-seven'.
<b>oppaṇaṇa vīra-a</b> (oppaṇ=appa vīra-)	79.1	N. of a warrior (in genitive case); 'of Oppaṇappa Vīra(ṇ)'.
<b>kaccavaṇu catti (kaccavaṇu-)</b>	119.2	N. of a person.
<b>kaṭal-aṇ vaḷutti-y</b> (kaṭalaṇ vaḷuti-)	1.7	N. of an officer who served under <i>neṭiñcaḷiyaṇ</i> (LT. <i>neṭuñceḷiyaṇ</i> ).
<b>kaṭikai</b>	88.3	(n.) 'assembly of learned persons or institution of higher learning or the place of such assembly or institution'. See section 4.6.13. See Table 4.3 for identification.
<b>kaṭuñkōṇ [i*]ḷaṇkaṭuñkō</b>	62.11	N. of a prince of the Irumporai branch of the Cēra dynasty; same as [i*]ḷaṇ-kaṭuñkō.
<b>kaṭummiputa cēra</b> (kaṭumi-putta-)	80.1	N. of a Cēra king. Cf. LT <i>kaṭumāṇ</i> . Cf. <i>satiyaṇputō</i> . See section 4.3.3.
<b>kaṇaka- (kaṇakka-)</b>	40.2	Attribute from <i>kaṇakaṇ (kaṇakkaṇ)</i> (n.) 'accountant'. See also following entry.
<b>kaṇatikaṇ</b>	40.1	(n.) 'chief of scribes'. Cf. (Sinh. Pkt.) <i>kaṇa</i> 'scribe'; LT <i>atikaṇ</i> 'chief'. Cf. <i>kāḷitika- (kāḷatika-)</i> 'superintendent of pearls'. See sections 4.6.6 and 4.6.8.
<b>kaṇi</b>	48.1, 48.3	(n.) 'head of a <i>gaṇa</i> (Jaina order of monks)'; title of a senior Jaina monk. Cf. (Pkt.) <i>gaṇi</i> . See section 4.9.3 (i).
<b>kaṇi-i</b>	3.1	See previous entry.
<b>kaṇi-y</b>	1.1, 2.1, 4.1	See <i>kaṇi</i> .
<b>kaṇimāṇ</b>	73.1	N. of a chieftain.
<b>kaya[m*]</b>	54.2	(n.) 'tank, pool'.
<b>karaṇṭai</b>	51.1	(n.) 'cave, cavern, abode of ascetics'.
<b>karu-ia</b>	17.2	(v.) 'which was carved'. Cf. <i>karukiya</i> . Cf. LT <i>karu</i> (n.).
<b>karu-ūr</b>	69.1	(P.) <i>karuvūr</i> (Karūr), the ancient capital of the Irumporai branch of the Cēra dynasty. See section 4.20.4 (iii).
<b>karukiya (karukkiya)</b>	112.4	(v.) 'which was carved'. Cf. LT <i>karukku</i> (n.) 'carving'.

<b>kal</b>	48.7, 61.15, 62.15, 101.3, 114.3	(n.) 'stone'. The term refers to various stone structures like cave shelters, stone beds or a stone stopper.
<b>kal kañcaṇam</b>	14.3	(noun phrase); a stone structure (?) The exact meaning of <i>kañcaṇam</i> is uncertain.
<b>kala-</b>	16.4	Attribute from <i>kalam</i> (n.) 'a quantity (of grain) as measured by <i>kalam</i> , a (grain-) measure'.
<b>kavi-y</b>	57.3	(n.) 'cave'. Cf. <i>kevi</i> (Ta.), <i>gavi</i> (Ka., Te.).
<b>kavuṭi-i</b>	49.4	N. of a Jaina nun. Cf. Ka. <i>gavuḍi</i> , <i>gauḍi</i> . See section 1.3.2.
<b>kaḷumāra nataṇ</b>	44.1	N. of a donor, probably a Pāṇṭiya prince or vassal. Cf. LT <i>kaṭumāṇ māṇaṇ</i> .
<b>kassapaṇ (kassapaṇ)</b>	45.2	N. of a donor.
<b>kāttāṇ</b>	58.2	N. of a person; literally, 'he who protected'.
<b>kātaṇ</b>	107.1	N. of a donor.
<b>kāpi-ūr (kāppi-)</b>	74.1	(P.)
<b>kāyvaṇ (kāyivaṇ)</b>	104.2	N. of a donor. Cf. <i>iḷaṇkāyipaṇ</i> .
<b>kāviti-iy</b>	3.5	(n.) An ancient title bestowed by kings on ministers, nobles and merchants. See section 4.6.9.
<b>kāviti-kōṇ</b>	52.2	(noun phrase); 'chief <i>kāviti</i> '. See also <i>kāviti-iy</i> .
<b>kāḷitika- (kāḷatika-)</b>	3.6	Attribute from <i>kāḷatikaṇ</i> (n.) 'superintendent of pearls'. Cf. <i>kāḷ</i> 'pearl', <i>atikaṇ</i> 'chief'. See sections 4.6.6 and 4.6.7.
<b>kiḷ-c-cēri (kiḷ-)</b>	113.1	(P.) 'the eastern quarter of a village'. Cf. <i>mēḷ-c[ē]ri</i> .
<b>kiḷ[ā]r</b>	84.2	(n.) literally, 'owner'; a title or term of respect for the chief of a village or its leading landowner or an eminent person of the place.
<b>kiṛaṇ korri</b>	66.4	N. (fem.) of a donor.
<b>kiṛaṇ kori (-korri)</b>	65.4	See previous entry.
<b>kucaḷaṇ</b>	108.2	N. of a donor.
<b>kuṭupita (kuṭuppitta)</b>	14.2	(v.) 'which was caused to be given'. Cf. LT <i>koṭuppitta</i> .
<b>kuṭupitō[r*] (kuṭuppittōr)</b>	45.4	(v.) 'they who caused to be given'. Cf. LT <i>koṭuppittōr</i> .
<b>kuṇāviṇ</b>	89.1	P. in genitive case; 'of Kuṇā'.
<b>kumuḷ-ūr (kumuḷūr)</b>	49.2	(P.) A village in <i>erumināṭu</i> .
<b>kuvira-a[n]tai</b>	31.1	N. of a donor.
<b>kuvira-antai vēḷ-a</b>	32.1	N. of a donor (in genitive case); 'of Kuvira-antai Vēḷ'; <i>vēḷ</i> is the title of an ancient class of chieftains and petty rulers.

<b>kuviraṇ</b>	21.2	N. of a donor. See section 4.19.2 (iii).
<b>ku[vi]rā</b> ( <i>kuvira-ā</i> )	23.1	N. of a donor (with the genitive suffix <i>-ā</i> ); 'of Kuviraṇ'. Cf. <b>nalli-y-ūr-ā</b> .
<b>kuṛa</b>	11.1	(n.) 'cutting'; refers to the cutting of the drip ledge above the inscription. Cf. LT <b>kuṛai</b> (v.) 'to cut'; (n.) 'cutting'.
<b>kuṛu</b> ( <i>kūru</i> )	12.1	(n.) 'section'; refers to the part of the drip ledge above the inscription. Cf. LT <b>kūru</b> . See previous entry also.
<b>kuṛummaḱaḷ</b> ( <i>kuṛumakaḷ</i> )	65.3	(n.) 'young daughter'. Cf. LT <b>kuṛummaḱaḷ</b> ; alternatively, read <b>kuṛum makaḷ</b> .
<b>kuṛṇṇu</b>	73.5	(n.) 'hill'.
<b>koṭṭupitta-a</b>	1.8	(v.) 'which was caused to be carved'.
<b>koṭṭupitōṇ</b> ( <i>koṭṭupittōṇ</i> )	8.3, 9.4	(v.) 'he who caused to be carved'. Cf. (inscr.) <b>koṭṭuvittāṇ</b> .
<b>koṭṭalku</b> ( <i>koṭṭal-</i> )	12.2	(verbal noun) in dative case; 'for carving'.
<b>koṭṭi-ōr</b> ( <i>koṭṭi-</i> )	6.3	(v.) 'they who carved'.
<b>koṭṭiy-avaṇ</b> ( <i>koṭṭi-</i> )	4.3	(v.) 'he who carved (engraved)'.
<b>koṭṭu</b>	10.4	(v.) 'given'.
<b>koṭṭupi...</b> ( <i>koṭṭuppi...</i> )	15.2	(v.) '... caused to be given'. (Fragmentary.)
<b>koṭṭupita-avaṇ</b> ( <i>koṭṭuppittavaṇ</i> )	44.3	(v.) 'he who caused to be given'.
<b>koṭṭupitavaṇ</b> ( <i>koṭṭuppittavaṇ</i> )	11.2, 53.2	(v.) 'he who caused to be given'.
<b>koṭṭupitōṇ</b> ( <i>koṭṭuppittōṇ</i> )	3.9, 5.2, 7.4	(v.) 'he who caused to be given'.
<b>koḷu-vaṇṇikaṇ</b>	43.1	(n.) 'trader in ploughshares'.
<b>koṛṇṇantay</b>	77.2	N. of a donor; variant of <b>koṛṇṇantai</b> .
<b>koṛṇṇantai</b> [ <i>i*</i> ][ <i>ava</i> ][ <i>ṇ</i> ]	67.1	N. of a donor.
<b>koṛṇṇai</b>	104.1	(P.)
<b>koṛṇṇiya</b> ( <i>koṛṇṇiya</i> )	52.3	(v.) 'which was carved'. Cf. LT <b>kuṛṇṇiya</b> , <b>kottiya</b> ; (inscr.) <b>koṛṇṇa</b> .
<b>kō</b>	61.6, 62.6, 82.1; 81.1	(n.) 'king'; 'chieftain'.
<b>kōṭṭaṇ</b>	56.4	N. of a donor.
<b>[kō*]viṇ</b>	88.4	(n.) in genitive case from <b>kō</b> ; 'of the chief'.
<b>kōḷi</b>	112.5, 113.2	(n.) 'cock, hen' (here with the former meaning).
<b>kōṇ</b>	73.4, 117.2	(n.) 'chief, great man'.
<b>caṭṭikaṇ</b>	2.9	N. of a donor.
<b>cantantai cantat</b>	29.1	N. of a donor.
<b>cantaritaṇ</b>	5.1	N. of a donor.

<b>cantirananti</b>	116.4	N. of a Jaina monk.
<b>campokal</b>	105.1	(P.) Cf. LT <i>cemmai</i> 'goodness'; <i>pukal</i> 'sanctuary'.
<b>campoykaipēṭu</b>	101.1	(P.) Cf. LT <i>cemmai</i> 'beauty'; <i>poykai</i> 'pool'; <i>pēṭu</i> 'village'.
<b>cāṭṭaṇ</b>	105.2	N. of a donor.
<b>cilivaṇ-a</b>	19.3	N. of a donor (in genitive case); 'of Cilivaṇ'.
<b>cilivaṇ atigaṇ veḷiyaṇ</b> (-atigaṇ-)	7.2	N. of a donor.
<b>ciṟuceṇṇaṇ</b>	106.1	N. of a donor.
<b>ciṟu . . . vaṇ</b>	73.9	N. of a carpenter. (Fragmentary.)
<b>cugaṇi</b>	84.6	(n.) 'mountain pool, spring'.
<b>ceṇkāyapaṇ</b>	61.4, 62.4, 63.2	N. of a senior Jaina monk.
<b>ceṇkuviraṇ</b>	22.1	N. of a donor.
<b>centaṇṇaṇ</b>	109.1, 110.1	N. of a donor.
<b>ceyta</b>	49.7	(v.) 'which was made'.
<b>ceytā[ṇ*]</b>	55.4	(v.) 'he who made'.
<b>ceypita (ceypitta)</b>	89.3	(v.) 'which was caused to be made'.
<b>ceyvittāṇ</b>	88.2	(v.) 'he who caused to be made'.
<b>ceyita</b>	76.6	(v.) 'which was made'. Cf. LT <i>ceyta</i> .
<b>ceyitāṇ</b>	73.7	(v.) 'he who made'. Cf. LT <i>ceytāṇ</i> .
<b>ceyipita (ceyipitta)</b>	65.5	(v.) 'which was caused to be made'.
<b>ceyivitta</b>	83.5	(v.) 'which was caused to be made.' Cf. LT <i>ceyvitta</i> .
<b>ceṟ-ataṇ-[ō]ṇ (ceṟṟ-)</b>	12.4	N. of a donor. Cf. Ta. <i>ciṟṟ-</i> , Ma. <i>ceṟṟu</i> 'young, junior'.
<b>cē-īya</b>	2.10	(v.) 'which was made'. See Commentary on the inscriptional form <i>cē-</i> for LT <i>cey</i> .
<b>cē-k-kant=ṇṇi</b> ( <i>cē-k-kant(i)-ṇṇi</i> ).	83.4	N. of a Jaina nun; mother of <b>cē-k-kanti</b> . <i>cē</i> 'a personal or family name'; <i>kanti</i> 'Jaina nun'; <i>ṇṇi</i> 'honorific suffix added to feminine names'.
<b>cē-k-kanti</b>	83.2	N. of a Jaina nun. See also previous entry.
<b>cētavar</b>	35.3	(v.) 'they who made'. Cf. LT <i>ceytavar</i> .
<b>cēy-a</b>	31.2	(v.) 'which was made'.
<b>cēvit-ōṇ (cēvittōṇ)</b>	18.3	(v.) 'he who caused to be made'. Cf. LT <i>ceyvittōṇ</i> .
<b>caiy-aḷaṇ (caiyaḷaṇ)</b>	57.2	N. of a donor.
<b>ṇākaṇ</b>	72.1	N. of the father of a donor. Cf. LT <i>nākaṇ</i> .

<b>taccaṇ</b> ( <i>taccaṇ</i> )	73.8	(n.) 'carpenter'.
<b>tanta</b>	73.3	(v.) 'who took (in battle)'.
<b>tantai-y</b>	2.8	(n.) 'father'.
<b>tanma[ṇ]</b>	45.1	N. of a donor.
<b>tātta kāri</b>	118.2	N. of a person.
<b>tāyiyaru</b>	83.3	(n.) 'mother' (honorific sing.). Cf. Ka. <i>tāyiyaru</i> . See section 3.2.4 (i).
<b>tāra-aṇi-i</b>	44.2	(n.) 'drip ledge (?)'. Cf. LT <i>tārai</i> 'line, drain'; <i>aṇi</i> 'that which is joined'.
<b>[t]āvaṇ-ūr</b> ( <i>tāvaṇūr</i> )	63.3	(P.)
<b>tāṇa</b>	19.4, 20.4, 23.2, 28.2, 31.3, 32.2, 33.2	(n.) '(religious) gift' < <i>dāna(m)</i> (Pkt.).
<b>tiṭi</b> ( <i>tiṭi</i> )	58.1	(P.) See Table 4.3 for identification.
<b>tiṭi-il-a</b> ( <i>tiṭi-</i> )	33.1	'of Tiṭi-il'. (P.) (in genitive case). See also previous entry.
<b>tiyaṇ cantaṇ</b>	47.1	N. of a donor.
<b>tuṇukay</b>	114.1	(n.) Variant of * <i>tuṇukai</i> , 'vent of a sluice'. Cf. <i>tuṇukai</i> 'stone-stopper to close the outlet ( <i>tūmpu</i> ) of a channel'.
<b>teṇku-cirupocil</b>	49.5	(P.) Cf. (inscr.) <i>teṇ-ciruvāyil-nāṭu</i> , an ancient territorial division located to the east of Sittannavasal.
<b>tē[va]ṇ [c]ā[ṭta]ṇ</b>	85.4	N. of the composer of the inscription (No. 85) and the two adjoining charts of musical notations (Nos. 86 & 87). See section 4.22.2.
<b>tēṇūr</b>	73.2	(P.)
<b>taṭta</b> ( <i>taṭta</i> )	101.2	(v.) 'which was made'.
<b>toṭa</b> ( <i>toṭta</i> )	84.5	(v.) 'which was excavated'.
<b>toṇṭi</b>	10.2	(P.) The ancient Pāṇṭiya seaport on the east coast of South India. See section 4.20.4 (ii).
<b>nakkaṇ</b>	103.1	N. of a donor.
<b>natti</b>	69.3	N. of a gold merchant.
<b>natti-y</b>	4.2	N. of a senior Jaina monk.
<b>nataṇ</b>	48.4	N. of a senior Jaina monk.
<b>nata-siri-y kuva[ṇ*]</b>	3.2	N. of a senior Jaina monk. See also following entry.
<b>nanta-a- siri-y-i kuv-aṇkē</b>	1.2	N. of a senior Jaina monk (in dative case). The name may be normalised as Nanta-siri Kuvaṇ on the basis of the variant forms in inscriptions (Nos. 1-3).

<b>nanta- siri-y ku-aṇ</b>	2.2	N. of a senior Jaina monk. See also previous entry.
<b>namōttu</b>	115.1	'Let there be salutation!' An invocation. Cf. (Skt.) <i>namō</i> =(a) <i>stu</i> .
<b>nalmuḷa-ukai</b>	17.3	(n.) 'auspicious cave'. Cf. LT <i>nal</i> 'good', <i>muḷai</i> 'cave'.
<b>nalli-[y]-ūr-ā (nalliyūr-)</b>	66.1	(P.) in genitive case; 'of Nalliyūr'. See section 7.27.4 on the use of -ā as genitive suffix.
<b>nali-[y]-ūr-ā (nalliyūr-)</b>	65.1	See previous entry.
<b>nākapērūr</b>	56.1	(P.)
<b>nākaṇ</b>	48.2	N. of a senior Jaina monk.
<b>nāḷaḷ (nāḷaḷ)</b>	77.1	(P.) Cf. LT <i>nāḷaḷ/nāḷaḷ</i> 'a flowering tree'.
<b>nikamatu (nikamattu)</b>	3.4	(n., obl.); 'of the <i>nikama(m)</i> '. Cf. LT <i>nikamam</i> 'a caravan of merchants' (TL). See section 4.16.1.
<b>nikamatōr (nikamattōr)</b>	6.2	(n., pl.) 'members of a merchant guild'.
<b>[ni*]cīṭikai</b>	115.9	(n.) 'seat of penance' (Jaina).
<b>nicīṭikai</b>	116.6	See previous entry.
<b>nīr-aṇavāy</b>	120.2	(noun phrase). 'mouth' (vāy) of the 'dam' (aṇa) (across) a 'watercourse' (nīr). Cf. Ma. <i>aṇa</i> , Ta. <i>aṇai</i> 'dam'.
<b>nūṟu</b>	16.3	(num.) 'hundred'.
<b>neṭiñcaḷiyaṇ</b>	2.5	N. of a Pāṇṭiya king. Cf. LT <i>neṭuñceḷiyaṇ</i> . See section 4.2.1.
<b>neṭuñcaḷiyaṇ</b>	1.5	See previous entry.
<b>neṭumalaṇ (-mallan)</b>	42.2	N. of a <i>gur</i> merchant.
<b>nel</b>	16.5	(n.) 'paddy'. See section 4.15.1.
<b>nelveḷi-iy</b>	7.1	(P.) Cf. LT <i>nel</i> 'paddy'; <i>veḷi</i> 'open space, field'.
<b>nōṟa</b>	116.3	(v.) 'who observed the penance'.
<b>nōṟu</b>	115.7	(v.) 'having observed the penance'.
<b>paṇa-aṇ</b>	1.6	(n.) 'servant'; here, a high functionary serving under the king. Cf. LT <i>paṇavaṇ</i> .
<b>patantaṇ</b>	60.3	(n.) 'the venerable one'; title of a Jaina monk. Cf. (Pkt.) <i>bhadanta</i> . See section 4.9.3 (iv).
<b>patiṇ-[ū]r (patiṇūr)</b>	30.1	(P.) Cf. LT <i>patiṇ-</i> , bound form of <i>pattu</i> 'ten'; <i>ūr</i> 'village'.
<b>pamitti (pammitti)</b>	41.3	(n.) 'Jaina nun'. Cf. LT <i>pammai</i> , <i>paimmai</i> , <i>paimai</i> id. See section 4.9.4 (i).
<b>par-acu (paracu)</b>	9.2	N. of a Jaina <i>upādhyāya</i> . Cf. LT <i>paracu</i> (v.) 'to praise, extol'. See section 6.19.2 for the pause.
<b>parampaṇ-kōkūr</b>	84.1	(P.) Cf. LT <i>parampu</i> 'flat land' (or) <i>parampaṇ</i> 'a class of cultivators'.
<b>palpuli</b>	118.1	(P.) Cf. LT <i>pal-</i> 'many'; <i>puli</i> 'tiger(s)'.

<b>paḷḷi</b>	83.6, 88.1	(n.) 'hermitage, sleeping place' (the expression refers to cave shelters with stone beds). See section 4.9.8 (i) and Commentary (1.9).
<b>paḷi (paḷḷi)</b>	34.3, 59.4, 65.6	See previous entry.
<b>paḷi-i</b>	10.5, 89.4	See <b>paḷḷi</b> . See also section 7.8.1 for the addition of the suffix.
<b>paḷi-iy</b>	1.9	id.
<b>paḷi-y</b>	2.11, 52.4	id.
<b>paḷ[i]-y</b>	15.1	id.
<b>paḷ[i*]-y</b>	77.3	id.
<b>...paṇkē</b>	78.1	N. (?) in dative case. (Fragmentary.)
<b>paṇaiturai</b>	50.1	(P.) Cf. LT <i>paṇai</i> 'palmyra palm tree'; <i>tuṛai</i> 'waterfront'.
<b>pākaṇ-ūr (pākaṇūr)</b>	13.1	(P.) See Table 4.3 for identification.
<b>pāṇkāṭa (-kāṭṭa)</b>	8.1	(P.) in genitive case. <i>pāṇkāṭ(u)</i> + a 'of Pāṇkāṭu'.
<b>pāṇāṭṭu</b>	115.2	(P., obl.). <i>pāṇ</i> + <i>nāṭṭu</i> 'of Pāṇāṭu'. An ancient territorial division. Cf. (Skt.) <i>pāṇa-rāṣṭra</i> . Cf. (inscr.) <i>perum-pāṇa-p-pāṭi</i> .
<b>pāṇita-vāṇikaṇ</b>	42.1	(n.) 'gur merchant'.
<b>piṭantai (piṭṭantai)</b>	66.2	(N.) same as <b>piṭaṇ (piṭṭaṇ)</b> . See following entry.
<b>piṭaṇ (piṭṭaṇ)</b>	65.2	N. of the father of a donor.
<b>piṇa-u</b>	3.8	(n.) 'cave' (?) Cf. LT <i>piḷavu</i> 'cleft (of rock)'.
<b>piṇanta</b>	49.3	(v.) 'who was born'.
<b>piṇ-aṇ kuṛraṇ (piṇṇaṇ-)</b>	63.4	N. of a donor. Cf. Ta. <i>piṇṇaṇ</i> 'younger brother', <i>kuṛiyon</i> 'the short one'; Te. <i>kuṛra</i> 'child, boy'.
<b>puṇaruttāṇ</b>	85.2	(v.) 'he who composed' (the musical inscriptions Nos. 86 & 87). Cf. LT <i>puṇarttāṇ</i> .
<b>pūti vira (-vira)</b>	81.2	N. of a chieftain.
<b>pentōṭaṇ</b>	102.1	N. of a donor; ( <i>pem-</i> < <i>perum-</i> ).
<b>peruṇkaṭuṇkōṇ</b>	61.9, 62.9	N. of a prince of the Irumporai branch of the Cēra dynasty.
<b>peruṇkīraṇ</b>	72.3	N. of a donor.
<b>peruṇkūṛraṇ</b>	88.6	N. of a donor.
<b>peruntacaṇ (-taccan)</b>	117.3	(n.) 'master mason, sculptor'.
<b>perumpokaḷ</b>	83.1	(P.) See Table 4.3 for identification.
<b>pētalai (pēttalai)</b>	21.1	(P.)
<b>pē[r]ataṇ piṭaṇ (-piṭṭaṇ)</b>	13.2	N. of a donor.
<b>pēr-ay-am (pērayam)</b>	35.2	(n.) 'large tank'. See section 6.18 for 'analytical' writing.

<b>poykai</b>	102.2	(n.) 'natural spring, pond, tank'.
<b>polālaiyaṇ</b>	55.3	N. of a donor.
<b>p[o]rkogṛi</b>	113.3	(N.) Pet name given to a fighting cock.
<b>poṇ-kolvaṇ</b>	36.2	(n.) 'goldsmith'. Cf. LT <i>poṇ-kollaṇ</i> .
<b>poṇ-vāṇikaṇ</b>	69.2	(n.) 'gold merchant'.
<b>makaḷ</b>	66.3	(n.) 'daughter'.
<b>makaṇ</b>	20.2, 40.4, 61.8, 61.10, 62.8, 62.10, 72.2, 84.3, 88.5	(n.) 'son'.
<b>mattiraike</b> ( <i>matirai-</i> )	38.1	'of Matirai'. (P.) in genitive case. See <i>matirai</i> .
<b>[m]atira</b>	27.1	Variant of <i>matirai</i> .
<b>matiray</b>	36.1	See following entry.
<b>matirai</b>	24.2	(P.) Cf. (inscr.) <i>matirai</i> , (LT <i>maturai</i> ), the ancient capital city of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty. See section 4.20.4 (i).
<b>malai-y vaṇṇakkaṇ</b>	85.3	(n.) A member of the Malai-Vaṇṇakkar clan. Cf. LT <i>vaṇṇakka kōttiraṇ</i> .
<b>mācakōṣu</b>	120.1	(P.) Cf. LT <i>mācu</i> 'darkness, mist, cloud'; <i>kōṣu</i> 'mountain, peak'.
<b>māṇākkar</b>	115.5	(n., honorific sing.); 'pupil, scholar, religious student'; here, a technical term denoting the acolyte of a senior Jaina monk.
<b>mārayatu</b> ( <i>mārāyattu</i> )	54.1	(n., obl.) 'of the <i>mārāya(m)</i> ', 'honour or title bestowed by the king'; here, probably for one so honoured. Cf. LT <i>mārāyam</i> . See section 4.6.10.
<b>mukaiyuru</b> ( <i>mukaiyūru</i> )	112.1	(P.) See Table 4.3 for identification.
<b>muciṛi</b>	56.3	(P.) The ancient Cēra seaport on the west coast of South India. See section 4.20.4 (iv).
<b>[m]uṭitta</b>	115.8	(v.) 'who completed'; here, a Jaina technical term for ending one's life through the penance of ceremonial fast unto death.
<b>mutā</b>	61.1	(adj.) 'elder'; title of a senior Jaina monk.
<b>muḷāakai</b>	7.3	(n.) 'cave, cavern'. Cf. LT <i>muḷai</i> .
<b>muṇṇu</b>	67.2	(n.) 'forecourt, front yard'. Cf. LT <i>muṇṇil</i> .
<b>mūtā</b>	62.1	See <i>mutā</i> .
<b>mēṛc[ē]ri[ku]</b>	112.2	'for the western quarter of the village'. (P.) in dative case.
<b>mōci</b>	76.5	N. of a stonemason.
<b>mōnala[ṇ]-cāttan</b>	121.2	N. of a sculptor; <i>mōnala(ṇ)</i> + <i>cāttan</i> 'Cāttan, son of Mōnalan'.

<b>yāru</b>	62.3	(P., obl.); literally, 'of the river ( <i>yāru</i> )'. However, from the context, this appears to be an abbreviation of <i>yārūr</i> . See following entry.
<b>yārūr</b>	61.3, 63.1	(P.) See Table 4.3 for identification.
<b>va[c]capanti</b>	115.3	N. of a senior Jaina monk.
<b>vintai-ūr</b>	57.1	(P.)
<b>viyakkaṇ kōpaṇ kaṇatēvaṇ</b> (-kaṇṇa-)	84.4	N. of a donor.
<b>viyakaṇ</b>	39.2	N. of a salt merchant.
<b>veṇkōmalai</b>	119.1	(P.) Cf. (Skt. inscr.) <i>veṅgō-rāshṭra</i> ; (Ta. inscr.) <i>veykōṭṭu-malai</i> .
<b>veṇkāsiṇaṇ</b>	14.1	N. of a donor.
<b>veṇṇaṇṇi-i (-paṇṇi-)</b>	46.1	(P.)
<b>ven-a (veṇ-)</b>	20.3	N. of a donor (in genitive case); 'of <i>veṇ</i> '. Cf. LT <i>veṇ</i> 'victory'.
<b>veni ātaṇ (veṇṇi- )</b>	70.2	N. of a donor. Cf. (Ta.) <i>veṇṇi</i> ; (Ma.) <i>venni</i> 'victory'.
<b>vepōṇ (veppōṇ)</b>	13.4	(v.) 'he who has endowed'. Cf. LT <i>vaippōṇ</i> .
<b>veḷ-araṇ (veḷḷaraṇ)</b>	6.1	(P.) literally, 'white rock'. See Table 4.3 for identification.
<b>veḷ-araṇ-y (veḷḷaraṇ-)</b>	3.3	See previous entry.
<b>vesaṇ (vessaṇ)</b>	50.2	N. of a donor.
<b>vēmpir-ūr (vēmpirūr)</b>	35.1	(P.) Cf. LT <i>vēmpirūr</i> . See Table 4.3 for identification.
<b>vaika (vaikka)</b>	16.2	(v.) 'to endow'.
<b>ṇākaṇ (nākaṇ)</b>	37.1	N. of a person.
<b>dhammam</b>	1.3	(n.) 'religious gift, charity or endowment' < (Pkt.) <i>dhamma</i> .
<b>dhamam (dhammam)</b>	2.3	See previous entry. Cf. (Pkt. inscr.) <i>dhama</i> .
<b>satiyaputō (-puttō)</b>	59.1	(n.) Title of <i>atiyaṇ neṇṇumān aṇci</i> as a member of the Satiya clan. Cf. (inscr. of Asoka) <i>satiyaputō</i> . Cf. LT <i>atiyamāṇ</i> (< - <i>makaṇ</i> ). See section 4.5.1.
<b>sapamitā (sappamittā)</b>	41.1	N. of a Jaina nun.
<b>sālakaṇ</b>	2.6	(n.) 'sister-in law's husband'. Cf. LT <i>cālakaṇ</i> , 'wife's sister's husband'.

## APPENDIX II

### INDEX TO PERSONAL NAMES IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

This Index is a list of Personal names (N.) in the Corpus. The listing is in the Tamil alphabetical order (with *s* at the end). The names are listed in col.1. Emendations or corrections (as in the Commentary) are in normal type within brackets next to the inscriptional forms. Names of women are marked (*fem.*), the others being those of men. Case-endings in the original are omitted.

**Reference Numbers** (as in the Commentary) of words and segments are given in col.2.

**Non-initial segments** of personal names are also listed alphabetically alongside. Non-initial segments of composite names are indicated by a hyphen(-) placed before them; non-initial segments of compounds are indicated by double lines(=) placed before them. Full names are printed in **bold** and the segmented names in normal type. A simple personal name can occur in all the three positions; e.g., **Nataṇ** (48.4), -Nataṇ (44.1.c), =Nataṇ (17.1.b).

Details about the persons whose names occur in the Corpus will be found in the Inscriptional Glossary (Appendix I) and the Commentary.

-Añci	59.2.d	Ar-iytaṇ (Ariytaṇ)	18.2
-Aṭaṇ (Aṭṭaṇ)	46.3.b	Araṭṭa Kāyipaṇ	60.7
Attiraṇ	24.3	=Aritaṇ	5.1.b
Ataṇ	40.3	Ariti	34.2
-Ataṇ	36.3.b, 40.5.b	-Ariyti	25.1.b
=Ataṇ	12.4.b, 13.2.b	-Asutaṇ (Assutaṇ)	3.7.b
Ataṇ Ataṇ	36.3, 40.5	-Ātaṇ	70.2.b
Atiyaṇ Neṭumān Añci		Ātaṇ Cāttāṇ (-Cāttāṇ)	74.2
(Atiyaṇ Neṭumāṇ-)	59.2	Ā[ta*ṇ*Ce*]l-l= irumpuṇai	62.7
-Atiṇaṇ (Atiṇṇaṇ)	7.2.b	Ātaṇ Cel-l=irumpuṇai	61.7
Antuvaṇ	53.1	Ātāṇ (Ātaṇ)	82.2
Antai Ariyti	25.1	Āycayaṇ Neṭucātaṇ	
Antai Asutaṇ		(Āyccayyaṇ Neṭucāttaṇ)	55.5
(-Assutaṇ)	3.7	Āritaṇ	60.5
Antai Irāvataṇ	26.1	-Irāvataṇ	26.1.b
Antai Cēnta(ṇ)	28.1	-Irupuṇai	62.7.c-d
Antai-y Pikaṇ		-Irupuṇai	61.7.c-d
(-Pikkaṇ)	20.1	(I)[l]avōṇ (Ilavōṇ)	10.3
Antai [V]isuvaṇ		[I*]laṇkaṭuṇkō	61.11
(-Vissuvaṇ)	27.2	-[I*]laṇkaṭuṇkō	62.11. c-d-e
Ar-itaṇ (Aritaṇ)	8.2		

[I]aṅkāyipaṇ	76.1	Kuvira-a[n]tai	31.1
[I*]aṅkō	89.2	Kuvira-antai Vēl	32.1
Ṭaṇṇaṭṭikaṇ	2.7	Kuviraṇ	21.2
Ṭanataṇ	17.1	Ku[vi]ra(ṇ)	23.1
-[I*]ṭava[ṇ]	67.1.c	=Kuviraṇ	22.1.b
Uṭayaṇa(ṇ)	24.5	-Kuṭṭaṇ	63.4.b
Upaṇuva[ṇ*]		=Kūṭṭaṇ	88.6.b
(Uppaṇuvaṇ)	11.4	Koṭṭantaṇ (Koṭṭantai)	77.2
Eḷa-a Aṭṭaṇ (-Aṭṭaṇ)	46.3	Koṭṭantai [I*]ṭava[ṇ]	67.1
Eḷacantaṇ	43.2	-Koṭṭi (fem.)	66.4.b
Opaṇapa Vira(ṇ)		=Koṭṭi	113.3.b
(Oppaṇappa Viraṇ)	79.1	-Koṭṭi (Koṭṭi) (fem.)	65.4.b
Kaccavanu Catti		Kōṭṭaṇ	56.4
(Kaccavaṇu-)	119.2	-Kōpaṇ	84.4.b
Kaṭṭaḷ-aṇ Vaḷutti-y		Caṭṭikaṇ	2.9
(Kaṭṭaḷaṇ Vaḷuti-)	1.7	=Caṭṭikaṇ	2.7.b
=Kaṭṭuṅkō	61.11. b-c, 62.11.d-e	-Catti	119.2.b
=Kaṭṭuṅkōṇ	61.9. b-c, 62.9. b-c	Cantaṇtai Cantaṇ	29.1
Kaṭṭuṅkōṇ [I*]aṅkaṭṭuṅkō	62.11	Cantaritaṇ	5.1
Kaṭṭummiṭṭa Cōra		Cantiraṇanti	116.4
(kaṭṭumi-putta-)	80.1	-Cantaṇ	29.1.c, 47.1.b
-Kaṇṇatēvaṇ (Kaṇṇa-)	84.4.c-d	=Cantaṇ	43.2.b
Kaṇṇimāṇ	73.1	=Caḷiyaṇ	1.5.b, 2.5.b
Kavutti-i (fem.)	49.4	Cāṭṭaṇ	105.2
Kaḷumāra Nataṇ	44.1	-Cāṭṭaṇ	85.4.b, 121.2.b
Kasapaṇ (Kassapaṇ)	45.2	-Cāṭṭāṇ (Cāṭṭaṇ)	74.2.b
Kāṭṭāṇ	58.2	=Cāṭṭaṇ (Cāṭṭaṇ)	55.5.d
Kāṭaṇ	107.1	Ciḷivaṇ	19.3
Kāyvaṇ (Kāyivaṇ)	104.2	Ciḷivaṇ Atiṇaṇ Veliyaṇ	
=Kāyapaṇ	61.4.b, 62.4.b, 63.2.b	(-Atiṇṇaṇ-)	7.2
-Kāyipaṇ	60.7.b	Ciṇṇeṇṇaṇ	106.1
=Kāyipaṇ	76.1.b	Ciṇṇu . . . vaṇ	73.9
-Kāri	118.2.b	Cēṇkāyapaṇ	61.4, 62.4, 63.2
=Kāsipaṇ	14.1.b	Cēṇkuviraṇ	22.1
=Kīraṇ	72.3.b	=Cēṇṇaṇ	106.1.b
Kīraṇ Koṭṭi (fem.)	66.4	Centaṇṭaṇ	109.1, 110.1
Kīraṇ Koṭṭi (-Koṭṭi) (fem.)	65.4	-Cel	61.7. b, 62.7.b
-Ku-aṇ	2.2.c	Ceṇṇ-ataṇ (Ceṇṇ-)	12.4
Kucalaṇ	108.2	Cē-k-kant-aṇṇi	
-Kuv-aṇ (Kuvaṇ)	1.2.c	(Cē-k-kant(i)-aṇṇi) (fem.)	83.4
-Kuva[ṇ*]	3.2.c		

<b>Cē-k-kanti</b> ( <i>fem.</i> )	83.2	<b>Piṇ-aṇ Kurraṇ</b>	
-Cēnta(ṇ)	28.1.b	(Piṇṇaṇ-)	63.4
-Cēra	80.1.c	=Puṇai	62.7.d
<b>Caiy-aḷaṇ</b> (Caiyaḷaṇ)	57.2	<b>Pūti Vira</b> (-Vīra)	81.2
=Nanti	115.3.b	<b>Pentōṭaṇ</b>	102.1
<b>Nākaṇ</b>	72.1	<b>Peruṇkaṭuṇkōṇ</b>	61.9, 62.9
=Taṇṭaṇ	109.1.b, 110.1.b	<b>Peruṇkīraṇ</b>	72.3
<b>Tanma[ṇ]</b>	45.1	<b>Peruṇkūraṇ</b>	88.6
<b>Tātta Kāri</b>	118.2	<b>Pē[r]ataṇ Piṭaṇ</b> (-Piṭṭaṇ)	13.2
<b>Tiyaṇ Cantaṇ</b>	47.1	<b>Polālaiyaṇ</b>	55.3
=Tēvaṇ	84.4.d	<b>P[o]rkoṇṇi</b>	113.3
<b>Tō[va]ṇ [C]ā[tt]aṇ</b>	85.4	=Porai	61.7.d
=Tōṭaṇ	102.1.b	=Malaṇ (Mallaṇ)	42.2.b
<b>Nakkaṇ</b>	103.1	=Māṇa	44.1.b
<b>Natti-</b>	4.2, 69.3	=Mitā (Mittā) ( <i>fem.</i> )	41.1.b
<b>Nataṇ</b>	48.4	<b>Mōci</b>	76.5
-Nataṇ	44.1.c	<b>Mōnala[ṇ]-cāttaṇ</b>	
=Nataṇ	17.1.b	(Mōnalaṇ-)	121.2
<b>Nata-siri-y Kuva[ṇ*]</b>	3.2	<b>Va[c]caṇanti</b>	115.3
<b>Nanta-a-siri-y-i Kuv-aṇ</b>		-Vaḷutti-y (Vaḷuti-)	1.7.b
(-Kuvaṇ)	1.2	<b>Viyakkaṇ Kōpaṇ</b>	
<b>Nanta-siri-y Ku-aṇ</b>	2.2	<b>Kaṇatēvaṇ</b> (-Kaṇṇa-)	84.4
=Nanti	116.4.b	<b>Viyakaṇ</b>	39.2
<b>Nākaṇ</b>	48.2	-Vira (Vīra)	81.2.b
<b>Neṭiṇṇaḷiyaṇ</b>	2.5	-Vira(ṇ) (Vīraṇ)	79.1.c
-Neṭucātaṇ (Neṭucāttaṇ)	55.5. c-d	-[V]isuvaṇ (Vissuvaṇ)	27.2.b
<b>Neṭuṇṇaḷiyaṇ</b>	1.5	<b>Veṇkāsiṇaṇ</b>	14.1
<b>Neṭumalaṇ</b> (Neṭumallaṇ)	42.2	<b>Ven</b> (Veṇ)	20.3
-Neṭumān (Neṭumāṇ)	59.2.b-c	<b>Veni Ātaṇ</b> (Veṇṇi-)	70.2
<b>Par-acu</b> (Paracu)	9.2	-Veḷiyaṇ	7.2.c
... <b>paṇ</b>	78.1	<b>Vesaṇ</b> (Vessaṇ)	50.2
-Pikaṇ (Pikkaṇ)	20.1.b	-Vēḷ	32.1.c
<b>Piṭantai</b> (Piṭṭantai)	66.2	<b>Nākaṇ</b> (Nākaṇ)	37.1
<b>Piṭaṇ</b> (Piṭṭaṇ)	65.2	<b>Sapamitā</b> (Sappamittā) ( <i>fem.</i> )	41.1
-Piṭaṇ (Piṭṭaṇ)	13.2.c		

# APPENDIX III

## INDEX TO PLACE NAMES IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

This Index is a list of Place names (P.) in the Corpus. The listing is in the Tamil alphabetical order. The inscriptional forms are listed in col. 1 in **bold**. Emendations or corrections (as in the Commentary) are in normal type within brackets. Case-endings in the original are omitted.

**Reference Numbers** (as in the Commentary) are given in col. 2.

**Toponyms** based on geographical features serve as place names or are affixed to them. An alphabetical list of such words with their lexical meanings is added in a separate list at the end of this Index.

Place names which have been identified are shown in Map I. See also Table 4.3.

<b>Akaram</b>	108.1	<b>Nākapērūr</b>	56.1
<b>Aka]-ūr (Aka]ūr)</b>	76.3	<b>Nā]a] (Nā]a])</b>	77.1
<b>Iva-kunra(m)</b>	60.1	<b>Nelvel-i-y</b>	7.1
<b>E-iyl (Eyil)</b>	18.1	<b>Patiṇ-[ū]r (Patiṇūr)</b>	30.1
<b>Ekkāṭṭūru</b>	117.1	<b>Parampaṇ-Kōkūr</b>	84.1
<b>Erukāṭu-ūru (Erukāṭṭu-)</b>	52.1	<b>Palpuli</b>	118.1
<b>Erukāṭur (Erukāṭṭūr)</b>	55.1	<b>Paṇaituṇai</b>	50.1
<b>Erumināṭu</b>	49.1	<b>Pākaṇ-ūr (Pākaṇūr)</b>	13.1
<b>E]ai-y-ūr (E]aiyūr)</b>	34.1	<b>Pāṇkāt(u)</b>	8.1
<b>Ēri</b>	60.4	<b>Pāṇāṭu</b>	115.2
<b>Ē]ur (Ē]ūr)</b>	121.1	<b>Perumpoka]</b>	83.1
<b>Kaṭikai</b>	88.3	<b>Pētalai (Pēttalai)</b>	21.1
<b>Karu-ūr (Karuvūr)</b>	69.1	<b>Mattirai (Matirai)</b>	38.1
<b>Kāpi-ūr (Kāppi-)</b>	74.1	<b>[M]atira (Matirai)</b>	27.1
<b>Ki]-c-cēri (Ki]-)</b>	113.1	<b>Matiray (Matirai)</b>	36.1
<b>Kuṇā</b>	89.1	<b>Matirai</b>	24.2
<b>Kumu]-ūr (Kumu]ūr)</b>	49.2	<b>Mācakōṭu</b>	120.1
<b>Korrai</b>	104.1	<b>Mukaiyuru (Mukaiyūru)</b>	112.1
<b>Campokai</b>	105.1	<b>Muciṇi</b>	56.3
<b>Campoykaipēṭu</b>	101.1	<b>Mērc[ē]ri</b>	112.2
<b>[T]āvaṇ-ūr (Tāvaṇūr)</b>	63.3	<b>Yārru (for Yārrūr)</b>	62.3
<b>Tiṭi (Tiṭṭi)</b>	58.1	<b>Yārrūr</b>	61.3, 63.1
<b>Tiṭi-il (Tiṭṭi-)</b>	33.1	<b>Vintai-ūr</b>	57.1
<b>Teṇku-ciṇupocil</b>	49.5	<b>Veṇkōmalai</b>	119.1
<b>Tēṇūr</b>	73.2	<b>Veṇpa][i]-i (-pa]li-)</b>	46.1
<b>Toṇṭi</b>	10.2	<b>Ve]-arai (Ve]larai)</b>	6.1
<b>Nalli-[y]-ūr (Nalliyūr)</b>	66.1	<b>Ve]-arai-y (Ve]larai-)</b>	3.3
<b>Nali-[y]-ūr (Nalliyūr)</b>	65.1	<b>Vēmpir-ūr (Vēmpirūr)</b>	35.1

## COMMON TOPONYMS IN PLACE NAMES

<b>akaram</b>	108.1	'a Brahman village'.
<b>akaḷ</b>	76.3.a	'moat, tank, reservoir'.
<b>aṟai</b>	3.3.b, 6.1.b	'rock, stone'.
<b>il</b>	33.1.b, 35.1.b	'place'.
<b>ūr</b>	19.2	'village, town, city'.
<b>-ūr</b>		id.; frequent suffix to place names. See Etymological Index: Dravidian (Appendix IV).
<b>e-iyḷ (eyil)</b>	18.1	'fortress, city, town'.
<b>ōri</b>	60.4	'lake, large tank'.
<b>kāṭu, kāṭṭu</b>	8.1.b, 52.1.b, 55.1.b, 117.1.b	'forest, jungle'.
<b>kiḷ (kīḷ)</b>	113.1.a	'east, eastern'.
<b>kunra(m)</b>	60.1.b	'hill, mountain'.
<b>cēri</b>	112.2.b, 113.1.b	'village, hamlet, quarter'.
<b>talai</b>	21.1.b	'place'.
<b>tiṭi (tiṭṭi)</b>	33.1.a, 58.1	'raised ground'.
<b>tuṟai</b>	50.1.b	'waterfront'.
<b>teṅku</b>	49.5.a	'south, southern'.
<b>toṇṭi</b>	10.2	'a small arm of the sea'.
<b>nāṭu, nāṭṭu</b>	49.1.b, 115.2.b	'country, province, district'.
<b>parampaṇ</b>	84.1.a	(n.) 'a member of a class of cultivators ( <i>parampar</i> )' or, (attribute) from <i>parampu</i> 'dry ground laid out for cultivation'.
<b>paḷḷi-i (paḷḷi-)</b>	46.1.b	'hamlet'.
<b>pēṭu</b>	101.1.c	'village, small town'.
<b>pokal</b>	83.1.b	(LT <i>pukal</i> ) 'refuge, residence'.
<b>pocil</b>	49.5.c	(Cf. Ka. <i>hosilu</i> , Ta. <i>vācal</i> ) 'entrance'.
<b>poykai</b>	101.1.b, 102.2	'spring, pond, tank'.
<b>malai</b>	85.3.a, 119.1.c	'hill, mountain'.
<b>mukai</b>	112.1.a	'cave'.
<b>mēl</b>	112.2.a	'west, western'.
<b>yāṟu</b>	61.3.a, 62.3, 63.1.a	'of the river (< <i>yāru</i> )'.
<b>veḷi</b>	7.1.b	'open space, field'.

# APPENDIX IV

## ETYMOLOGICAL INDEX: DRAVIDIAN

This Index is a list of the Dravidian (Dr.) etyma in the Corpus.

**Headwords** (in bold italics in col.1) are arranged in the Tamil alphabetical order. Noun stems are given without the paragogic suffixes or case-endings found in the original inscriptions. Minimal segments of personal names (N.) and place names (P.) which appear to be Dravidian are also included. **Emendations or corrections** (as in the Commentary) are in italics within brackets next to the headwords. Grammatical parts of speech are indicated next within brackets. See List of Abbreviations.

**Reference Numbers** (as in the Commentary) of words and segments are given col. 2.

**Dravidian Parallels** are given in col. 3, mostly from *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (DEDR; entry numbers are marked D.) or from *Tamil Lexicon* (TL). For entries not found in these two sources, literary or inscriptional references are cited. Names of Dravidian languages are abbreviated as in DE DR. Literary and inscriptional citations and discussion on etymology will be found in the Commentary on the entries indicated by the Reference Numbers.

See Etymological Index: Doubtful Items (Appendix VI) for etyma whose derivation from Dr. or IA is in doubt. See also section 3.2 (Dravidian element) in Chapter 3.

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF.NO.	DRAVIDIAN
<b>aka</b> (n.)	76.3.a	<b>aka</b> (D. 11).
<b>añci</b> (N.)	59.2.d	<b>añci</b> (TL).
<b>aṇṇi</b> (n.)	83.4.c	<b>aṇṇi</b> (D. 131).
<b>aṇa</b> (n.)	120.2.b	<b>aṇai</b> (Ta.), <b>aṇa</b> (Ma.) (D. 122).
<b>aṇi</b> (n.)	44.2.b	<b>aṇi</b> (D. 120).
<b>ataṇ</b> (N.)	12.4.b, 13.2.b, 36.3.a, 36.3.b, 40.3, 40.5.a, 40.5.b	Cf. <b>ata(ṇ)-</b> in <b>ataṇkōṭṭ-ācāṇ</b> (TL).
<b>atiyaṇ</b> ( <i>atiyaṇ</i> ) (N.)	59.2.a	<b>atiyaṇ</b> (Aka. 325:8).
<b>atiṇṇaṇ</b> ( <i>atiṇṇaṇ</i> ) (N.)	7.2.b	<b>atiṇṇaṇ</b> in a coin-legend; (Table 1.6, No. 13).
<b>atai</b> (n.)	30.2, 56.2	Variant of <b>antai</b> ; cf. <b>attaṇ</b> (D. 142).
<b>antay</b>	77.2.b	See <b>antai</b> .
<b>antuvaṇ</b> (N.)	53.1	<b>antuvaṇ</b> (Aka.59:12).
<b>antai</b> (n.)	3.7.a, 20.1.a, 25.1.a, 26.1.a, 27.2.a, 28.1.a, 29.1.b, 31.1.b, 32.1.b, 66.2.b, 67.1.b	<b>antai</b> (Pallava Inscr. No. 74); occurs in LT only as a bound suffix in masc. personal names; cf. also <b>tantai</b> , <b>entai</b> , etc., (D. 3067).
<b>apa-</b> ( <i>appa-</i> ) (n.)	79.1.b	<b>appaṇ</b> (D. 156).
<b>ama</b> (LT <i>amai</i> ) (v.)	48.6	<b>amai</b> (D. 161).
<b>ay-am</b> ( <i>ayam</i> ) (n.)	35.2.b	<b>ayam</b> (D. 188).

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF.NO.	DRAVIDIAN
<b>araṭṭa-</b> (N.)	60.7.a	<i>araṭṭaṇ</i> (TL); Cf. <i>araṭṭu</i> (D. 3605).
<b>av-</b> (pron.)	45.3.a	<i>a-</i> , <i>av-</i> (D. 1).
<b>aṛam</b> (n.)	76.4	<i>aṛam</i> (D. 311).
<b>aṛutta</b> (v.)	61.14	<i>aṛu</i> (D. 315).
<b>aṛupitta</b> ( <i>aṛuppitta</i> ) (v.)	63.5	id.
<b>aṛupita</b> ( <i>aṛuppitta</i> ) (v.)	62.14	id.
<b>aṛuvai</b> (n.)	46.2.a	<i>aṛuvai</i> (D. 318).
<b>aṛai</b> (n.)	3.3.b, 6.1.b	<i>aṛai</i> (D. 321).
<b>(ā)-iṇa</b> (LT <i>āyina</i> ) (v.)	41.2	<i>ā</i> (D. 333).
<b>āka</b> (v.)	61.13, 62.13	<i>āku</i> (D. 333).
<b>āṭi</b> (v.)	112.3	<i>āṭu</i> (D. 347).
<b>ātaṇ</b> (N.)	61.7.a, 62.7.a, 70.2.b, 74.2.a	<i>ātaṇ</i> (TL).
<b>ātāṇ</b> ( <i>ātaṇ</i> )	82.2	See <i>ātaṇ</i> .
<b>āru</b> (LT <i>ār</i> ) (v.)	114.2.b	<i>ār</i> (D. 368).
<b>ittai</b> (LT <i>itai</i> / <i>ittai</i> ) (pron., accusative case)	13.3	<i>ittai</i> (Peru. Aka.); cf. <i>itu</i> , <i>iṭtu</i> (D. 410a).
<b>ittā-</b> (LT <i>itā</i> ) (intj.)	1.4	<i>itā</i> (D. 410a).
<b>ir[u]-a-ar</b> (LT <i>iruvār</i> ) (num. pron.)	45.3.b	<i>iruvār</i> (D. 474).
<b>irum-</b> (adj.)	61.7.c, 62.7.c	<i>iru-</i> , <i>irumai</i> (D. 481).
<b>iruvār</b> (num.pron.)	48.5	<i>iruvār</i> (D. 474).
<b>il</b> (n.)	33.1.b, 35.1.b	<i>il</i> (D. 494).
<b>(i)[l]avōṇ</b> ( <i>illavōṇ</i> ) (N.)	10.3	Cf. <i>illōṇ</i> (Peru. Aka.).
<b>iḷa-</b> (adj.)	17.1.a	<i>iḷa-</i> , (D. 513).
<b>iḷa(m)-</b> (adj.)	2.7.a, 76.1.a,	<i>iḷam-</i> , <i>iḷamai</i> (D. 513).
<b>[i*]ḷa(m)-</b> (adj.)	61.11.a, 61.12.a, 62.11.c, 62.12.a, 89.2.a	id.
<b>iḷaiyar</b> (LT <i>iḷaiyar</i> ) (n.)	49.6	<i>iḷaiyar</i> (D. 513).
<b>[i*]ḷava[ṇ]</b> (N.)	67.1.c	Cf. <i>eḷavaṇ</i> (inscr., <i>SII</i> . XVII:No. 400); <i>iḷaval</i> , <i>iḷaiyaṇ</i> (D. 513).
<b>ītta</b> (v.)	59.3	<i>ī</i> (D. 2598).
<b>īttavaṇ</b> (v.)	12.3	id.
<b>ītā</b> (intj.)	2.4, 16.1	<i>ītā</i> (D. 410a).
<b>uparuvā[ṇ*]</b> ( <i>upparuvaṇ</i> ) (N.)	11.4	Cf. <i>upparavar</i> (D. 626); <i>uppāra</i> (Ka.) (D. 628).
<b>upu</b> ( <i>uppu</i> ) (n.)	39.1.a	<i>uppu</i> (D. 2674a).
<b>ur</b> ( <i>ūr</i> )	55.1.c, 121.1.b	See <i>ūr</i> .
<b>uru</b> ( <i>ūru</i> )	112.1.b	id.

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF.NO.	DRAVIDIAN
<i>uḷ</i> (n.)	60.2.b, 114.2.a	<i>uḷ</i> (D. 698).
<i>uṛai</i> (n.)	9.3, 24.4, 60.2.a, 61.5, 62.5	<i>uṛai</i> (D. 710).
<i>ūr</i> (n.)	13.1.b, 19.2, 30.1.b, 34.1.b, 35.1.c, 49.2.b, 56.1.c, 57.1.b, 61.3.b, 63.1.b, 63.3.b, 65.1.b, 66.1.b, 69.1.b, 73.2.b, 74.1.b, 76.3.b, 84.1.c	<i>ūr</i> (D. 752).
<i>ūru</i> (LT <i>ūr</i> )	52.1.c, 117.1.c	See <i>ūr</i> .
<i>ūṛu</i> ( <i>ūṛu</i> ) (n.)	75.1	<i>ūṛu</i> (D. 761).
<i>e-iyil</i> ( <i>eyil</i> ) (P.)	18.1	<i>eyil</i> (D. 808).
<i>ek-</i> (prob., < <i>eru-k-</i> ) by contraction (n.)	117.1.a	Cf. <i>eru</i> (D. 813).
<i>eṇ-</i> (LT <i>eḷ-</i> ) (in sandhi) (n.)	70.1.a	<i>eṇ</i> , <i>eḷ</i> (D. 854).
<i>em</i> (pron., obl.)	19.1	<i>yām</i> > <i>em</i> (D. 5154).
<i>eru</i> (n.)	52.1.a, 55.1.a	<i>eru</i> (D. 813).
<i>erumi</i> (n.)	49.1.a	Cf. <i>erumai</i> (Ta.), <i>erme</i> (Ka., Tu.), <i>ermi</i> (Go.) (D. 816).
<i>eḷuttu</i> (n.)	85.1	<i>eḷuttu</i> (D. 853).
<i>eḷai</i> (prob., < <i>eḷai</i> , LT <i>iṭai</i> ) (n.)	34.1.a	<i>iṭai</i> (D. 448 or 450).
<i>eḷa-</i> (LT <i>iḷa-</i> ) (adj.)	43.2.a, 56.5.a	<i>iḷa-</i> (D. 513).
<i>eḷa-a-</i> (N.)	46.3.a	Cf. <i>eḷavaṇ</i> (inscr., <i>SII</i> . XVII: No. 400).
<i>ēri</i> (P.)	60.4	<i>ēri</i> (D. 901).
<i>ēva</i> (v.)	76.2	<i>ēvu</i> (D. 909).
<i>ēḷ</i> (v. or num. adj.)	121.1.a	<i>eḷu-</i> (D. 851a) or <i>ēḷu</i> (D. 910).
<i>ēḷ(u)</i> (num.)	116.1.c	<i>ēḷu</i> (D. 910).
<i>aim-</i> (num. adj.)	116.1.a	<i>ai-</i> , <i>aim-</i> (D. 2826).
<i>oppaṇ</i> ( <i>oppaṇ</i> ) (N.)	79.1.a	Cf. <i>oppu</i> (Ta.), <i>oppa</i> (Ka.) (D. 924).
<i>kaṭal-aṇ</i> ( <i>kaṭalan</i> ) (N.)	1.7.a	Cf. <i>kaṭal</i> , <i>kaṭalar</i> (D. 1118); <i>kaṭalan</i> (Aka. 81:13).
<i>kaṭu(m)-</i> (adj.)	61.9.b, 61.11.b, 62.9.b, 62.11.a, 62.11.d	<i>kaṭum-</i> , <i>kaṭumai</i> (D. 1135).
<i>kaṭummi</i> ( <i>kaṭumi</i> ) (N.)	80.1.a	Cf. <i>kaḍimi</i> (Te.) (D. 1135).
<i>kaya[m*]</i> (n.)	54.2	<i>kayam</i> (D. 1251).
<i>karaṇṭai</i> (n.)	51.1	<i>karaṇṭai</i> (TL).
<i>karu</i> (n.?)	69.1.a	Etymology uncertain.
<i>karu-iyā</i> (v.)	17.2	Cf. <i>karu</i> , <i>karukku</i> (n.) (D. 1280).
<i>karukiya</i> ( <i>karukkiya</i> ) (v.)	112.4	id.

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF.NO.	DRAVIDIAN
<i>kal</i> (n.)	14.3.a, 48.7, 61.15, 62.15, 101.3, 114.3	<i>kal</i> (D. 1298).
<i>kala-</i> (n.)	16.4	<i>kalam</i> (TL).
<i>kavi</i> (n.)	57.3	<i>kevi</i> (Ta.), <i>gavi</i> (Ka., Te.) (D. 1332).
<i>ka/u-</i> (cf. LT <i>kaṭu-</i> ) (adj.)	44.1.a	<i>kaṭu-</i> (D. 1135).
<i>kāṭṭ(u)</i> (n., obl.)	117.1.b	<i>kāṭu</i> (D. 1438).
<i>kāṭa</i> ( <i>kāṭṭa</i> < <i>kāṭu</i> + <i>a</i> ) (n., genitive case)	8.1.b	<i>kāṭṭa</i> (Aka. 53:7); <i>kāṭu</i> (D. 1438).
<i>kāṭu</i> ( <i>kāṭṭu</i> ) (n., obl.)	52.1.b, 55.1.b	<i>kāṭu</i> (D. 1438).
<i>kāṭṭāṇ</i> (N.)	58.2	<i>kāṭṭāṇ</i> (TL) < <i>kā</i> (D. 1416).
<i>kāṭaṇ</i> (N.)	107.1	Cf. <i>kā</i> > <i>kād-</i> (Ka.) (D. 1416); or <i>kāṭu</i> (D. 1448).
<i>kāpi</i> ( <i>kāppi</i> ) (N. or. P.)	74.1.a	Cf. <i>kāppiyāṇu</i> (Patīr. Patikam 4); <i>kāppiya-k-kuṭi</i> (TL).
<i>kāri</i> (N.)	118.2.b	<i>kār</i> , <i>kāri</i> (D. 1278c).
<i>kāl</i> (n.)	3.6.a	<i>kāl</i> 'pearl' (TL); cf. <i>kāl</i> 'seed, stone' (D. 1493).
<i>kiḷ-</i> ( <i>kiḷ-</i> ) (adj.)	113.1.a	<i>kiḷ</i> (D. 1619).
<i>kiḷ[ā]r</i> (n.)	84.2	<i>kiḷāṇ</i> (D. 1979).
<i>kīraṇ</i> (N.)	65.4.a, 66.4.a, 72.3.b	<i>kīraṇ</i> (TL).
<i>ku-aṇ</i>	2.2.c	See <i>kuvāṇ</i> .
<i>kuṭupita</i> ( <i>kuṭuppitta</i> ) (v.)	14.2	<i>kuṭu</i> (inscr., <i>SH.V</i> :Nos. 405-406); LT <i>koṭu</i> (D. 2053).
<i>kuṭupitō[r*]</i> ( <i>kuṭuppittōr</i> ) (v.)	45.4	<i>koṭu</i> (D. 2053).
<i>kuṇā</i> (P.)	89.1	Cf. <i>kuṇātu</i> 'to the east' (Aka. 4:14).
<i>kumuḷ</i> (LT <i>kumil</i> ) (n.)	49.2.a	<i>kumil</i> (D. 1742).
<i>kuv-aṇ</i> ( <i>kuvāṇ</i> )	1.2.c	See <i>kuvāṇ</i> .
<i>kuva[ṇ*]</i> (N.)	3.2.c	Cf. <i>kuvāvaṇ</i> (inscr., <i>EI</i> . XIII:p. 139); <i>kuvavu</i> 'greatness' ( <i>Cūṭā</i> . 8: 10); <i>kuvva</i> (Te.) cited in TL.
<i>kuṇṇaṇ</i> (N.)	63.4.b	<i>kuṇu-</i> (Ta.), <i>kuṇṇa</i> (Te.) (D. 1851).
<i>kuṇa</i> (LT <i>kuṇai</i> ) (n.)	11.1	<i>kuṇai</i> (D. 1859).
<i>kuṇu</i> ( <i>kūru</i> ) (n.)	12.1	<i>kūru</i> (D. 1924).
<i>kuṇum-</i> (adj.)	65.3.a	<i>kuṇu-</i> , <i>kuṇum-</i> , <i>kuṇumai</i> (D. 1851).
<i>kuṇṇatu</i> ( <i>kuṇṇattu</i> ) (n., obl.)	60.1.b	<i>kuṇṇam</i> (D. 1864).
<i>kuṇṇu</i> (n.)	73.5	<i>kuṇṇu</i> (D. 1864).
<i>kūṇṇaṇ</i> (N.)	88.6.b	Cf. <i>kūru</i> , <i>kūṇṇam</i> (D. 1924).

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF.NO.	DRAVIDIAN
<b>koṭṭupitta</b> (v.)	1.8	<i>koṭṭu</i> (D. 2063); cf. <i>koṭṭuvittāṇ</i> ( <i>Pallava Inscr.</i> No. 85).
<b>koṭṭupitōṇ</b> ( <i>koṭṭupittōṇ</i> ) (v.)	8.3, 9.4	<i>koṭṭu</i> (D. 2063).
<b>koṭal</b> ( <i>koṭṭal</i> ) (verbal noun)	12.2	id.
<b>koṭi-ōr</b> ( <i>koṭṭi-ōr</i> ) (v.)	6.3	id.
<b>koṭiy-avaṇ</b> ( <i>koṭṭiyavaṇ</i> ) (v.)	4.3	id.
<b>koṭu</b> (v.)	10.4	<i>koṭu</i> (D. 2053).
<b>koṭupi...</b> ( <i>koṭuppi...</i> ) (v.)	15.2	id.
<b>koṭupita-avaṇ</b> ( <i>koṭuppittavaṇ</i> ) (v.)	44.3	id.
<b>koṭupitavaṇ</b> ( <i>koṭuppittavaṇ</i> ) (v.)	11.2, 53.2	id.
<b>koṭupitōṇ</b> ( <i>koṭuppittōṇ</i> ) (v.)	3.9, 5.2, 7.4	id.
<b>kolvaṇ</b> (Cf.LT <i>kollaṇ</i> ) (n.)	36.2.b	<i>kol</i> , <i>kollaṇ</i> (D. 2133).
<b>koḷu</b> (n.)	43.1.a	<i>koḷu</i> (D. 2147).
<b>korra-</b> (N.)	67.1.a, 77.2.a	Cf. <i>korram</i> , <i>korraṇaṇ</i> (D. 2169).
<b>korri</b> (N.)	66.4.b, 113.3.b	<i>korri</i> (D. 2169).
<b>korrai</b> (prob., variant of <i>korravai</i> )(P.)	104.1	Cf. <i>korravai</i> (D. 2169).
<b>koṛi</b> ( <i>korri</i> )	65.4.b	See <i>korri</i> .
<b>koṛiya</b> ( <i>korriya</i> ) (v.)	52.3	Cf. <i>korru</i> (n.) ( <i>TL</i> ), <i>kottu</i> (v.) (D. 2091), <i>kuṛru</i> (v.) (D. 1850a), <i>korriṇa</i> ( <i>inscr.</i> ).
<b>kō<sup>1</sup></b> (n.)	61.6, 61.11.c, 61.12.b, 62.6, 62.11.e, 62.12.b, 81.1, 82.1, 88.4(?), 89.2.b	<i>kō</i> 'king, chieftain'. (D. 2177).
<b>kō<sup>2</sup></b> (n.)	119.1.b	<i>kō</i> 'mountain' (D. 2178).
<b>kōk(u)</b> (Cf.LT <i>kōṇku</i> ) (n.)	84.1.b	<i>kōṇku</i> (D. 2185).
<b>kōṭaṇ</b> (N.)	56.4	<i>kōṭaṇ</i> ( <i>Puṇa</i> . 176:7).
<b>kōṭu</b> (n.)	120.1.b	<i>kōṭu</i> (D. 2049).
<b>kōḷi</b> (n.)	112.5, 113.2	<i>kōḷi</i> (D. 2248).
<b>kōṇ</b> (n.)	52.2.b, 61.9.c, 62.9.c, 62.11.b, 73.4, 117.2	<i>kōṇ</i> (D. 2177).
<b>caṭikaṇ</b> (N.)	2.7.b, 2.9	Cf. <i>caṭaiyaṇ</i> ( <i>inscr.</i> , <i>SII</i> . XIV: Index).
<b>cam-</b> (LT <i>cem-</i> )	101.1.a, 105.1.a	See <i>ce(m)-</i> .
<b>caḷiyaṇ</b> (LT <i>ceḷiyaṇ</i> ) (N.)	1.5.b, 2.5.b	<i>ceḷiyaṇ</i> ( <i>TL</i> ); cf. <i>ceḷi</i> (D. 2789).
<b>ciḷivaṇ</b> (N.)	7.2.a, 19.3	Cf. <i>ceḷiyaṇ</i> ( <i>TL</i> ).
<b>ciṛu-</b> (adj.)	49.5.b, 73.9.a, 106.1.a	<i>ciṛu-</i> (D. 1594).
<b>cunai</b> (n.)	84.6	<i>cunai</i> (D. 2716).

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF.NO.	DRAVIDIAN
<b>ceṇṇaṇ</b> (N.)	106.1.b	<i>ceṇṇa</i> (Ka. inscr., <i>Epi. Car. XIII</i> : Index); cf. <i>ceṇṇu</i> , <i>ceṇṇam</i> (TL).
<b>ce(m)-</b> (adj.)	22.1.a, 61.4.a, 62.4.a, 63.2.a, 109.1.a, 110.1.a	<i>cem-</i> (D. 2747).
<b>ceyta</b> (v.)	49.7	<i>cey</i> (D. 1957).
<b>ceytā[ṇ*]</b> (v.)	55.4	id.
<b>ceypita</b> ( <i>ceypitta</i> ) (v.)	89.3	id.
<b>ceyvittāṇ</b> (v.)	88.2	id.
<b>ceyita</b> (LT <i>ceyta</i> ) (v.)	76.6	id.
<b>ceyitāṇ</b> (LT <i>ceytāṇ</i> ) (v.)	73.7	id.
<b>ceyipita</b> ( <i>ceyipitta</i> ) (v.)	65.5	id.
<b>ceyivitta</b> (LT <i>ceyvitta</i> ) (v.)	83.5	id.
<b>cel</b> (N.)	61.7.b, 62.7.b	Cf. <i>cel</i> 'thunderbolt' (TL) or <i>cel-v-am</i> , <i>cellam</i> (D. 2786).
<b>ceṛ-</b> ( <i>ceṇṇ-</i> ) (LT <i>ciṇṇ-</i> ) (adj.)	12.4.a	Cf. <i>ciṇṇu</i> (Ta.), <i>ceṇṇu</i> (Ma.) (D. 1594).
<b>cē</b> (N.)	83.2.a, 83.4.a	Cf. <i>cē-k-kijār</i> 'a family name' (TL); <i>cē</i> 'redness' (D. 1931), 'bull' (D. 2818), 'Taurus zodiac sign' (TL).
<b>cē-iya</b> (v.)	2.10	From <i>cē</i> (LT <i>cey</i> , D. 1957).
<b>cētavar</b> (LT <i>ceytavar</i> ) (v.)	35.3	id.; cf. <i>cēta</i> (LT <i>ceyta</i> ) ( <i>Pallava Inscr.</i> No. 268)
<b>cēnta-</b> (N.)	28.1.b	<i>cēntaṇ</i> (TL).
<b>cēy-a</b> (v.)	31.2	From <i>cē</i> (LT <i>cey</i> , D. 1957).
<b>cēra-</b> (N.)	80.1.c	<i>cēraṇ</i> (TL).
<b>cēri</b> (n.)	112.2.b, 113.1.b	<i>cēri</i> (D. 2007).
<b>cēvit-ōṇ</b> ( <i>cēvittōṇ</i> ) (v.)	18.3	From <i>cē</i> (LT <i>cey</i> , D. 1957); cf. <i>cēvittāṇ</i> (inscr., <i>SIL</i> V: No. 406); (LT <i>ceyvittāṇ</i> ).
<b>taṇṭaṇ</b> (N.)	109.1.b, 110.1.b	Cf. <i>taṇṭu</i> 'to collect' (D. 3054) or 'army, troop' (D. 3055).
<b>tanta</b> (v.)	73.3	<i>tā</i> 'to capture' (TL); cf. <i>tā</i> 'to give to 1st or 2nd person' (D. 3098).
<b>tantai</b> (n.)	2.8	<i>tantai</i> (D. 3067).
<b>talai</b> (n.)	21.1.b	'word used as locative suffix' (TL), 'place' ( <i>Tivā</i> 1023); cf. <i>tala</i> (Te.) 'place' (D. 3103).
<b>tātta-</b> (N.)	118.2.a	<i>tāta</i> (Ka., Te.) (D. 3160); Cf. <i>tātai</i> (TL).
<b>tāyiyaru</b> (n.)	83.3	Cf. (Ka.) <i>tāyiyaru</i> (honorific sing.). from <i>tāyi</i> (D. 364).

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF.NO.	DRAVIDIAN
[t]āvaṇ (N.)	63.3.a	Prob., a personal name from tāvu 'might, strength' (Tivā. 1402).
tīṭi (tīṭi) (P.)	33.1.a, 58.1	tīṭi (D. 3221).
tuṛukay (tuṛukai) (n.)	114.1	Prob., 'vent in a sluice'; cf. tuṛukai 'stone to close the outlet of a channel' (TL); tuṛ 'hole' (D. 3399b), tūṛu (Ka.) 'go through a hole' (D. 3399a).
tuṛai (n.)	50.1.b	tuṛai (D. 3370).
teṇku (LT teṛku) (n.)	49.5.a	teṇ-, teṛku (D. 3449).
tēṇ (n.)	73.2.a	tēṇ (D. 3268b).
taita (taitta) (v.)	101.2	tai 'to make' (TL).
toṭa (toṭṭa) (v.)	84.5	toṭu (D. 3549).
toṇṭi (P.)	10.2	'An ancient seaport'; cf. toṇṭi 'small arm of the sea' (TL).
tōṭaṇ (N.)	102.1.b	Prob., from tōṭu 'ear ornament' (D.3545) or toṭu 'to wear (clothes), put on (dress)' (D. 3482).
nal- (adj.)	17.3.a	nal- (D. 3610).
nalli (N.)	66.1.a	Prob., a personal name from nal- 'good' (D. 3610).
nali (nalli)	65.1.a	See nalli.
(n)āṭṭu (n., obl.)	115.2.b	nāṭu (D. 3638).
nāṭu (prob., -nāṭṭu) (n., obl.)	49.1.b	id.
nāṭaṭ (nāṭaṭ) (P.)	77.1.	From nāṭaṭ, nāṭaṭ 'a flowering tree' (D. 2915).
nīr (n.)	120.2.a	nīr (D. 3690 a).
nūṛu (num.)	16.3	nūṛu (D. 3729).
neṭi(m)-	2.5.a	See neṭu(m)-.
neṭu-	42.2.a, 55.5.c, 59.2.b	id.
neṭu(m)- (adj.)	1.5.a	neṭu-, neṭum- (D. 3738).
nel (n.)	7.1.a, 16.5	nel (D. 3753).
-(n)ai (LT ney) (n.) (in sandhi)	70.1.b	ney (D. 3746).
nōṭṭa (v.)	116.3	nōl (D. 3800).
nōṭṭu (v.)	115.7	id.
paṇa-aṇ (n.)	1.6	Cf. paṇavaṇ (TL); paṇ (D. 3884).
patt(u) (num.)	116.1.b	pattu (D. 3918).
patiṇ- (num. adj.)	30.1.a	patiṇ- (D. 3918).

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF.NO.	DRAVIDIAN
<i>par-acu</i> ( <i>paracu</i> ) (N.)	9.2	Prob., from <i>paracu</i> 'to praise, extol' (D. 3951).
<i>parampaṇ</i> (n.)	84.1.a	Cf. <i>parampar</i> 'a class of cultivators' ( <i>SITI</i> . III. 2:Glossary); <i>parampu</i> (D. 3949).
<i>pal-</i> (adj.)	118.1.a	<i>pal-</i> (D. 3987).
<i>palli</i> (n.)	83.6, 88.1	<i>palli</i> 'hermitage, especially of Buddhists and Jains' (D. 4018).
<i>paḷi</i> <sup>1</sup> ( <i>paḷli</i> ) (n.)	1.9, 2.11, 10.5, 15.1, 34.3, 52.4, 59.4, 65.6, 77.3, 89.4	id.
<i>paḷ[i]</i> <sup>2</sup> ( <i>paḷli</i> ) (n.)	46.1.b	<i>palli</i> 'hamlet' (D. 4018).
<i>papai</i> (n.)	50.1.a	<i>papai</i> (D. 4037).
<i>pā</i> (n.)	8.1.a	Prob., <i>pā</i> 'expanse' (D. 4088).
<i>pākaṇ</i> (n.)	13.1.a	<i>pākaṇ</i> (D. 4046).
<i>pāṇ</i> (n.)	115.2.a	<i>pāṇ</i> ( <i>TL</i> ); <i>pāṇ</i> , <i>pāṇaṇ</i> (D. 4068).
<i>piṭa-</i> ( <i>piṭṭa-</i> )	66.2.a	See <i>piṭṭaṇ</i> .
<i>piṭṭaṇ</i> ( <i>piṭṭaṇ</i> ) (N.)	13.2.c, 65.2	Cf. <i>piṭṭaṇ</i> ( <i>Pura</i> . 170:8).
<i>piṇa-u</i> (n.)	3.8	Cf. <i>piḷavu</i> 'cleft (as rock)' (D. 4194).
<i>piṇanta</i> (v.)	49.3	<i>piṇa</i> (D. 4422).
<i>piṇ-aṇ</i> ( <i>piṇṇaṇ</i> ) (N.)	63.4.a	<i>piṇṇaṇ</i> (D. 4205).
<i>puṇaruttāṇ</i> (LT <i>puṇarttāṇ</i> ) (v.)	85.2	<i>puṇar</i> (D. 4160b).
<i>puli</i> (n.)	118.1.b	<i>puli</i> (D. 4307).
<i>puṇai</i>	62.7.d	See <i>poṇai</i> .
<i>pe(m)-</i> (< <i>perum-</i> ) (adj.)	102.1.a	Cf. <i>pem-māṇ</i> (< <i>perum makaṇ</i> ) ( <i>Tēvā</i> . I:1); cf. <i>perum-</i> (D. 4411).
<i>perum-</i> (adj.)	83.1.a	<i>perum-</i> (D. 4411).
<i>peru(m)-</i> (adj.)	61.9.a, 62.9.a, 72.3.a, 88.6.a, 117.3.a	id.
<i>pēṭu</i> (n.)	101.1.c	<i>pēṭu</i> ( <i>TL</i> ).
<i>pēr-</i> (adj.)	13.2.a, 35.2.a, 56.1.b	<i>peru-</i> , <i>pēr-</i> (D. 4411).
<i>pokaḷ</i> (LT <i>pukaḷ</i> ) (n.)	105.1.b	<i>pukaḷ</i> (D. 4238).
<i>pokaḷ</i> (LT <i>pukaḷ</i> ) (n.)	83.1.b	<i>pukaḷ</i> (D. 4235).
<i>pocil</i> (n.)	49.5.c	Cf. <i>hosilu</i> (Ka.), 'threshold' (KSP <i>Kannada Nighaṇṭu</i> ); <i>pōṣ</i> (To.) 'entrance'; cf. Ta. <i>vācaḷ</i> , <i>vāyil</i> (D. 5354).
<i>poykai</i> (n.)	101.1.b, 102.2	<i>poykai</i> (D. 4533).

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF.NO.	DRAVIDIAN
<i>polāl(a)</i> (N. or P.)	55.3.a	Prob., from a place name or caste name; cf. <i>polāja</i> , <i>polājuva</i> , etc., occurring as personal names in Ka. inscriptions. ( <i>Epi. Car. XIII: Index</i> ). Cf. <i>poṛaiyaṇ</i> 'Cēra king' (TL); <i>poṛaiyaṇ</i> 'sustainer' < <i>poṛu</i> (D. 4565). <i>poṇ</i> (D. 4570). <i>makaḷ</i> (D. 4616).
<i>poṛai</i> (N.)	61.7.d	<i>makaṇ</i> (D. 4616). See <i>matirai</i> . id. id.
<i>poṇ</i> (n.)	36.2.a, 69.2.a, 113.3.a	<i>matirai</i> (inscr., <i>SII. I-III: Indexes</i> ); <i>maturai</i> (TL); cf. <i>matil</i> (Ta.), <i>maturu</i> (Te.) 'wall, fortification' (D. 4692). <i>mallaṇ</i> (D. 4730).
<i>makaḷ</i> (n.)	65.3.b, 66.3	<i>malai</i> (D. 4742). <i>mācu</i> (D. 4781); cf. <i>māci</i> 'mist, cloud' (TL).
<i>makaṇ</i> (n.)	20.2, 40.4, 56.5.b, 61.8, 61.10, 62.8, 62.10, 72.2, 84.3, 88.5	See <i>-māṇ</i> . <i>māṇaṇ</i> 'Pāṇṭiya king' (TL). Cf. <i>em-māṇ</i> 'my son' (D. 4616); <i>peru-māṇ</i> 'great person' (TL). Cf. <i>mukai</i> 'cave' (TL). <i>muciṛi</i> (TL). <i>muṭi</i> (D. 4922). Cf. <i>mutu-</i> , <i>mutiya</i> (D. 4954). Cf. <i>muḷai</i> 'cave' (D. 4994). id. Cf. <i>muṇ</i> , <i>muṇṇu</i> , <i>mundu</i> (D. 5020a); (cf. LT <i>muṇṇil</i> ). Cf. <i>mūtu-</i> , <i>mūtta</i> (D. 4954). <i>mēl</i> 'west' (D. 5086). <i>mōci</i> (TL). <i>yāṅgu</i> (obl. <i>yāṅgu</i> ) (D. 5159).
<i>matirai</i> ( <i>matirai</i> )	38.1	
[ <i>m</i> ]atira (variant of <i>matirai</i> )	27.1	
<i>matiray</i> (variant of <i>matirai</i> )	36.1	
<i>matirai</i> (LT <i>maturai</i> ) (P.)	24.2	
<i>malaṇ</i> ( <i>mallaṇ</i> ) (N.)	42.2.b	
<i>malai</i> (n.)	85.3.a, 119.1.c	
<i>māca-</i> ( <i>mācu</i> + <i>a</i> ) (n., attribute)	120.1.a	
<i>-mān</i> ( <i>-māṇ</i> )	59.2.c	
<i>māra-</i> (N.)	44.1.b	
<i>-māṇ</i> (< <i>makaṇ</i> ) (n.)	73.1.b	
<i>mukai</i> (n.)	112.1.a	
<i>muciṛi</i> (P.)	56.3	
[ <i>m</i> ]uṭitta (v.)	115.8	
<i>mutā</i> (adj.)	61.1	
<i>muḷa-ukai</i> (n.)	17.3.b	
<i>muḷākai</i> (n.)	7.3	
<i>muṇṇu</i> (n.)	67.2	
<i>mūta</i> (adj.)	62.1	
<i>mō(1)-</i> (adj.)	112.2.a	
<i>mōci</i> (N.)	76.5	
<i>yāṅgu</i> (n., obl.)	61.3.a, 62.3, 63.1.a	

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF.NO.	DRAVIDIAN
<b>vaṇṇakkāṇ</b> (n.)	85.3.b	<i>vaṇṇakkāṇ</i> (TL).
<b>vajutti</b> ( <i>vaḷuti</i> ) (N.)	1.7.b	<i>vajuti</i> 'Pāṇṭiya king' (TL); cf. <i>vāḷ</i> , <i>vajuttu</i> (D. 5372).
<b>vāy</b> (n.)	120.2.c	<i>vāy</i> (D. 5352).
<b>veṇ-</b> (adj.)	14.1.a, 46.1.a	<i>veḷ-</i> , <i>veṇ-</i> (D. 5496a).
<b>ven</b> ( <i>veṇ</i> ) (N.)	20.3	Cf. <i>veṇ</i> (D. 5493).
<b>veni</b> ( <i>veṇṇi</i> ) (N.)	70.2.a	Cf. <i>veṇṇi</i> (Ta.), <i>venni</i> (Ma.) (D. 5493).
<b>veppōṇ</b> ( <i>veppōṇ</i> ) (cf. LT <i>vaippōṇ</i> ) (v.)	13.4	<i>vai</i> (D. 5549).
<b>ve(m)-</b> (adj.)	119.1.a	<i>vemmai</i> (D. 5517).
<b>veḷ-</b> (adj.)	3.3.a, 6.1.a	<i>veḷ-</i> (D. 5496a).
<b>veḷi</b> (n.)	7.1.b	<i>veḷi</i> (D. 5498).
<b>veḷiyaṇ</b> (N.)	7.2.c	<i>veḷiyaṇ</i> (Aka. 152:5).
<b>vēmp(u)</b> (n.)	35.1.a	<i>vēmpu</i> (D. 5531).
<b>vēḷ</b> (N.)	32.1.c	<i>vēḷ</i> (D. 5545).
<b>vaika</b> ( <i>vaikka</i> ) (v.)	16.2	<i>vai</i> (D. 5549).

# APPENDIX V

## ETYMOLOGICAL INDEX: INDO-ARYAN

This Index is a list of loanwords derived from Indo-Aryan (IA) in the Corpus.

**Headwords** (in bold italics in col.1) are arranged in the Tamil alphabetical order (with *dh* and *s* at the end). Minimal segments of Personal names (N.) and Place names (P.) which appear to be of IA origin are also included. Noun stems are given without the paragogic suffixes or case-endings found in the original inscriptions. **Emendations** or **corrections** (as in the Commentary) are in italics within brackets next to the headwords. Grammatical parts of speech of the words are indicated next within brackets. See List of Abbreviations.

**Reference Numbers** (as in the Commentary) of words and segments are given in col. 2.

**IA parallels** are cited from Inscriptional Prakrit (Inscr. Pkt.) including Sinhala-Prakrit (Sinh. Pkt.), Canonical Prakrits, viz., Pāli and Ardhamāghadhī (AMg.), and from Sanskrit (Skt.) in cols. 3 to 6 respectively.

Literary and inscriptional citations and further discussions on the etymology of the loanwords will be found in the Commentary on the respective entries indicated by the Reference Numbers.

See Etymological Index: Doubtful Items (Appendix VI) for etyma whose derivation from Dr. or IA is in doubt. See also section 3.3 (Indo-Aryan element) in Chapter 3.

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF. NO.	INSCR. PKT.	PĀLI	AMg.	SKT.
<b><i>attiraṅ</i></b> (N.)	24.3				<i>atri</i> (?)
(cf. LT <i>attiri</i> )					
<b><i>attu-</i></b> ( <i>atta-</i> ) (n.)	60.6.a	<i>atha, attam</i>	<i>attha</i>	<i>attha</i>	<i>artha</i>
( <i>a</i> ) <b><i>ttu</i></b> (v.)	115.1.b		<i>atthu</i>	<i>atthu</i>	<i>astu</i>
<b><i>atikag</i></b> (n.)	40.1.b	<i>adhika;</i> <i>adika</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>adhika</i>	<i>adhiga</i>	<i>adhika, adhyaksha</i>
<b><i>itika-</i></b> ( <i>atika-</i> )	3.6.b				

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF. NO.	INSCR. PKT.	PĀLI	AMg.	SKT.
<b>adhiṭṭhāṇa</b> (n.)	63.6, 68.1, 69.4, 70.3	adhiṭṭhāṇa	adhiṭṭhāṇa	adhiṭṭhāṇa	adhiṣṭhāṇa
<b>adhiṭṭhāṇa</b>	50.3				
<b>adhiṭṭhāṇa</b>	49.8				
<b>adhiṭṭhāṇa</b>	64.1				
<b>adhiṭṭhāṇa</b>	66.5, 76.7				
<b>amaṇaṇa</b> (n.)					
(cf. LT <i>camanaṇa</i> )	24.1	samaṇa	samaṇa	samaṇa	śramaṇa
<b>amaṇaṇa</b>	61.2, 62.2				
<b>aritaṇa</b> (N.)	5.1.b	harita, hārīta	hārīta	hārīta	harita, hārīta, hārīta
<b>ar-itaṇa</b>	8.2				
<b>ar-iytaṇa</b>	18.2				
<b>ārītaṇa</b>	60.5				
<b>arīti</b> (N.)	34.2	hariti, haritī, hārīti, hārītī		hārītī	
<b>ariyati</b>	25.1.b				
<b>apaśaṇa(m)</b> (n.)	116.2		apaśaṇa	apaśaṇa	apaśaṇa
<b>asutaṇa</b> ( <i>assutaṇa</i> ) (N.)	3.7.b		assuta	assuda	a-śruta
<b>[ā]cārīyaṇa</b> (n.)	115.4	acariya, ācariya, ācāryya; aciriya (Sinh.Pkt.)	ācariya, ācariyaka	ācariya	ācārya
<b>ācīrikaṇa</b>					
(cf. LT <i>ācīriyaṇa</i> )	116.5				
<b>āci</b> (n.)					
(cf. LT <i>āci</i> )	73.6		cf. āsaya	āsi	< ā-śri
<b>āyca-</b> ( <i>āycca-</i> ) (N.)	55.5.a	ādita, ādica	ādica	ādica	āditya

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF. NO.	INSCR. PKT.	PĀLI	AMg.	SKT.
<b>ārāṭaṇi</b> (n.) (cf. LT <i>ārāṭaṇai</i> )	115.6				
<b>irācar</b> (n.)	111.1	<i>rāja, rājā, rājan, rāyan;</i> <i>rajha</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>ārādhana</i>  <i>rājā</i>	<i>ārādhana</i>  <i>rāya</i>	<i>ārādhana, ārādhana</i>  <i>rājan</i> <i>irāvat, airāvata</i>
<b>irāvataṇ</b> (N.)	26.1.b				
<b>iva-</b> (n.) (cf. LT <i>ipam</i> )	60.1.a		<i>ibha</i>	<i>iha</i>	<i>ibha</i>
<b>utayaṇa-</b> (N.) (cf. LT <i>utayaṇaṇ</i> )	24.5		<i>udayana</i>	<i>udayaṇa</i>	<i>udayana</i>
<b>upaca-aṇ</b> ( <i>upaccaṇ</i> ) (n.)	10.1, 11.3				
<b>upacaṇ</b> ( <i>upaccaṇ</i> ) (cf. LT <i>uvaccaṇ, ōccaṇ;</i> cf. Ka. inscr. <i>uvajjar</i> )	9.1	<i>upajhaya, uvajha</i>	<i>upajjha, upajjhāya</i>	<i>uvajjhaya, uvajjhāya,</i> <i>uvajjhāya,</i> <i>ōjjhāya</i>	<i>upādhyāya</i>
<b>kaccavanu</b> ( <i>kaccavaṇu</i> ) (N.)	119.2.a	<i>kasapa, kassapa,</i> <i>kassava, kāsapa;</i> <i>kasaba</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>kassapa; kacchapa</i>	<i>kassava, kāsava</i>	<i>kaśyapa, kāśyapa;</i> <i>kacchapa</i>
<b>kasapaṇ</b> ( <i>kassapaṇ</i> )	45.2				
<b>kāyvaṇ</b> ( <i>kāyivaṇ</i> )	104.2				
<b>kāyapaṇ</b>	61.4.b, 62.4.b, 63.2.b				
<b>kāyipaṇ</b>	60.7.b, 76.1.b				
<b>kāsiṇaṇ</b>	14.1.b				
<b>kañcapam</b> (n.)	14.3.b		<i>kañcana</i>	<i>kañcana</i>	<i>kañcana(?)</i>
<b>kaṭikai</b> (n.)	88.3		<i>ghaṭa</i>	<i>ghaṭī, ghaṭiā</i>	<i>ghaṭ, ghaṭā, ghaṭikā</i>

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF. NO.	INSCR. PKT.	PĀLI	AMg.	SKT.
<b>kaṇṇa</b> <sup>1</sup> - ( <i>kaṇṇa-</i> ) (N.)	84.4.c	<i>kaṇṇa, kaṇṇa;</i> <i>kaṇṇa</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>kaṇṇa</i> (or) <i>kaṇṇha</i>	<i>kaṇṇa</i> (or) <i>kaṇṇha</i>	<i>kaṇṇa</i> (or) <i>kṛṣhṇa</i>
<b>kaṇṇa</b> <sup>2</sup> - (n.) (cf. LT <i>kaṇṇam</i> )	40.1.a	<i>kaṇṇa</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)			<i>kaṇṇa</i> <i>gaṇṇaka</i>
<b>kaṇṇaka-</b> ( <i>kaṇṇaka-</i> ) (n.)	40.2	<i>gaṇṇaka</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>gaṇṇaka</i>	<i>gaṇṇaga</i>	
<b>kaṇṇi</b> <sup>1</sup> (n.)	1.1, 2.1, 3.1, 4.1, 48.1, 48.3	<i>gaṇṇi</i>	<i>gaṇṇī</i> ( <i>gaṇṇin</i> )	<i>gaṇṇi</i>	<i>gaṇṇī</i> ( <i>gaṇṇin</i> ) - <i>gaṇṇi</i> , <i>gaṇṇya</i>
<b>kaṇṇi</b> <sup>2</sup> - (N.)	73.1.a				<i>gaṇṇin</i>
<b>kaṇṇi</b> (n.) ( <i>fem.</i> ) (cf. Ka. inscr. <i>gaṇṇi</i> )	83.2.b, 83.4.b		<i>gaṇṇhika</i>	<i>gaṇṇhī</i>	<i>grāma-kūṭaka</i>
<b>kaṇṇi</b> (N.) ( <i>fem.</i> ) (cf. Ka. <i>gaṇṇi</i> )	49.4				<i>gāma-uḍa</i>
<b>kāṇṇi</b> (n.) (cf. inscr. <i>kāviti</i> , <i>kāvati</i> )	3.5, 52.2.a	<i>gaṇṇapati;</i> <i>gaṇṇapati</i> , <i>gaṇṇi</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>gaṇṇapati</i> <i>kusāla</i>	<i>gaṇṇa-<i>i</i></i> <i>kusāla</i>	<i>gṛīhapati</i> <i>kusāla</i>
<b>kucalaṇ</b> (N.)	108.2				
<b>kuṭumpikaṇ</b> (n.) (cf. LT <i>kuṭumpiyaṇ</i> )	55.2.b	<i>kuṭumbika;</i> <i>kuṭumbika</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>kuṭumbika</i>	<i>kuṭumbiya</i>	<i>kuṭumbika</i>
<b>kuviraṇ</b> (N.)	21.2, 22.1.b	<i>kupira, kubēra;</i> <i>kubira</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>kuvēra</i>	<i>kubēra, kuvēra</i>	<i>kubēra, kuvēra</i>
<b>kuvira-</b> <b>kōpaṇ</b> (N.)	23.1, 31.1.a, 32.1.a 84.4.b	<i>gōpa</i> <i>satti</i>	<i>gōpa</i> <i>satti</i>	<i>gōva</i> <i>satti</i>	<i>gōpa</i> <i>śakti</i> <i>candra</i>
<b>catti</b> (N.)	119.2.b				
<b>cantira-</b> (N.)	116.4.a				
<b>cāṭṭaṇ</b> (N.)	85.4.b, 105.2, 121.2.b	<i>sattiha, sāṭha</i>	<i>sattiha, sāṭha</i>	<i>sattiha</i>	<i>sāṭha</i>
<b>cāṭṭaṇ</b> ( <i>cāṭṭaṇ</i> )	74.2.b				
<b>cāṭṭaṇ</b> ( <i>cāṭṭaṇ</i> )	55.5.d				

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF. NO.	INSCR. PKT.	PĀLI	AMg.	SKT.
<b>caiy-aḷaṇ</b> ( <i>caiyalaṇ</i> ) (N.) (cf. LT <i>caiyam</i> )	57.2	cf. <i>śīhila</i> (or) <i>sahya</i>	cf. <i>sēhala</i>	cf. <i>śīhala, simhala</i>	<i>sainihala</i> < <i>simhala</i> ; <i>sainihala</i> (inscr.); (or) <i>sainīha</i> < <i>simīha</i> ; (or) <i>sahya</i> ( <i>mountain</i> ) <i>dhārā</i> (or) <i>dāra</i>
<b>tāra-</b> (n.)	44.2.a		<i>dhārā</i> (or) <i>darī</i>	<i>dhārā</i> (or) <i>dāra</i>	
<b>tāpa</b> (n.)	19.4, 20.4, 23.2, 28.2, 31.3, 32.2, 33.2	<i>dānam</i> , <i>dāna</i> ; <i>dana</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>dāna</i>	<i>dāṇa</i>	<i>dāna</i>
<b>tiyaṇ</b> (N.)	47.1.a	<i>tisa</i> ; <i>tīsa</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>tissa</i>	<i>tissa</i>	<i>tishya</i>
<b>tēvaṇ</b> (N.)	84.4.d, 85.4.a	<i>dēva</i>	<i>dēva</i>	<i>dēva</i>	<i>dēva</i>
<b>nakkay</b> (N.)	103.1		<i>nagga</i>	<i>nagga</i>	<i>nagna</i>
<b>nanta-</b> (N.)	1.2.a, 2.2.a	<i>namda</i> , <i>nada</i>	<i>nanda</i>	<i>namda</i>	<i>nanda</i>
<b>nataṇ</b>	17.1.b, 44.1.c, 48.4				
<b>nats-</b>	3.2.a				
<b>nanti</b> (N.)	116.4.b	<i>namdi</i> , <i>nandi</i>	<i>nandi</i> , <i>nandin</i>	<i>namdi</i>	<i>nandi</i> , <i>nandin</i>
<b>ṇanti</b>	115.3.b				
<b>natti</b>	4.2, 69.3				
<b>namō</b> (n.)	115.1.a	<i>namō</i>	<i>namō</i>	<i>namō</i>	<i>namas</i> , <i>namō</i>
<b>nikama-</b> (n.)	3.4	<i>nigama</i>	<i>nigama</i>	<i>nigama</i>	<i>nigama</i>
<b>nikamatōr</b> ( <i>nikamatōr</i> )	6.2	<i>nēgama</i> , <i>nēkama</i>	<i>nēgama</i>	<i>nēgama</i>	<i>naigama</i>

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF. NO.	INSCR. PKT.	PĀLI	AMg.	SKT.
<i>nicīṭikāi</i> (n.) (cf. Ka. inscr. <i>nisidige</i> )	115.9, 116.6	<i>nishidiyā, nisidiyā, nisidiyā</i>	cf. <i>nisīdana</i>	<i>ṇisihā</i>	<i>nishad (ni-sad)</i> > <i>nishadyā</i>
<i>patantaṇṇa</i> (n.)	60.3	<i>bhadanta, bhadamita, bhadata</i>	<i>bhadanta</i>	<i>bhadamita, bhayamita</i>	<i>bhadanta</i>
<i>pamitti (pammi-tt-i)</i> (n.) (fem.) (cf. LT <i>pammai</i> )	41.3	<i>bamimaṇi</i>	<i>brāhmaṇi</i>	<i>bamibhī, bamibhaṇi</i>	<i>brāhmi, brāhmaṇi</i>
<i>pāṇita-</i> (n.)	42.1.a		<i>phāṇita</i>	<i>phāṇia</i>	<i>phāṇita</i>
<i>pikaṇṇa (pikkaṇṇa)</i> (N.) (cf. LT <i>pikkam</i> )	20.1.b				<i>pikka</i>
<i>puta-</i> ( <i>putta-</i> ) (n.)	80.1.b	<i>puta</i>	<i>putta</i> (nominative <i>puttō</i> )	<i>putta</i>	<i>putra</i>
<i>putō (puttō)</i>	59.1.b				
<i>pūti</i> (N.)	81.2.a	<i>bhūti, bhūti, buti</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>bhūti</i>	<i>bhūi</i>	<i>bhūti</i>
<i>māṇākkar</i> (n.)	115.5	<i>māṇavakō</i>	<i>māṇava, māṇavaka</i>		<i>māṇavaka</i>
<i>māraya-</i> ( <i>mārāya-</i> )	54.1	<i>mahārāja, maharaya; maharajha</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>mahārāja</i>	<i>mahārāya</i>	<i>mahārāja</i>
<i>mitā</i> ( <i>mittā</i> ) (N.) (fem.)	41.1.b	<i>mitā; -mita</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>-mittā</i>	<i>-mittā</i>	<i>-mittā</i>
<i>mōṇala(ṇa)</i> (N.) (cf. Ka. inscr. <i>mōṇala-</i> )	121.2.a		<i>mōṇa</i>	<i>mōṇa</i>	<i>mauna, maunya</i>
<i>va[c]ca-</i> (N.)	115.3.a	<i>vajja, vaccha; vaca</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>vajira</i> (or) <i>vasa</i>	<i>vajja</i> (or) <i>vaccha</i>	<i>vajra</i> (or) <i>vatsa</i>
<i>vaṇikaṇṇa</i> (n.)	43.1.b, 46.2.b	<i>vaṇija, vāṇija, vāṇiya; vaṇijha</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>vāṇija</i>	<i>vaṇija, vaṇiya</i>	<i>vaṇik</i>
<i>vāṇikaṇṇa</i> <i>vāṇikaṇṇa</i>	39.1.b, 42.1.b, 69.2.b, 70.1.c				

ETYMA (IN THE CORPUS)	REF. NO.	INSCR. PKT.	PĀLI	AMg.	SKT.
<i>vāyi</i> (n.)	60.6.b	cf. <i>vācaka</i> , <i>vāyaka</i>	<i>vāci</i> (or) <i>vādin</i>	<i>vāyi</i>	<i>vācin</i> (or) <i>vādin</i>
<i>vīntai</i> (n.)	57.1.a		<i>vīnd</i> (v.)	<i>vīnd</i> (v.)	<i>vid</i> ( <i>vīnd</i> ) (v.) (or) <i>vīndhya</i>
<i>viyakkaṇ</i> (N.) (cf. LT <i>viyākaṇ</i> )	84.4.a	<i>visaka</i> , <i>visaga</i> ; <i>visāka</i> , <i>vihaka</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>visākha</i>	<i>visāha</i> , <i>visālā</i>	<i>visākha</i> , <i>visākha-</i>
<i>viyakaṇ</i> <i>vīra-</i> ( <i>vīra-</i> ) (N.)	39.2 79.1.c, 81.2.b	<i>vīra</i> , <i>vīra</i>	<i>vīra</i>	<i>vīra</i>	<i>vīra</i>
[ <i>vīsuvaṇ</i> ( <i>vissuvaṇ</i> ) (N.) (cf. LT <i>vīccuvaṇ</i> )	27.2.b	<i>visa-</i> , <i>vesa-</i> ; <i>veśa</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>vissa</i> , <i>vessa</i>	<i>vissa</i> , <i>vessa</i> , <i>visuva</i> , <i>vissua</i>	<i>viśva</i> > <i>vaiśva</i> (or) <i>vaiśya</i>
<i>vessaṇ</i> ( <i>vessaṇ</i> ) (N.)	50.2				
<i>dhammam</i> (n.)	1.3	<i>dhamma</i> , <i>dhamma</i> ; <i>dama</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>dhamma</i>	<i>dhamma</i>	<i>dharma</i>
<i>dhamam</i>	2.3				
<i>tanma[ṇ]</i> (N.)	45.1				
<i>sapa-</i> ( <i>sappa-</i> ) (N.)	41.1.a	<i>sapa</i>	<i>sappa</i>	<i>sappa</i>	<i>sarpa</i>
<i>sālakaṇ</i> (n.)	2.6		<i>sālaka</i>	<i>sāla</i>	<i>syālaka</i>
(cf. LT <i>cakalaṇ</i> , <i>cālakaṇ</i> )					
<i>siri</i> (n.)	1.2.b, 2.2.b, 3.2.b	<i>siri-</i> , <i>-siri</i> ; <i>siri-</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>siri</i> , <i>siri</i>	<i>siri</i> , <i>siri</i>	<i>śrī</i>

# APPENDIX VI

## ETYMOLOGICAL INDEX: DOUBTFUL ITEMS

This Index is a short list of etyma (in the Corpus) whose derivation from Dravidian or Indo-Aryan is in doubt. The format of the Index is the same as in the Etymological Index: Indo-Aryan (Appendix V) with an additional col. provided to indicate alternative derivations from Dravidian. See Commentary on the entries.

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ETYMA	REF. NO.	DRAVIDIAN	INSCR. PKT.	PĀLI	AMg.	SKT.
<b>akaram</b> (P.)	108.1	<i>nakar</i> , <i>nakaram</i> 'town, city' (D. 3568)	<i>aggahāra</i> 'brahman village'			<i>agrahāra</i>
<b>aṭaṇ</b> ( <i>aṭṭaṇ</i> ) (N.)	46.3.b	<i>aṭṭaṇ</i> , <i>āṭṭaṇ</i> ; prob. from <i>āṭu</i> 'to conquer', <i>āṭu</i> 'victory' (D. 77)	<i>aṭha</i> (N.); <i>aṭa</i> (Sinh. Pkt.)	<i>aṭṭha</i>	<i>aṭṭha</i>	<i>artha</i>
<b>ayaṇ</b> ( <i>ayyaṇ</i> ) (n.)	55.5.b	<i>ai</i> 'lord, master' (D. 196a)	<i>aya-</i>	<i>ayya</i>	<i>ajja</i>	<i>ārya</i>
<b>aiyaṇ</b>	55.3.b					
<b>iḷa-</b> ( <i>iḷa-</i> )	55.2.a	<i>iḷam</i> 'toddy' (D. 549)	<i>siṅhila</i> > <i>iḷam</i> (?) 'Ceylon' (D.550)	<i>siṅhala</i>	<i>siṅhala</i>	<i>siṅhala</i>
<b>cantaṇ</b> (N.)	29.1.c, 43.2.b,	<i>cantaṇ</i> (N.) ( <i>Piṅkala</i> . 756); cf. <i>cantam</i> 'beauty' (D. 2328)	<i>camda</i>	<i>canda</i>	<i>camda</i>	<i>candra</i>
<b>cant(a)-</b>	47.1.b					
<b>taccaṇ</b> ( <i>taccag</i> ) (n.)	5.1.a, 29.1.a					
cf. <b>taṭṭa</b> ( <i>taṭṭa</i> ) 'made' (101.2); <i>tacca</i> .	73.8, 117.3.b	<i>tai</i> 'to make, create' (TL), 'to fasten beams' (D. 3473); cf. <i>tac-</i> / <i>tāc-</i> in Kuwi (ibid.)				<i>takshan</i>

ETYMA	REF. NO.	DRAVIDIAN	INSCR. PKT.	PĀLI	AMg.	SKT.
<b>nākaṇ</b> (N.) <sup>1</sup>	48.2	<i>nākar</i>	<i>nāga</i>	<i>nāga</i>	<i>ṇāga</i>	<i>nāga</i>
<i>nākaṇ</i>	72.1					
<i>nākaṇ</i>	37.1					
<b>nāka-</b> < <i>nākaṇ</i> (or) <i>nākam</i>	56.1.a					
<b>pē</b> (n.)	21.1.a	<i>pēy</i> (Ta.), <i>pē</i> (Ma.) (D. 4438)		<i>pēta</i>	<i>pēya</i>	<i>prēta</i>
<b>satiya-</b> (N.) <sup>2</sup>	59.1.a	<i>atiyaṇ</i> , <i>atiyar</i> (LT) < * <i>catiya</i>	<i>satiyaputō</i> , <i>cātiyaputa-</i>			
cf. <b>sūyan</b> (59.2.a)						

## Notes

1. The *Nākar* (*Nāga*) appear to be an ancient autochthonous race in South Asia. The name is probably borrowed into both Dr. and IA.
2. Probably a native name which cannot be derived from *sasya* (Skt.) (Burrow 1968b). See Commentary on *satiyaputō* (59.1).

## APPENDIX VII

### INDEX TO GRAMMATICAL MORPHEMES IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

**Grammatical morphemes** occurring in the Corpus are listed in col. 1 of this Index. The listing is in the Tamil alphabetical order. The functions of the morphemes are described in col. 2. An example (generally the earliest) of each function of the grammatical morphemes is cited in col. 3. The basic consonant of doubled consonants not in the original is shown within brackets in this Index. Reference Numbers (as in the Commentary) of the words or segments with the grammatical morphemes are given in the last col. at right. For other illustrations and detailed treatment, see Chapter 7 (Grammar).

MORPHEME	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE	REF. NO.
-a	1. Accusative case suffix	<i>itta</i>	13.3
	2. Adjectival past participle suffix	<i>koṭṭupitta-a</i>	1.8
	3. Attributive suffix	<i>nanta-a</i>	1.2.a
	4. Genitive case suffix	<i>cijivaṇ-a</i>	19.3
	5. Infinitive suffix	<i>vai(k)ka</i>	16.2
-am	Neuter singular nominative suffix	<i>pēr-ay-am</i>	35.2
-ar	1. Honorific singular suffix	<i>[ā]cāri[ya]r</i>	115.4
	2. Third person epicene plural suffix in pronoun	<i>iruvar</i>	48.5
	3. Third person epicene plural suffix in past participial noun	<i>cētavar</i>	35.3
-al	Verbal noun suffix	<i>ko(ṭ)tal-</i>	12.2
-avaṇ	Third person masculine singular suffix in past participial noun	<i>koṭṭupita-avaṇ</i>	44.3
-aḷ	Feminine singular suffix	<i>makaḷ</i>	66.3
-aṇ	1. Attributive suffix (alternatively, as in 2 below)	<i>parampaṇ</i> ( <i>parampu</i> + <i>aṇ</i> )	84.1.a
	2. Masculine singular suffix in appellative noun	<i>kaṭal-aṇ</i>	1.7.a
	3. Masculine singular suffix in common noun	<i>makaṇ</i>	20.2
	4. Masculine singular suffix in personal name	<i>neṭuñcaḷiyaṇ</i>	1.5

MORPHEME	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE	REF. NO.
-ā	1. Adjectival suffix	<i>mutā</i> ( <i>mutu</i> + <i>ā</i> )	61.1
	2. Genitive case suffix	<i>nalli-[y]-ūr-ā</i>	66.1
-ār	Honorific singular suffix	<i>kiḷ[ā]r</i>	84.2
-āṇ	1. Masculine singular suffix in personal name	<i>kāttāṇ</i>	58.2
	2. Third person masculine singular suffix in past participial noun	<i>ceyvittāṇ</i>	88.2
i-	Prothetic affix before initial <i>r</i> in loanword	<i>irācar</i>	111.1
-i-	Past tense marker in adjectival past participle	<i>cē-īya</i>	2.10
-i	1. Feminine singular suffix in appellative noun	<i>koṇṇi</i>	66.4.b
	2. Feminine singular suffix in common noun	<i>-aṇṇi</i>	83.4.c
	3. Paragogic suffix after noun ending in <i>-i</i>	<i>kaṇi-i</i>	3.1
	4. Adverbial participle suffix	<i>āṭi</i>	112.3
-iy	Paragogic suffix after noun ending in <i>-i</i>	<i>pa(l)li-iy</i>	1.9
-iṇ	1. Attributive suffix	<i>paṭiṇ- (pat + iṇ)</i>	30.1.a
	2. Genitive case suffix	<i>ariti=ṇ (ariti + iṇ)</i>	34.2
	3. Past tense marker in adjectival past participle	<i>ā-iṇa</i>	41.2
-u	1. Adverbial participle suffix	<i>nōṇṇu</i>	115.7
	2. Derivational suffix	<i>piṇa-u</i>	3.8
	3. Euphonic suffix added to noun	<i>eru(k)kā(t)tu-ūru</i>	52.1
	4. Euphonic suffix added to verb	<i>puṇaru-</i>	85.2

MORPHEME	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE	REF. NO.
<b>-ōr</b>	1. Epicene plural suffix in appellative noun	<i>nikama(t)tōr</i>	6.2
	2. Epicene plural suffix in past participial noun	<i>ko(t)ṭi-ōr</i>	6.3
<b>-ōṇ</b>	1. Masculine singular suffix in appellative noun	<i>(i)[l]lavōṇ</i>	10.3
	2. Masculine singular suffix in personal name	<i>ceṭ-ataṇ-ōṇ</i>	12.4
	3. Third person masculine singular suffix in non-past participial noun	<i>ve(p)pōṇ</i>	13.4
	4. Third person masculine singular suffix in past participial noun	<i>koṭu(p)pi(t)tōṇ</i>	3.9
<b>-(k)k-</b>	Non-past (non-completive) tense marker in infinitive	<i>vai(k)ka</i>	16.2
<b>-ku</b>	1. Dative case suffix ('to')	<i>kuv-aṇ-kē (ku + ē)</i>	1.2.c
	2. Dative case suffix ('for')	<i>ko(t)ṭal-ku</i>	12.2
	3. Possessive-locative case suffix ('in, at')	<i>mattirai-kē (ku + ē)</i>	38.1
	4. Suffix indicating direction	<i>teṇku</i>	49.5.a
<b>-kay /</b>		<i>tuṇukay</i>	114.1
<b>-kai</b>	Derivational suffix	<i>muḷākai</i>	7.3
<b>-tt-</b>	1. Past tense marker in adjectival past participle	<i>koṭṭupitta-a</i>	1.8
	2. Past tense marker in past participial noun	<i>ṭṭavan</i>	12.3
<b>-(t)t-</b>	1. Past tense marker in adjectival past participle	<i>kuṭu(p)pi(t)ta</i>	14.2
	2. Past tense marker in past participial noun	<i>koṭu(p)pi(t)tōṇ</i>	3.9
<b>-tti</b>	Feminine singular suffix	<i>pa(m)mitti</i>	41.3
<b>-(t)tu</b>	Suffix of the oblique case of neuter singular noun ending in <i>-(a)m</i>	<i>nikama(t)tu</i>	3.4

MORPHEME	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE	REF. NO.
<b>-t-</b>	1. Past tense marker in adjectival past participle	<i>ceyta</i>	49.7
	2. Past tense marker in past participial noun	<i>cētavar</i>	35.3
<b>-nt-</b>	Past tense marker in adjectival past participle	<i>piṛanta</i>	49.3
<b>-(p)p-</b>	Non-past tense marker in participial noun	<i>ve(p)pōṇ</i>	13.4
<b>-(p)pi-</b>	1. Causative suffix in adjectival past participle	<i>kuṭu(p)pi(t)ta</i>	14.2
	2. Causative suffix in past participial noun	<i>koṭu(p)pi(t)tōṇ</i>	3.9
<b>-pi-</b>	1. Causative suffix in adjectival past participle	<i>koṭṭupitta-a</i>	1.8
	2. Causative suffix in past participial noun	<i>koṭṭupi(t)tōṇ</i>	8.3
<b>-m-</b>	Hiatus-filler	<i>pāṇkāṭa (pā-m-kāṭu-a)</i>	8.1
<b>-y-</b>	1. Glide between two vowels (when the preceding one is a front vowel)	<i>ko(t)ṭi-y-avaṇ</i>	4.3
	2. Past tense marker in adjectival past participle	<i>cē-y-a</i>	31.2
<b>-y</b>	1. Paragogic suffix after noun ending in <i>-i</i>	<i>kaṇi-y</i>	1.1
	2. Paragogic suffix after noun ending in <i>-ai</i>	<i>antai-y</i>	2.8
<b>-y-i</b>	Paragogic suffix after noun ending in <i>-i</i>	<i>-siri-y-i</i>	1.2.b
<b>-v-</b>	Glide between two vowels (when the preceding one is a central or back vowel)	<i>(i)[l]lavōṇ</i>	10.3
		<i>iruvar</i>	48.5
<b>-vi-</b>	1. Causative suffix in adjectival past participle	<i>ceyivitta</i>	83.5
	2. Causative suffix in past participial noun	<i>cēvit-ōṇ</i>	18.3
<b>Indo-Aryan</b>			
<b>-ō</b>	Nominative case-ending in masculine singular noun	<i>-pu(t)tō</i>	59.1.b
<b>-sa</b>	Genitive case-ending in masculine singular noun	<i>utayaṇa(s)sa</i>	24.5



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2. Bibliographical data for Tamil literary texts cited in this volume (see Abbreviations) are not included in the bibliography except where comments or notes by the editors are cited or where the publications are not included in the source cited below. See *Peruñcol Akarāṭi*, vol.I: pp. lxiii-cxxviii for recent bibliographical data on standard editions of the literary works.
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## GENERAL INDEX

The General Index does not include the inscriptional words in the Corpus except personal names, place names and a few terms occurring in original form in the translation. (Inscriptional words are listed in the **Inscriptional Glossary**.) Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations (except tracings and estampages of inscriptions which are listed at pp. xxxiii and xxxiv respectively). Abbreviation: *inscr(s)*. for inscription(s).

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Original from  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ISBN 0-674-01227-5

